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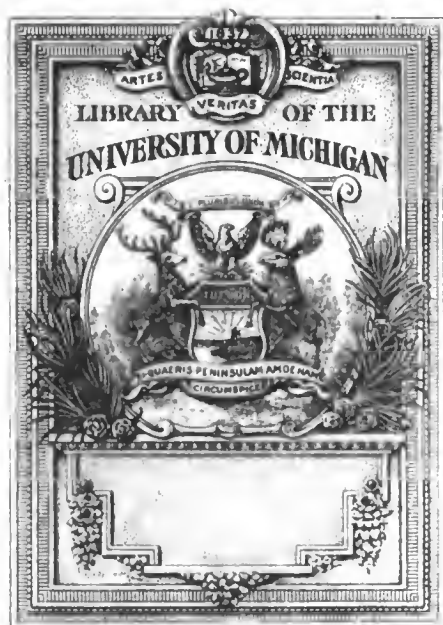
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CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW

Under the Direction of  
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS { RT. REV. MGR. JAMES F. LOUGHLIN, D. D.  
RT. REV. MGR. JAMES P. TURNER, D. D., V. G.

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*Benum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum  
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive  
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.*

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VOLUME XXXIV.  
FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1909.

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(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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VOL. XXXIV.—JANUARY, 1909—No. 133.

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## JOHN BALE'S VOCATION.

A SIDE-LIGHT ON REFORMATION DAYS IN IRELAND.

MEN rarely forecast the precise ground upon which their own fame will stand. Milton believed his immortality to lie in the now neglected pages of "Paradise Regained;" Newton fancied that the world would profit as much by the theology of his old age as by the science of his prime, flattering himself that he had cast as strong a light upon the "Prophecies of Daniel" as upon the natives of light itself. Could Frederick the Great have chosen his own laurels, he would now be crowned, not as a Prussian conqueror, but as a French classic.

Destiny plays her game of cross-purposes as whimsically with the minor mortals as with the major immortals. If erudite old John Bale, lying on his deathbed in the year of grace 1563, had been called upon to give a reason for the high repute in which he sincerely believed posterity would hold him, he might have paused over the patient research evinced in his laborious Latin record of the "Illustrious Writers of Great Britain," for is not learning, however profound, merely the adopted child of man's mind, while the inventions of genius are his own progeny? He might have hesitated over his precious anti-Popery polemics, for since Popery itself was languishing unto death, might not those valuable treatises lose their vitality with the adversary's dissolution? He might have deliberated over his personal righteousness, for although his own pen testifies to his comfortable conviction that he had been a shining light to the Lord's

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people and a scorching fire to the Lord's enemies, is it not written that the just man is taken away and none are mindful of him? But he would have rested his glance with modest satisfaction on those admirable productions of his own brain, the moralities and miracle-plays whereby, had time and circumstances been propitious, he might have converted to the Gospel Truth a whole nation of superstitious savages. Yes, he would have confessed, for John Bale was a candid man; his humble belief that future generations would find intellectual delight and spiritual edification in the "Comedy of John the Baptist," "The Tragedy of God's Promises" and the great historical drama of "King John," enacted with pious applause at the godly court of his own royal pupil, the young Edward VI.

Never, assuredly, would the dying reformer have suspected that a little autobiographical fragment, almost forgotten by its author, would more vividly touch the interest of the twentieth century than all the spoils of his learning or the arsenal of his controversy. This curious little volume, brought out in the orthodox city of Geneva, bears the following superscription: "Ye Vocacyionn of John Bale to ye Bishopryk of Ossorie, in Ireland, his persecuciones in ye same, and finale delyveraunce therefrom." As a defiance to the Anti-Christ of the Tiber it is, moreover, set forth on the title-page that this book is "imprinted in Rome, before ye Castelle of S. Angelle, at ye seyne of S. Peter." This exact localizing of publication must be charitably accepted as an allegory, inasmuch as it would be rash to suppose that so ardent a champion of truth could have been vain enough or modern enough to press a picturesque lie into the service of a title page. This naive little exposition of John Bale's peculiar mission, fluctuating hopes, blind prejudices, inveterate hatreds and utter failure is one of the curiosities of literature. It was becoming daily rarer when its reprint in the "Harleian Miscellany" rescued it from extinction and preserved it among the quaint little genre pictures of history.

Grim John Bale was a sturdy Suffolk man, born near the little town of Cove, in 1495. Like most of the early so-called reformers, he received from the charity of the Church the weapons he afterwards used against her. A hardy peasant lad, he found a gratuitous education with the friars whom he afterwards maligned and persecuted. They perceived him to be a youth of parts and piety and carried him, at their own cost, through all the higher courses of their curriculum. His frequent boasts in later life as to the purity of his Latin and the mastery of his dialectics form his only recorded testimonial of gratitude. The good monks welcomed him into their number and he became a fervent Carmelite Friar of Ipswich. But the characteristic vanity and self-sufficiency of which his little auto-

biography is one perpetual disclosure, led him first to seek prominence and next to secure notoriety. It is not surprising that he became a conspicuous expounder of the "new doctrines," cast off his religious obedience and his monk's frock, violated his solemn vows and married, posed as a martyr and fled to the Continent. We might suppose that as Henry VIII. was himself the Joshua leading his people into the Promised Land of liberty and plenty, Bale could have stayed at home and claimed his share in the general enfranchisement from the Counsels and in the portioning of monastic spoils. But for once he showed his wisdom in keeping the salt sea and several dykes between himself and the founder of the new faith. It was impossible to predict from day to day upon whom might fall the shadow of royal displeasure, and under the Tudors such shadows had a trick of materializing into ponderous substance. The mixture of the old and new creeds required a nicety in theological cooks as exquisite as the blending of ingredients in a Spanish omelette, where the presence of garlic is to be detected only by the perception that its absence would leave the whole compound insipid.

Holland and Flanders gave Bale hospitality in his first exile, and in Amsterdam his religious belief assumed a certain Dutch solidity conspicuously lacking in the Protestantism of England. In fact, the King kept consciences and dogmas at home in such continual agitation that they had no time to cool into consistency. Henry's death came as a mercy of Providence to Protestants and Catholics alike. When Bale learned for a certainty that by the fall of the Supreme Head of his church in England his own more precious head would be safe on his shoulders, he gladly returned to the fair land he had reluctantly abandoned. His reputation for zeal and learning established him so favorably at the court of the boy King that he was numbered among the royal tutors. But his Protestantism, commendable for its ferocity, was objectionable for its rigor and proved inconvenient to the ministers, who wished to manipulate in their own interest the feeble King and his distracted realm. It seemed advisable to move the intractable extremist farther away under the honorable pretext of moving him higher up.

At the time of this unwelcome promotion Bale was enjoying the rich benefice of Bishopstoke, in the most inviting region of fertile Hampshire, a few miles from Southampton, on the way to London. Truly did it appear to John that the Lord had led him into green pastures and that nothing was wanting to him. Many a time, no doubt, he thanked a benign Providence that in bringing away from the Low Countries their pure faith and seemly manners, he had left behind forever their narrow streets, sandy dunes, murky fogs and uncouth tongues. With his beloved wife and family, treasured

books and prolific pen, he felt that his lines had fallen in pleasant places and suffered the fires of controversy to burn low. So was it with him when, lo, a voice came calling him to do battle against the Scarlet Abomination. John's vocation came and took him by the throat, and, alas, it was a vocation to Ireland. Yea, to wrestle with the grewsome dragon of Popery, and if so it might be, slay it in its most sheltered lair. There is no reason to doubt honest John's assurance that it was with reluctance he accepted the See of Ossory, which the King and Council then at Southampton had thrust upon him as a reward. Around the episcopal dignity still shone in England something of feudal splendor, but Bale shrewdly surmised that in the semi-barbarous isle across the channel if honors were easy, living was hard.

The veteran captain received his unwelcome call to the new apostolate on the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, 1552, he being then in his fifty-eighth year. The King parted with him affectionately; the royal Ministers instructed him in the political bearings of his mission, furnishing him with discouraging hints as to the civil and religious state of the land he was going to evangelize. Henry's reformed doctrines had never been clearly understood in Ireland; not indeed from lack of energy in the royal methods of instruction, but rather because the new catechism was chiefly contained in acts of Parliament, which formed such problems in cancellation that it was impossible to tell in the solution which factor remained intact. The catechists whose teaching bore the force of unanswerable logic were the English troops. Plundered churches, ruined monasteries, slaughtered herds and burning cabins formed a dogmatic system at once obvious and irrefutable. Brown in Dublin and Goodacre in Armagh were working hard in favor of the new order. It was hoped that with the aid of Bale at Ossory they would be able to rid Ireland forever of Popery and its attendant superstitions.

With no comprehension of the difficulties before him and without either wisdom to grasp or tact to avoid them, Bale, like many of his countrymen before and since, sailed for a land which he held in profound contempt, but which reserved a lesson for his instruction. Upon his arrival he found, to his horror, that the "communion service" was still performed in Waterford Cathedral "in the old idolatrous manner," and that the people, to use his own forcible phrases, "*wawled* over their dead with prodigious howlings and putterings, as though souls had not been quieted in Christ!" He was everywhere, he says, scandalized at their "heathenish behaviours!" He left Waterford with the melancholy conviction that the incumbent of that see, though professing the pure interpretation of the Word, was "no true Bishop of Christ," a title to which, judg-

ing from his memoirs, he alone among the British hierarchy could pretend. He further notes his suspicion that his host, the Mayor of the city, "was no true subject of King Edward." Altogether the state of affairs in Waterford appalled the conscientious stranger and gave him his first premonition of coming peril.

From this town, which he left under the ban of heaven, the Bishop-elect proceeded to Dublin, where his consecration was to take place. The Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, welcomed him with every mark of honor, and his old friend Goodacre, the new Archbishop of Armagh, cheered his heart by "comfortable speech." The feast of Our Lady's Purification had been set as the day for the ceremony. The very date was an irritation; it seemed a plain concession to Popish prejudice. Besides, Brown, the consecrating prelate, with the Bishops of Down and Kildare as assistants, proposed to conduct the function according to the ancient, that is, the Roman ritual. Bale felt that the time had come for him to speak out. He swore that he would turn back at the altar steps unless the pure and simple forms of the new Church were maintained in all their severity. As it was evident that the consecration of a Bishop could not be carried on without a Bishop to be consecrated, his companions of necessity yielded. The function was performed with all the solemnity consistent with a general ignorance of the new ritual on the part of all engaged in it. When the moment of Communion came, Bale perceived with dismay a host "in the form of a Roman wafer." He stopped the ceremony at once and announced in a voice of thunder that not another step would he take until the idolatrous symbol was removed and common table bread substituted. All, he says, "were struck with consternation at his terrific aspect and resounding voice," and the rite was hastily concluded.

He gloried in this first great triumph without foreseeing that it was to be his last. Archbishop Brown, though himself a stentorian denouncer of Popery, was disgusted with his rough guest. Archbishop Goodacre, though Bale's best and wisest friend, was grieved by the violence of his language. But John went on his way rejoicing. Of Archbishop Brown he formed a most unflattering estimate, which later experience rendered still more unfavorable. Of his right reverend host he finally bequeathed this silhouette, in which it must be remembered the charcoal was supplied by Brown's political enemies: "I thought nothing less at that time than to pour out the precious pearls of the Gospel afore so brockish a swine he was. And as touching learning, whereof he much boasted in his cups, I know none in which he is exercised save that of vice." Bale was not so obtuse as to be blind to the fact that his Dublin entertainers were more anxious to see him set out for his see than he was to take

possession of it. Accordingly, with his wife and family he journeyed by easy stages to Kilkenny.

To his great mortification he found but a cold reception in the city of Strongbow, whither his fiery fame had preceded him. The ancient Cathedral of St. Canice or St. Kenny's, a magnificent monument of the faith of the Middle Ages, was the pride of clergy and people. Bale observed with anger the universal reluctance to see this venerable edifice employed for any other form of worship than that by which it had been hallowed for centuries. He declaimed against such perversity; the sacred walls resounded with vituperations of people and clergy. Lest what was thundered in English might be lost, he was careful to give the clerics the benefit of his opinion in Latin, and for the entire security of the people caused each compliment to be finally translated into Irish. He was thus satisfied that by means of the three languages all had come to know precisely what he thought of them. On his own testimony he bestirred himself in season and out of season to place before them the idolatry of their worship, the stupidity of their minds, the brutality of their manners, the depravity of their morals and the certainty of their eternal perdition.

He then began with delightful simplicity to conjecture that it was Satan only who enkindled in these misguided people an unaccountable and preternatural hatred of him, their lawful Bishop and appointed instructor. Through the machinations of the evil spirit he became, he honestly avows, an object of general abhorrence. And yet even after this date his memoirs exhibit amusing fluctuations of dismay and self-conplacency. Sometimes he shuddered to think that he was equally dreaded and despised; at other times he transcribed proofs of the love and esteem of his people. Sometimes he pronounced their abominations ineradicable, and again he thanked God that he was beginning to reap an abundant harvest of souls.

But in the month of July came tidings of dire import for the godly Bishop of Ossory. Edward was dead and Mary Tudor was Queen of England. Lord Mountgarret and the chief officials of Kilkenny hastened to the Cathedral and insisted on the celebration of a Mass according to the Roman rite. The clergy complied, under the very eyes of the fuming and helpless Anglican Bishop. A fleeting ray of hope pierced the gloom during Lady Jane Gray's brief usurpation, but that light went out and evil days fell upon the righteous ones of the Lord.

On the 20th of August, to the Bishop's unspeakable anguish, Kilkenny celebrated Queen Mary's accession. There were, he records with disgust, such rejoicings as had never before been witnessed by the eye of man. "They proclaimed her with the greatest



solemnity that could be devised of processions, musters and disguisings; what ado I had that day about wearing the cope, crosier and mitre it were too much to write." The staunch old reformer stoutly declared that, let who would be King, Queen or Emperor, he would take no part in Popish mummeries nor would a Popish trapping be seen on his orthodox back. "But," he narrates, "they did find a way to carry out their papistical fantasies, for in the meantime had the other prelates got two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre before me and another the crosier, making thereby three pageants instead of one."

But this was not all. It came to his ears that his enemies were "bruiting a humor" that he would soon retract in his pulpit the anti-Popery sermons no longer acceptable to the ruling powers and begin to tread in the paths of the ancient observance. This was indeed a cruel slander. On Thursday, August 24, feast of St. Bartholomew, he mounted the pulpit with honorable hardihood and on the text "I am not ashamed of the Gospel" he held forth in his last Irish sermon. It was long; it was both exhausting and exhaustive. It covered the whole question between Rome and England and reviewed his whole episcopate of six months. It anathematized clergy and people and consigned Pope and Cardinals to endless detention in that secure abode whose existence Bale's modern followers deny. This sermon did not produce the humiliation and dismay he had expected; rather was there such an ebullition of popular indignation that he took counsel of discretion and hurried away to his country seat at Holiness Court on the following day.

"As soon as the townspeople knew I had gone to the country," he relates, "they restored in my (?) Cathedral the whole heap of the superstitions of the Bishop of Rome. They rang all the bells in that Cathedral, in the minster, and in the parish churches. They flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple with smilings and laughings most dissolutely, the justice himself being therewith offended. They brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water stocks, crosses and censers; they mustered forth in general processions most gorgeously all the town over with Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis, and the rest of the Latin litanies. They chattered it, they chaunted it with great noise and devotion. They banqueted all the day after my going, because they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun!"

Hitherto the stirring drama of Master John Bale's vocation to Ireland had been a farce rather than a comedy. Now it became a real tragedy. One of the "Romish fantasies" against which he set his face was the observance of Our Lady's festival days. The feast of her Nativity, September 8, was especially dear to the people. Its

desecration was considered not only irreligious, but ill-omened. For that very reason Bale determined that on that day his household should go forth to the hay-making. "Five of my household," he tells us, "went out to make hay. . . . And as they were come to the meadow cruel murderers to the number of a score leaped out of their lurking bushes and cowardly slew them. They then feloniously robbed me of all my horses, to the number of seven, driving them before them." But that this shocking outrage was chargeable neither to the townsfolk nor to the peasantry is proved by Bale's own admission as to the people's prompt and generous expedition to his rescue. He relates it with real gratitude and a touch of his usual vanity. The crime was undoubtedly the work of that band of lawless marauders sheltered by the great nobles of whom Bale himself gives elsewhere a graphic account. The unsettled state of the country gave them immunity. Bale's provision of horses supplied the temptation, while the general aversion in which he was held no doubt guided their choice.

The sky was black and darker clouds were gathering. To prolong his apostolate until it would be crowned by martyrdom was no part of John Bale's vocation to Ireland. He had come to Kilkenny with little ceremony; he left it with less. Disguised at night, and with only his wife as companion, he shipped to Leighton Castle; thence, aided by the English, who were eager to be rid of so dangerous an ally, he hurried to Dublin. His old grudge against Archbishop Brown was embittered by that prelate's resolution to give him neither succor nor hospitality. "As the epicurious Archbishop had knowledge of my being there, he made boast upon his ale-bench, with cup in hand, *as I heard the tale told*, that for no man's pleasure would he let me preach in his city. But this needed not! He had then become of a dissembling proselite, a most pernicious Papist."

After an anxious delay of some weeks in the unfriendly city of Dublin, poor Bale was able at last to watch a merciful sea broadening between him and the accursed shore which he never touched again. But, alas, a final and malicious practical joke of his enemies prolonged his misery for a month more. The little merchantman which had taken him as a passenger was bound for Scotland. She was boarded by a Flemish man-of-war hovering on the coast, and Bale was seized, put in irons and carried off as a captive, while the craft from which he had been dragged was permitted to pursue her way unmolested. Time and the peculiar treatment to which he was subjected opened the heart of the mystery. The Irish pilot, whom Bale suspected to be in "a complot with his enemies," had confidentially apprised the Flemish commander that the suspicious look-

ing character, of whom he gave an exact description, was a Frenchman in disguise carrying a vast sum in gold, to be employed in his own country's war against Spain and Flanders!

In vain the distracted traveler assured his stolid captors that he was no Frenchman, carried no gold and had no designs against Flanders, a country which he sincerely loved and honored. In vain he gave his name, explained his position, related his sorrows. It was all to no purpose. The Flemings either doubted him or affected to do so. Sometimes the stranger was harshly dealt with; at others he was treated with a certain distrustful indulgence. Only when the leader was convinced that no ransom would be forthcoming did he land his captive in Flanders, restoring such goods as the sailors had taken for booty.

Through Flanders the balked apostle made his way to Germany, in which country he found spiritual comfort and temporal assistance. He settled in Geneva, and neither hoped nor desired to return to Great Britain, where he had found his cake "dough on both sides." But Elizabeth succeeded to the throne and rejoiced the right thinking by her mighty upholding of the truth and her powerful dealing with the ungodly. Old Bale thought it best to gather up his goods and go home. He was well received by the Queen, was appointed Prebend of Canterbury and thenceforth basked in the royal favor until the day of his death. The nightmare of his vocation to Ireland had passed away, and "his persecuciones in ye same." He had been granted "finalle delyveraunce therefrom."

M. A. DUNNE.

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## THE SPIRITUAL AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.

### III.

#### LEGAL THEORIES ON THE TWO POWERS.

IT WAS inevitable during the contests between the Papal and the imperial sovereignty that theories should arise as to their interrelation, and an extremest view for the Papal claim was, at least in suggestion, put forth by John of Salisbury. The view was that the keys given to Peter bestowed upon the Holy See spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over the whole of Christendom, so that Kings ruled only as delegates or ministers of the Pontiff. This was the fullest extension of the doctrine known as that of the Two Swords. *Hunc gladium de manu ecclesiae accipit princeps,*

*cum ipsa tamen gladium sanguinis omnino non habeat. Est ergo princeps Sacerdotii minister.*<sup>1</sup> The writer, with a limited scope, was speaking of the coercive power on behalf of spiritual interests in the State, but these words were easily extended by others to a wider sphere. St. Thomas of Canterbury, who also had before him the preservation of ecclesiastical liberties from royal encroachment, took up a like strain in his letters of remonstrance addressed to Henry I., and appealing to the text, "Thou art Peter," he made the inference, "It is certain Kings receive their power from the Church," and that they should try to obstruct the juridical acts of the Bishops he regarded as quite an inversion of right order. *Non habetis episcopis praecepere absolvere aliquem vel excommunicare; judicare de ecclesiis vel decimis; interdicere episcopis ne tractent causas de transgressione fidei vel juramenti; et multa alia hujusmodi quae scripta sunt inter consuetudines vestras quas dicitis avitas.*<sup>2</sup>

Here was at least a possibility offered for an ampler extension of the idea that Kings should be administrators of Popes. The full-fledged theory of a universal supremacy sprang from the theologians Henry of Segusia, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Augustinus Triumphus and Alvarez Pelagius, writers of the fourteenth century, who were copied later by Bozio. To this extreme right was opposed an extreme left—Ockam, Marsilio of Padua, and his collaborator, John of Jaudan, often confounded with John of Ghent, so that the writings of the two are not now respectively distinguishable. When the opposition became strongest it substituted Aristotle's politics for canon law and for St. Augustine's "Civitas Dei," a democratic basis for Church authority, and it set nationality above Catholicity. There was some anticipation of the maxim which Abraham Lincoln propounded when he said: "No man is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent." The large deference shown in the early Church to popular approval of candidates for clerical office had nothing to say to the intrinsic powers of priestly orders and of jurisdiction, which were a Christian institution depending for their validity on the Founder's authority. Thus with careful restrictions it was possible in primitive ages of the Church to make application of the old dictum: *Quod omnibus tangit, ab omnibus approbetur*. Approval is not the same as grant of power. But the school of Ockam and Marsilio claimed much more than this for their popular and quasi parliamentary control over the Popes.

The University of Paris was seething with the new liberalism in theological opinions when D'Ailly was there as a young student, imbibing errors which he afterwards handed on to Gerson and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Pollicratious, IV., 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. Bernard, "De Consider," IV., 3, Ep. 256.

pounded in the Council of Constance. It is true that his doctrine of superiority of the General Council to the Pope was delivered at a time when the legitimate Pope was doubtful and when the seventy years of captivity at Avignon were being followed by forty years of schism, all tending to lower the previous ideas entertained upon the subject of Papal supremacy.\*

Another lowering influence is said to have been the study of Roman law, which is reported to have kindled in some breasts a dangerous enthusiasm for a return to imperialism conceived on the grand old lines of Roman Cæsarism. It has been shown that this study was not a novelty; that it did not start from a sudden discovery at Anagni of the previously lost pandects; that it had not to await the rise of the legalist university at Bologna before it became an influence. At the University of Paris, which was meant to be theological<sup>4</sup> rather than legal, Honorius III. and Innocent IV. put restrictions on the study of the civil code. Denifle in his "History of the Mediæval Universities" says that the limit here placed was not a broad policy of repression, but only an exceptional precaution which allowed of dispensations in desirable cases; for example, in favor of clerics holding only *simplices curas animarum* Gregory IX. granted exemption. Before the time of the inculcated Honorius III. (1216) a Council of Clermont (1130), which was followed by another at Rheims (1131), made provision against the distractions occasioned to the clergy by the study of law and medicine, and not only by the study, but also by the subsequent practice with a view to lucre. The decrees last mentioned affected all clerks regular and all monks who had taken their vows.<sup>5</sup> A like precaution was adapted by a council held in London in 1268. It appears, then, that there were reasons for restriction quite other than the mere rivalry of civil law to canon law or to the theology of Papal claims. Apart from other connections, the Justinian code might have done little to make students disloyal to the Sovereign Pontiff, especially as in it

\* A Pope said: *Nullas invites et non petentibus ordinetur.*

<sup>4</sup> John of Salisbury, Ep. 138, observed that the study of the law did not contribute to the spirit of compunction. Roger Bacon complained that the clever students were drawn from theology to law, and thereby secularized.

<sup>5</sup> Under Alexander III., 1176, the third Lateran Council (Canon 12) limited clerical pleaders to the defense of their own Church or of needy persons, who could offer no temptation to cupidity. A council of Paris, 1212, distinguished between beneficed and non-beneficed clergy, allowing the latter to take moderate remuneration for their advocacy: "*ne immoderata salaria exigere præsumant.*" Greater strictness appeared in the decretals of Gregory IX., who made the prohibition absolute, "*excepta defensione orphanorum et viduarum.*" Libr., III., Tit. 50. Causes of life and limb were declared unsuitable, as appears in the rule of Boniface VIII., "*nec criminalium causarum potest quisquam clericus iudex fieri, nec iudex qui fuit in clericum coöptari.*" See Thomassinus, Part I., Liv. I., c. 69.



was embodied the principle of Church authority: *Maxima quidem in hominibus sunt dona Dei, a suprema collata clementia, sacerdotium et imperium*. There is, furthermore, a conservatism in law which on the whole would make for the preservation of the Church's rights such as had been established before the calamities of the fourteenth century caused the obscuration of principles in regard to the Papal position.

As the disputes continued and showed themselves in practical life\* it became urgent to find some technical terms which would give precision to the title whereby the Popes claimed to control secular princes. Three phrases especially were found: (1) First, there was the *potestas directa* as it appeared in the teaching already described of Augustinus Triumphus and others.<sup>7</sup> (2) There was the *potestas directiva*, a term which Fénelon attributes to Gerson and thus formulates in clear language: *Haec non juridica et civilis est, sed directiva tantum et ordinativa potestas, quam approbat Gersonius*.<sup>8</sup> It might seem that a directive power would be far too little to account for the facts of history, but Fénelon makes up the deficiency by explaining how princes in a Christian State entered upon office, sometimes with an oath to that effect and sometimes on the tacitly understood condition to rule as Christian sovereigns, in subjection to the Church's canons and to her living Bishops, and that if they broke the engagement, it belonged to the Pope especially to declare the breach and to proclaim their authority forfeited. Such a right to arbitrate or to give a decision as in case of conscience, when vested in the prince of pastors, might suffice to meet all needs. *Potestas directiva in eo consistit quod Papa, utpote princeps pastorum, utpote praecipuus in majoribus moralis disciplinae causis ecclesiae director et doctor, de servando fidelitatis sacramento populum consulentem edocere teneatur*.<sup>9</sup> In this way the various deposi-

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\* In England Grosseteste affords us a good illustration. By anti-Papalists he is often claimed as notably on their side, for he resisted some Papal presentations and taxations. He did so where he thought it right, but zeal for pure religion under the Pope's supreme authority was his most remarkable characteristic. He set wide apart the Bishop's proper office in spiritual and his participation in the judicial and magisterial work of the State; for himself he rejected the proffered compliment that he possessed "a universality of legal knowledge." From Gregory IX. he received authorization to take proceedings against ecclesiastics who acted as justiciaries or as sheriffs. He told a prelate that even if this dignitary's secular business were removed, his Church duties would still be too large for him.

<sup>7</sup> These same extremists, with Egedius of Rome, denied that pagan peoples had a right to their territory, or that the Pope could grant it away to Christians.

<sup>8</sup> Dissert. De Auctoritat. Sum. Pontif., cap. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, cap. 27.

tions of princes by the Popes could be accounted for all the more easily when, as in some instances, States had by special stipulation made themselves more or less feudatory dependents on the Papacy, instances of which were England,<sup>10</sup> Poland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Portugal and Naples. Then as regards the empire itself, insofar as in its spiritual institution it was a Papal creation, it owed a subjection to its Lord. With Fénelon's doctrine Bossuet substantially agreed, thus stating his own view as to the action of Pope Zachary in the substitution of Pepin for the *fainéant* Childeric: *Non factum est ut Pontifex regnum adimeret aut daret, sed ut declararet adimendum vel dandum ab iis quibus id juris competere judicaret.*<sup>11</sup> Here it appears why the *potestas directa* and the *potestas indirecta* are repudiated by Bossuet; he considers both as acts of jurisdiction exercised over subjects, and he does not regard the civil State as such to be even indirectly thus subject. (3) The third theory is that maintained by Bellarmine, who may claim to be one of its prominent representatives. It is the *potestas indirecta*, whereby the Pope, not having direct power over the temporal affairs of princes, can sometimes overrule them indirectly in the interests of spiritual concerns which are his and to which worldly concerns are subordinate. Thus of the Pope deposed a King, it would not be directly as he would depose a Bishop: *non eo modo quo deponit episcopos tanquam ordinarius iudex.*<sup>12</sup> In the matter of some phrases Bossuet comes wonderfully near to a recent utterance of Leo XIII., he using *suprema et absoluta* where the Pontiff uses *maxima*. The words of the Pope are: *Deus humani generis gubernationem inter duas potestates partitus est, scilicet ecclesiasticam et civilem, alteram quidem divinis, alteram humanis rebus praepositam. Utraque est in suo genere maxima.*<sup>13</sup> The utterances of Leo, made at a time when Christendom was hopelessly divided, are necessarily more restricted and more cautious than were earlier utterances made by Popes when doctrine had not been analyzed into its precise parts and when actual, or, as it is said nowadays, "factual" concessions went further than what was the constitutional right for all Christian ages. In deference of the strong terms used by Boniface VIII., it is urged that substantially his language was but that of his predecessors, coming

<sup>10</sup> Much of the Papal interference in English affairs of the civil order in the reign of Henry III. clearly supposes the act of King John in putting the realm under the Pope.

<sup>11</sup> Defens. Declarat., Part II., 33-36.

<sup>12</sup> Bellarmine, De Rom. Pontif., v. 6. Bossuet contradicts him: "Reges et principes in temporalibus nulli ecclesiasticae potestati subditi, neque auctoritate clavium ecclesiae directe vel indirecte deponi." Defens. Declar., Part I., Lib. Sec. I., Cap. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Encycl. Immortale Del, 1885. Cf. Bossuet, Defens. Cler. Gall., Part I., Lib. I., Sect. II., C. 37.

down from Gregory VII. through Innocent III. and the succeeding Popes who had specially to contend with the Emperors. Yet even then Popes, while they did not expressly lay down the theory of the indirect power, nevertheless from time to time signified that the State had a direct power of its own which could be controlled by the Pontiff only on the ground of its inference with higher interests of religion, not on the ground of mere political supremacy. Gregory VII. addressed Henry IV. as one whom God had established on the throne—*quem Deus in summo rorum posuit culmine*.<sup>14</sup> Innocent III. observed that while his spiritual jurisdiction was unbounded (*nullis terminis coarctata*), his jurisdiction in things temporal was only *in multis*.<sup>15</sup> He called the Papal and the imperial powers distinct, yet so related that the Pope had great authority in civil affairs, but not the supreme authority as in spiritual—in *spiritualibus habet summam, in temporalibus magnam a Deo potestatem*.<sup>16</sup> To Philip the Fair Boniface signified that his own interference in French concerns of State was *ratione peccati*, because the King was sinning against God and His Church; otherwise the bull *Unam Sanctam* allowed that there were two powers, Church and State. The concession was not wholly negated by the famous and ambiguous word *instituere* occurring in the clause, *spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare*. Here is one of those catch phrases which theologian after theologian repeated. The passage as read in Hugo of St. Victor<sup>17</sup> ran thus: *Instituere ut sit*, where the addition *ut sit* seems to imply more than "instruction" or "guidance," and to suggest creation by the Pope. Egidius of Rome used this form: *Spiritualis potestas instituere habet terrenam potestatem; et si terrena potestas bona non fuerit, spiritualis eam potest judicare*.<sup>18</sup> This was copied by Alexander of Hales in his *Summa*, with the substitution of *constituere* for *instituere* (IV., X., 3, 21). Well versed in the theologians, Boniface took from them his phrase *instituere* and other phrases besides which have occasioned complaint.

As to the special word *instituere*, while its meaning seems not to be fully satisfied by the rendering "instruct," yet it may be referred to the right of the Church to approve, anoint and crown Kings after having used a moral influence to determine their elections. All these acts may be expressed by *instituere*. Indeed, it would have been absurd on the part of Boniface VIII. to pretend that the Popes by their own power simply established monarchies and monarchs as they founded bishoprics and furnished them with Bishops. In

<sup>14</sup> Lib. II., Ep. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Lib. II., Ep. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Lib. VIII., Ep. 190.

<sup>17</sup> De Sacrament., Lib. II., Part II., Cap. 4.

<sup>18</sup> De Eccles. Potest., Lib. I., Cap. 3.

the catch phrases of theology and canon law, as they pass from mouth to mouth and from pen to pen, we may expect in some instances an extravagant usage avoided by the more careful. A flagrant instance of abuse occurred in the frequent repetition of the *tanta est vis confessionis*, taken from the "*De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*" of the pseudo-Augustin and employed to enforce confession to laymen in defect of a priest. Hugo shows his sense of limitation to be put upon the phrase *instituere ut sit* by adding that the "spiritual power does not exist to do prejudice to the rights of the temporal," and that "the King or Emperor is head of the temporal government." Boniface VIII. also explained himself as not having intended to detract from the regal authority in its own distinct sphere so long as it abode within this sphere and made no encroachment on spiritual rights, in which case the King, of course, became like any other son of the Church, subject to its supreme jurisdiction. Bossuet says of the remarkable definition with which the *Unam Sanctam* ends that it is simply Catholic truth. *Hoc tantum habet definitio*: "*Subesse Romano Pontifici omnem creaturam declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*" This, observes Bossuet, is certain among Catholics when it is understood of the spiritual power,<sup>19</sup> and Boniface spoke of this spiritual power in its corrective right over the sins of a much sinning monarch whom no one can throughout defend<sup>20</sup>—Philip the Fair. The royal office instead of diminishing a King's liability to spiritual censures in one way, considerably increases their need. No doubt if Boniface had foreseen objections he would have toned down or stated more cautiously some of his propositions, but in the heat of strife language is apt to become strong, and even requires a certain strength. Furthermore, we should remember that Boniface included his historic *de facto* rights along with those which were simply *de jure officii*. It is not necessary that the Pope's actual rights should be exactly the same in every age; his position requires him to hold in check temporal princes when their conduct touches ecclesiastical immunities and prerogatives, but the requirements of such a position will allow of some alterations in shape to meet varying conditions of time. One of Boniface's predecessors clearly recognized that more might be contained in some validated custom than was found in the pure principle of jurisdiction. It was Alexander III. who in 1160 had written in reply to a question: "*Quod quaeris, si e civili iudice, ante iudicium vel post, ad nostram audientiam appellatio teneatur, tenet quidem in his quae sunt nostrae temporali iurisdic-*

<sup>19</sup> Defens. Declarat., Lib. III., Cap. 23.

<sup>20</sup> Philip wanted to lessen in his realm the exercise of civil functions by clerics and the amount of money that went to clerics. If this purpose was not wholly wrong, the means used to attain it were often violent.

*tioni subjecta; in aliis vero, etsi de consuetudine ecclesiae tenet secundum juris rigorem credimus non tenere.*"<sup>21</sup>

There is, however one instance of an apparent contempt for temporal power by a great Pope which needs a word of explanation, but first a few preparatory remarks. St. Paul says that the law is set not for the just, but for the unjust, and certain fathers of the Church dwell on the fact that it is sin and the fall of mankind from Paradise that render necessary the restraint by human governors. The purely repressive side of government was what most struck some minds which paid little attention to its power of promoting good. The Stoics, with not a little truth, observed that civil laws were prohibitions for bad subjects, not stimulations for the good. To this day we have few laws that reward virtue. Gerson<sup>22</sup> said of the civil authority, "The efficient cause was sin, the final cause was peace." And by the side of this utterance we may place the analogical case of property, about which J. S. Mill said that "it did not owe its origin to those considerations of utility which plead for the maintenance of it when established; for enough is known from history to show that tribunals were established not to determine rights, but to repress violence and end quarrels. With this purpose in view they naturally enough gave legal effect to just occupancy. The preservation of peace, which was the original object of civil government, was thus attained."<sup>23</sup>

Spencer's theory of the negative function of government to prevent injustice is well known. Newman often dwells rather on the reproving than on the approving voice of conscience. Plato describes the various arts of life as means to supply human wants or deficiencies. With the law of physical nature contrasts human law as a restraining, repressive force. Here are examples of negative, depreciatory views.

We are prepared now to hear St. Gregory VII. assign the origin of civil government to the devil, for we know the limitation of the aspect from which he was regarding the institution. "Who is unaware," he wrote, "that Kings and rulers held their powers from those who, heedless of God and at the instigation of the devil, have assumed over their equals a domination prompted by cupidity and pride?"<sup>24</sup> As a matter of fact, many dynasties thus came into power; if afterwards they were legitimated, at least their beginnings were bad. Moreover, Gregory would have remembered the Scripture account of the Jewish Kings, how the people, as it were, forced the hand of God to anticipate His plan that the Jews might "have a

<sup>21</sup> Cap. 7, X., De Duabus II., 28.

<sup>22</sup> Sermo ad Reg. Franc. pro Justitia.

<sup>23</sup> Polit. Econom., Bk. II., Ch. I., n. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Lib. VIII., Eps. 20. a.n. 1080.

King like as the Gentiles"—too much like, for it tended to upset the idea of the theocracy. Much later the French legalist Bodin remarked that the origin of monarchy was not contract, but usurpation.<sup>25</sup> In various ways, therefore, the disparaging remark of Gregory VII. on the actual origin of civil governments, which were rarely quite just and often very unjust, is reconcilable with his orthodox acceptance of the New Testament teaching that kingly power is from God.

The sins of contemporary governments were also much before the mind of Boniface VIII. when, like Gregory, he spoke bitterly of the temporal estates, for he had seen a great deal of the ambitions and the rivalries between secular princes—conflicts between Genoa and Venice, between the Aragonese rulers of Sicily and the representatives of the house of Anjou, between Adolf of Nassau and a competitor with him for the German throne, between Edward I. of England and Philip of France, and again between Edward and the Scots. The Pope himself had to struggle at Rome against the rebellious Colonna family, as in France against the anti-Papal monarchy. Some writers take the view that Boniface VIII. by his high claims struck a blow at the temporal power from which the Papacy never recovered, though the final extinction was delayed till the conquest of King Victor Emmanuel. By the Reformation a condition of affairs was brought about quite incompatible with the mediæval conception of an allied Papacy and empire. It was the function of Luther and Zwingli, of Anglicans like Whitgift and Hooker to transfer to the State most of the prerogatives that had belonged in the Middle Ages to the Church. Or rather that had belonged in the Middle Ages to the Church. Or rather what happened was this: The limits of society were narrowed to the nation or territory, while its nature was more that of a State than of a Church. The mediæval mind conceived its universal Church-State, with power ultimately fixed in its spiritual head,<sup>26</sup> bounded by no territorial frontier; the Protestant mind placed all ecclesiastical authority below and subject to the control of the Godly prince.<sup>27</sup> Such Godly princes were Henry VIII. and Elizabeth and Cromwell. Certainly it is agreed that in shaking off the Papacy the reformed Churches took to themselves temporal masters, who did not mitigate the yoke of subjection and who provoked dissenters to rise against the new combination.

Hooker was a well-known defender of one Anglican theory about the national Church. He regarded Episcopacy as if not absolutely

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<sup>25</sup> See Leckey, "History of European Rationalism," Vol. II., p. 218.

<sup>26</sup> This is not accurate without distinction.

<sup>27</sup> From "Gerson to Gdotius," Lecture III.

needful, yet recommendable by high antiquity and by successful experiences, and as a matter of agreement within the English nation he would have the civil and the religious government amalgamate in a Christian kingdom. "A Commonwealth is one way and a Church is another way defined, yet seeing that there is not any man of the Church of England but the same is also a member of the Commonwealth, nor any man is member of the Commonwealth who is not also of the Church of England, therefore as in a figure triangular the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the same line is both a base and also side—a side simply, a base if it chance to be at the bottom and support the rest—so albeit properties and actions of one kind do cause the name of a Commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of a Church to be given to a multitude; yet one and the same multitude may be a such sort both, or is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also of the other."<sup>28</sup>

Dean Stanley inherited from his master, Dr. Arnold, much of Hooker's scheme. Arnold, his biographer tells us, thought it superstition to suppose the Church ruled not by natural laws, but by a divinely appointed succession of priests; in the Christian people he disliked a distinction into lay and sacerdotal order. His ideal was not a sovereign Church acting through a State as through an inferior instrument for the Christianizing of the people, but an identification in a single Church-State. "The only perfect freedom," he said, "is where the Church and the State are both free and both one."<sup>29</sup> Dissenters strongly revolted from such an amalgamation. Their watchword, still repeated to-day, was that Church and State were institutions quite apart, and that the Church must accept no State money and tolerate no State interference in spiritual concerns. In the heat of the controversy about the present question of religion to be taught in schools we shall not understand the vehemence and the persistence of the dissenters unless we remember that from their religious as distinct from their worldly point of view their attitude is an inheritance from a keenly contentious past in English history, during which, as they boast, they suffered much hardship for their cause.

In his chapter on the secularization of politics Mr. Lecky takes the Crusades as marking out the time when dogmatic interests most domineered over the political and the social, so as to quell even national animosities and to put the State to that extreme test of earnestness, submission to have its finances ruined for a religious cause. "The statesmen of to-day," he adds, "set aside dogmatic interests from practical politics, which are quite secularized." The

<sup>28</sup> *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. VIII, Chap. I.

<sup>29</sup> "Life and Letters," Vol. II., p. 376, ninth edition.

extension of the severance to our schools is natural. We who would avoid secularization as a calamity of the direst sort seek to stop the course of naturalistic development, in aid of which purpose we still look to the Pope to speak to us and to the civil rulers as one who has a right, whether statesmen admit it or not, to check governments when their action is injurious to the religion of Christ. For us that utility has not ceased which as serviceable to the Middle Ages has been so highly exalted by writers of very different schools, such as Milwan, Guizot, Hallam, Gregorovius and Leckey. For example, the last named says of the Papal State then about to fall before the Italian conquest: "No human pen can write its epitaph, for no imagination can adequately recognize its glories. In the eyes of those who estimate the greatness of a sovereignty not by the extent of its territory or the valor of its soldiers, but by the influence which it has exercised over mankind, the Papal government had no rival and can have no successor."<sup>20</sup>

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## PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

### IV.

THE Church of France did not begin to enjoy peace and independence as soon as the Concordat was signed and ratified. Bonaparte had succeeded in concluding it in spite of the ill-will and opposition of the members of his government and of the strong Jacobin element still prevailing among the representatives of the people. He alone had seen clearly the necessity of reconciling France with the Holy See, though his proceedings show that he was guided by purely political motives, and was determined to maintain the Church as much as possible subordinate to the State and to use it as a means of spreading among the people the ideas of order and of submission to the government. But though the infidel members of his administration had been forced to yield to his strong will, they still sought to counteract, by every means in their power, his efforts to grant the Church even the small degree of liberty he was inclined to allow. One might even ask if this petty persecution may not have been tolerated to a certain degree by Bonaparte with a view to making the French clergy feel how completely it was still in his power, and that to him were owing whatever freedom it

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<sup>20</sup> "History of Rationalism," Vol. II., p. 142, first edition.



possessed. The ecclesiastics who had found means to remain in France without taking the oath to the Civil Constitution, or who had returned from exile without the permission of the government, were no longer, it is true, liable to be condemned to death or to deportation to Cayenne, but they were still exposed to be treated as enemies of the State, for in several departments the prefects continued to arrest them and expel them from the country, as they had done under the Directory and had not ceased to do since the beginning of the Consulate. It was probably with the intention of openly manifesting his aversion to the First Consul's policy that Fouché, the Minister of Police, took care to give as much publicity as possible to these repressive measures.

Not only while Cardinal Consalvi was negotiating the Concordat, but even after it had been signed, the official *Moniteur*, in the same column as that which contained the arrestations and condemnations of robbers and murderers, announced almost every day that some priest guilty of having reëntered France without having obtained the permission of the government or of saying Mass without having taken the latest form of oath,<sup>1</sup> had been seized and banished. Even four days after the Concordat had been signed, Fouché sent a circular to the prefects, in which he vehemently denounced the priests who refused to make the promise required of them and ordered the prefects to expel them without delay from the territory of the Republic. But Fouché's hostility was at last checked by a sharp reprimand from the First Consul, who told him that his circular was written in a tone of hatred and passion unbecoming to the dignity of the government; that its principles were opposed to those of his administration, and that the power of deporting citizens would never be delegated to any local authority.<sup>2</sup> Fouché, therefore, by another circular, at once revoked his instructions.

While Cardinal Consalvi was still in Paris Bonaparte had expressed a strong desire that Cardinal Caprara, Bishop of Jesi (1733-1810), should be sent to Paris as Legate *a latere*, provided with the necessary powers for the purpose of reëstablishing order in religious matters in France. The Cardinal, who was then aged sixty-eight and in very delicate health,<sup>3</sup> had been Nuncio at Vienna, and the feeble resistance which he offered to the reforms so forcibly imposed

<sup>1</sup> Namely, that of fidelity to the Constitution, decreed by the Consular Government, on the 7 Nivôse, an VIII (28 December, 1799).

<sup>2</sup> Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat en 1800 et 1801*. Paris, 1893, t. III, No. 753, p. 445. *Circulaire du Ministre de la Police aux Préfets*, 20 Juillet, 1801, and No. 758, p. 450. *Le Premier Consul à Fouché*, 9 Août, 1801.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Caprara had been Nuncio at Cologne in 1767, at Lucerne in 1775 and at Vienna in 1785. He was made Cardinal in 1792, and Bishop of Jesi in 1800.

on the Church by the Emperor Joseph II. had much displeased Pius VI. He was, indeed, religious and charitable and possessed great capacity for the management of affairs, but he was timid; he did not uphold sufficiently the dignity of a representative of the Holy See, and he was too anxious to avoid whatever might offend the sovereigns with whom he had to treat.<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Consalvi states in his Memoirs that in many cases Caprara acted without first consulting the Holy Father, and sometimes even contrary to the orders which he had received, but always with the best intentions and in the belief that what he did was right.<sup>5</sup>

Cardinal Caprara was named Legate in a secret consistory held on August 24, 1801; he received the silver cross which was the symbol of his dignity in a public consistory on the 27th, and he reached Paris on October 4.

At the audience which Bonaparte gave the Legate on the following day he informed him that he intended to select a third of the new Bishops from among the constitutional clergy, provided they submitted to the conditions required by the Holy Father. It was not difficult for the Cardinal to point out that the nomination as Bishops of persons who had manifested their Jansenist opinions in the synod they had recently held in Paris was not exactly the way to restore religious peace in France, but rather to prepare another struggle and to develop a spirit of insubordination among the clergy. In his report to Cardinal Consalvi Caprara expressed his conviction that his reply had evidently produced a strong impression on the First Consul, but even if it had, the hostile influences always working to hinder the success of the Concordat soon effaced it, and Bonaparte remained as obstinately determined to carry out his plans as before.<sup>6</sup>

It was this resolution taken by the First Consul to nominate members of the constitutional clergy as Bishops and their refusal to renounce their errors in the form prescribed by the Holy See which for a considerable time presented the chief obstacle to the religious pacification of France.

After the ratification of the Concordat on August 15 Pius VII. addressed a brief to the French hierarchy, in which he exhorted them to resign their sees. He praised the services which they had already rendered to religion, but warned them that they had not as yet completed the glorious career prepared for them by Divine Providence.

<sup>4</sup> P. Ilario Rinaldi, *La Diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX.* Roma, 1902, Vol. I., p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, avec une Introduction et des notes par J. Crétineau-Joly.* Paris, 1864, t. I., p. 404.

<sup>6</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 910, p. 135. Caprara à Consalvi, Paris, 6 Octobre, 1801.

Still greater sacrifices than those by which they had so much distinguished themselves were demanded of them. The preservation of the unity of the Church and the reestablishment of religion in France now required a new manifestation of their virtue and magnanimity. They should send him of their own accord the resignation of their sees. . . . Both in the reign of Pius VI. and in more recent times many Bishops had declared that they were willing to give up their sees if it were demanded for the good of religion; the sacrifice had now become necessary, and he had no doubt that they would make it. The Holy Father added that he was obliged by the difficulties of the times (*temporum necessitate*), to which he, too, was forced to yield, to ask them to send him, within ten days, an answer which should be final and not dilatory (*absolutum omnino esse debere, non dilatorium*). If they did not, or if by their answer they sought to gain time, he should be obliged to consider that they refused to obey his request.<sup>7</sup>

The brief addressed to the intrusive Bishops who belonged to the constitutional clergy was drawn up under two forms; one was addressed to them directly,<sup>8</sup> the other to Mgr. Spina, who still remained in Paris and who was to correspond with them in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff. He was to request them to listen to the exhortations of the Holy Father; to return to the unity of the Catholic Church, and to abandon the bishoprics which they had occupied without having been instituted by the Apostolic See. Annexed to this brief was a formula of retractation to be signed by them, declaring that they submitted to the Sovereign Pontiff and accepted the decisions of the Holy See with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of France. Mgr. Spina was left free to make use of either form, according as he should judge most prudent, and in conformity with the preference expressed by the Holy Father he decided to employ the "indirect" form. The brief was highly approved by the French Government, and Bonaparte assured Mgr. Spina that if the intrusive Bishops did not submit to the paternal invitation of the Holy Father, he would have nothing more to say to them.<sup>9</sup>

Mgr. Spina, therefore, forwarded to each of the intrusive Bishops a copy of the brief which had been directed to himself, without appending, however, the formula of retractation, for in his letter which accompanied the brief he named the conditions which had been laid down by the Holy Father for their reunion with the

<sup>7</sup> Documents, t. III., No. 732, p. 376. Bref exhortant les évêques légitimes à se démettre, 15th August, 1801. Venerabilibus fratribus, archiepiscopis et episcopis Galliarum communionem et gratiam Sedis Apostolicæ habentibus.

<sup>8</sup> Dilectis filiis archiepiscopis et episcopis, qui in Gallia urbsque Sedis Apostolicæ institutione archiepiscopales seu episcopales Sedes occuparunt.

<sup>9</sup> Documents, t. III., No. 799, p. 520. Spina à Consalvi, 10 Settembre, 1801.

Church.<sup>10</sup> There were then living fifty-nine of the schismatic Bishops who had been elected according to the rules of the *Constitution Civile*. They speedily relinquished the sees to which they had never had any right, and wrote to the Holy Father to announce the fact. They did not, however, act thus in obedience to the demand of the Sovereign Pontiff, but, as they stated, "for the sake of peace." Their letters, too, were far from complying with the requirements of the brief, but had been drawn up, with some slight modifications, according to a form prepared by Portalis, the newly appointed Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, who stated in a report that he had composed it after long discussions and that it had conciliated all opinions. His words leave no doubt that in spite of Bonaparte's promises the resistance of the constitutional Bishops to the Holy See was countenanced and encouraged, if not by him, at least by the members of his government, who still persisted in maintaining the Gallican, or rather the Jansenistic spirit which had been the original cause of the schism.<sup>11</sup> In this officially inspired document the intrusive Bishops protested, indeed, that their faith was that of the Apostles; that they obeyed the Holy Father and submitted to him as the successor of St. Peter, in conformity with the canons and the decrees of the Church; that they adhered to the Concordat just concluded, and that they wished to live and die in the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church and in communion with the Holy See. They did not, however, as Cardinal Consalvi observed, make use of the expressions presented to them in the kindest possible manner by the Holy Father for the purpose of inducing them to make their retractation, but employed well-known Jansenist formulas, which had been invented for the purpose of concealing that schism under a cloak of apparent adhesion to the centre of unity. It was, therefore, impossible to accept their retractation in the form which they had adopted.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> P. Rinieri, Vol. I., p. 246. The conditions to be performed were also fully specified in the brief.

<sup>11</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 924, p. 153. Lettres d'évêques constitutionnels au Pape. Documents, No. 925, p. 155. Portalis au Premier Consul, 14 Octobre, 1801. "Je joins également copie de la formule de démission, que j'avais rédigée après de longues conférences, et qui a concilié tous les esprits."

Jean Etienne Marie, Baron Portalis (1746-1807), had been before the Revolution a member of the Parliament of Aix. He was imprisoned in 1793 and set free after the death of Robespierre. Under the Directory he was accused of being a royalist and was proscribed, but fled from France, and returned in 1800, when he was named Councillor of State by Bonaparte. He was thus given the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and drew up the articles organiques in a strong Gallican spirit. Was named "Ministre des Cultes" in July, 1804, when he organized the seminaries and allowed some religious congregations to be recognized.

<sup>12</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 968, p. 251. Consalvi à Caprara, Roma, 14 Nov., 1801.

At the interviews which the intrusive Bishops had at various times with Cardinal Caprara they maintained the same demeanor. They confessed that the formula which they had employed in their letter to Pius VII. had been given to them by Portalis, and they asserted that they thought that it had been drawn up in agreement with the Cardinal. They pleaded that the government had forced them to occupy sees of which the lawful titularies were still alive; that they had been ready to give them up; that by their action they had prevented the French people from losing all religion, and that in consequence they had suffered imprisonment and had been exposed to great danger.

This resistance to the will of the Sovereign Pontiff was unfortunately imitated by many of the legitimate Bishops, who had until then shown their devotion to the Church by the courage with which they had faced dangers and privations. Of the 135 prelates who in 1789 had constituted the French hierarchy, there were still eighty-one survivors, the great majority of whom were in exile and residing in various parts of Europe. On being appealed to by Pius VII., forty-five of these gave in their resignation at once; the others hesitated for some time and protested against the Holy Father's decision; some even of these prolonged their resistance until the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815.<sup>13</sup> The greatest opposition seems to have proceeded from those who lived in England, where the Archbishop of Narbonne held a meeting of seventeen prelates to discuss the question. He pointed out to them that the Pope in his brief had stated that in acting as he did he was forced to yield to the compulsion of circumstances,<sup>14</sup> and thereby seemed to imply that by resisting him they would really serve him and obey him. He maintained that the Papal brief was the result of the cunning policy of Bonaparte, who hoped that by obtaining the power of nominating the new Bishops he should be able to disseminate throughout France the doctrines most favorable to his interests. "This man, who called himself a Mussulman in Egypt, . . . was now trying to pass himself off in Europe as a Christian and a Catholic." The Archbishop's arguments, supported by those of the Bishop of Arras, who spoke in favor of the rights of the crown of France, persuaded thirteen of the prelates to decline to give up their

<sup>13</sup> Le R. P. Jean-Emmanuel B. Drochon des Augustins de l'Assomption. *La Petite Église, Essai historique sur le Schisme anticoncordataire*. Paris, 1894, p. 37.

<sup>14</sup> "Cogitur, urgente temporum necessitate, quæ in hoc etiam in nos vim suam exercet . . . magno cum dolore fatendum est nullas nostras sollicitudines, nullos labores pares resistendo temporum necessitate fuisse, cui parere omnino coacti fuimus." Documents, t. III., No. 732, pp. 379-380. Bref exhortant les évêques légitimes à se démettre, 15 August, 1801.

sees, and in a letter to the Holy Father they requested him to allow them to explain their conduct, and not to come to any decision until he had considered the importance of their reasons. The four others, joined a few days later by the Bishop of Troyes on his arrival in London, placed their resignation in the hands of Mgr. Erskine, who was Cardinal Consalvi's agent in London.<sup>15</sup>

It should be observed that the prelates who refused to resign their sees had no intention of causing a schism in the Church, for they took care to inform the clergy of their respective dioceses that they consented that whoever should come there furnished with powers granted by the Holy Father under any form should exercise them freely as being the delegate of the Sovereign Pontiff.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, a schism which, under the name of *La petite Église*, was at one time widely spread throughout the provinces of the south and west of France, and of which some adherents still survived not many years ago, seems to have owed its origin to two of the exiled Bishops then residing in Spain. While the other Bishops who had taken refuge in that country submitted to the Holy Father, Mgr. de Coucy, Bishop of La Rochelle, and Mgr. de Thémînes, Bishop of Blois, refused to give their resignation. Mgr. de Coucy regarded Bonaparte as an usurper, who had no power to treat of religious matters in the name of France; he rejected the decisions of the Holy Father and refused to accept the Concordat. In his letter to his friends he maintained that religion could not be saved in France by making all the Bishops resign their sees, and that such a measure could not have been the fruit of the wisdom of the Holy Father if he had been left to himself, but that he had been led astray by perfidious promises of the restoration of religion.<sup>17</sup> These letters, as well as pamphlets circulated in his name and for which he was not responsible attacking Bonaparte, the Concordat and even the Sovereign Pontiff, excited among the clergy in the provinces of La Vendée, Maine, Anjou, and especially Poitou, a spirit of resistance to the Concordat. They refused to publish it, to take the oath to the civil authorities which it prescribed or to acknowledge the Bishop whom Pius VII. had named in the place of Mgr. de Coucy. Such

<sup>15</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 895, p. 93. Réunion des évêques Français à Londres, 21 Septembre, 1801. Documents, No. 896, p. 97. Erskine à Consalvi, 22 Septembre, 1801. Documents, No. 898, p. 99. Otto (the agent of the French Government in England) à Talleyrand, 25 Septembre, 1801. Documents, No. 899, p. 104. Les Evêques réfugiés en Angleterre au Pape, 27 Septembre, 1801.

<sup>16</sup> Drochon, p. 61.

<sup>17</sup> Drochon, p. 52. From 1804 Mgr. de Coucy had held no further communication with his diocese, but letters still were circulated in his name. (From a letter of Mgr. du Chilleau, Bishop of Chalons sur Saone, 5th Nov., 1804; same, p. 142.)

was Bonaparte's irritation at the opposition displayed against the Concordat and the new order of things in France by Mgr. de Coucy and Mgr. de Thémînes, who was also accused of creating discord in his diocese by his writings, that in February, 1804, he obliged Charles IV. of Spain to imprison them. They were released in 1807 by the intervention of Cardinal Fesch. Mgr. de Thémînes in 1810 took refuge in England, where for some years he still continued his opposition to the Holy See. He repented, however, when on his deathbed in Brussels in 1829, and in presence of the Papal Inter-nuncio, Mgr. Cappacini, he made the declaration of submission to the Sovereign Pontiff which had been drawn up by Mgr. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic for the London district, for the use of the French priests residing in England.<sup>18</sup>

Mgr. de Coucy's resistance was not so prolonged. In 1815, when, after the battle of Waterloo, the Bourbons were again restored, there survived only sixteen of those Bishops who had refused to tender their resignation; the others had been nearly all reconciled with the Holy See before their death. Mgr. de Coucy, who a few years later was named Archbishop of Rheims, was among those who in 1816 submitted to Pius VII. and humbly craved pardon for their resistance to his will. The remainder soon followed their example, and by 1820 Mgr. de Thémînes alone persisted in his refusal.<sup>19</sup> The schism was, however, perpetuated in various parts of France by several members of the clergy, who, having followed their Bishops in their refusal to accept the Concordat, declined to imitate them in their retractation. Their numbers were gradually reduced by their conversion or their death, but when they had disappeared their followers still maintained a semblance of religion, meeting on Sunday to recite the prayers for Mass and Vespers as well as on the feasts which had been suppressed by the Concordat. As lately as 1893, besides a few very small groups of these dissidents in the Dioceses of Montpellier and of Lyons, there were still in Bas-Poitou (Departments of Les Deux-Sevres and La Vendée) as many as 2,400, whose numbers were gradually diminishing, and in 1903, according to Cardinal Mathieu, they were only represented by a handful of peasants.<sup>20</sup>

In the audience which Bonaparte gave to Cardinal Caprara on November 1 he proved that he supported the schismatic clergy in

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<sup>18</sup> Drochon, p. 165, p. 213.

<sup>19</sup> Drochon, p. 145.

<sup>20</sup> Drochon, p. 282. Cardinal Mathieu, *Le Concordat de 1801. Les origines, son histoire*, Paris, 1903, p. 83. "La petite église en ce moment achève de mourir, ayant perdu, il y a fort longtemps son dernier prêtre, et tout récemment ses derniers chefs couverts par Léon XIII. . . . représentée seulement par une poignée de paysans."

their resistance to the demands of the Holy See, though there was no doubt that if he chose he could have insisted on their submission. With a great show of irritation and his usual impetuosity, he poured forth a torrent of the most bitter accusations against the Romans (*a guisa di torrente*, like a torrent). They sought to lead him by the nose, he said, with their endless delay in forwarding the bull for the delimitation of the new dioceses; they laid snares for him by persuading the Pope not to accept the constitutional Bishops whom he intended to name to the number of fifteen. The Cardinal vainly repeated the objections which he had made on a previous occasion. He could only obtain an assurance that none of the leading members of the schism should be chosen, and to his request that they might at least be obliged to submit and to make the declaration prescribed in the Holy Father's brief, Bonaparte replied "that the demand was arrogant and that to comply with it would be cowardly." He then began a long dissertation on the canonical institution and ended by declaring that "the profession of faith made by the Bishops and their oath of obedience to the Pope were as good as a thousand acts of submission."<sup>21</sup>

On the previous day the Abbé Bernier, by order of the First Consul, had presented to the Legate a note containing five questions, which would seem to have been intended to ascertain what concessions the Holy See was inclined to make and what was the extent of the powers it had conferred on Cardinal Caprara. The government wished to know: First. If the new delimitation of the dioceses would be accepted by the Pope? Second. If, in that case, the government might announce at once that there would be only fifty sees in France, ten of which would be archbishoprics? Third. Might it also announce that these sees would be those designated by the government? Fourth. Had the Cardinal the power to grant jurisdiction at once to the new Bishops to be named by the Consul, so that they could be consecrated as soon as possible after their nomination? Fifth. If he had not, could he not at least guarantee that the Sovereign Pontiff would grant the canonical institution to the Bishops designated by the First Consul, even if several of them had been constitutional Bishops?<sup>22</sup> Cardinal Caprara prudently refrained from giving an answer in writing to these questions; they were not even mentioned at the audience of the following day, but, as has just been seen, his attempt to obtain any concession met with no success.

It was Bonaparte's intention to publish the Concordat on the 18th

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<sup>21</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 979, p. 272. Caprara a Consalvi, Parigi, 2 Novembre, 1801.

<sup>22</sup> Rinieri, I., p. 381.



Brumaire (9th November), the anniversary of the overthrow of the Directory, and at the same time the demarcation of the new sees and the nominations of the fifty new prelates. He thought that by presenting to the public the restored Catholic Church of France fully formed and complete in all its details, he would disarm hostile criticism and earn the admiration of a people always ready to worship success and easily pleased with a brilliant and theatrical stroke of policy.<sup>23</sup> At the same time a great feast was to celebrate the signing of the preliminaries of peace with England and the conclusion of treaties with Russia, Bavaria, Portugal and Turkey, which had at last brought about the general pacification of Europe. For the publication of the Concordat, however, it was necessary that the bull for the delimitation of the new bishoprics should have been received in Paris, as the First Consul could not nominate to sees not yet in existence and the new Bishops canonically instituted. But for that it was necessary that the existing Bishops should have replied to the Papal brief which demanded their resignation, and Mgr. Spina, in whose hands copies of this document were placed, could not forward them until the Concordat had been ratified by the First Consul.<sup>24</sup> To Bonaparte's great displeasure the proclamation of the Concordat was, therefore, deferred until Christmas.

The obstinacy with which Bonaparte insisted on nominating some of the intrusive Bishops to the newly created sees, without any retraction of their errors, caused the Holy Father and his minister the most profound grief. In a letter addressed to the Papal Nuncios, Cardinal Consalvi acknowledges that the intrusive Bishops had won a complete victory. They had refused to submit to the conditions imposed by the Holy Father, who had made every concession to them; they had confirmed their error by the very form in which they had announced to him the resignation of their sees, and yet the French Government maintained that they had sufficiently atoned for their past conduct by resigning their sees at the demand of the Pope and accepting the Concordat, and that nothing more could be asked of them.<sup>25</sup> To satisfy, however, the impatience of Bonaparte, and with the object of making every effort to avoid "the incalculable evils which would threaten religion if his will were opposed," the bull for the demarcation of the new dioceses was forwarded on December 2, though the Bishops whose resignations had been asked for had not yet replied. Cardinal Caprara was also

<sup>23</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 982, p. 283. Portalis à Cacault, Paris, 3 Novembre, 1801.

<sup>24</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 987, p. 294. Consalvi à Caprara, Roma, 18 Novembre, 1801.

<sup>25</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 988, p. 295. Consalvi aux Nonces, Roma, 21 Novembre, 1801.

authorized to give canonical institution in the name of the Pope to the new Bishops as soon as they should be nominated, and after making a summary inquiry with regard to them (*un processo sommario*). This would meet the views of Bonaparte, who said that under the circumstances in which religion was being restored he wanted to nominate the new Bishops, have them consecrated and send them to their new dioceses within twenty-four hours, so as to allow no time for any opposition or resistance to be offered. But the Holy Father refused to accept the nomination of the intrusive Bishops unless they submitted to the decisions of the Holy See with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of France and acknowledged the illegality of their election and consecration, as they had been required to do by the brief "*Post multos labores*."<sup>26</sup>

Cardinal Consalvi repeated these observations in a letter to M. Cacault, the French Ambassador in Rome, pointing out to him that in eighteen centuries there had been no example in the Church of such a measure as the suppression of ancient dioceses without the consent of the Bishops, but in a matter of such importance, and in the extraordinary state of affairs then existing, the Holy Father consented to "pass over every canonical regulation." Cardinal Caprara had also been authorized to give the newly elected Bishops the canonical jurisdiction by means of letters patent, although according to the terms of the Concordat nothing was to be changed in the ancient and more lengthy forms of procedure which had existed before the revolution.<sup>27</sup>

The refusal of the constitutional Bishops to make their recantation in the form demanded by the brief of the Holy Father and the resistance of many of the legitimate Bishops to his request that they should resign their sees were not the only hindrances which delayed the proclamation of the Concordat. The winter session of the Tribunal, the Legislative Body and the Senate had just begun (22 November, 1801), and the three assemblies soon displayed a strong opposition to the First Consul, who seemed to aim at the reestablishment of a monarchical government, and his Concordat was especially obnoxious to them, for it was a most counter-revolutionary transaction. The Tribunal showed its animosity by severely criticizing the treaties of peace which Bonaparte had just concluded, especially that with Russia, in which he was accused of having made concessions unworthy of the dignity of republican France. The Tribunal also opposed and the Legislative Body rejected the preliminary part

<sup>26</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 994, p. 305. Consalvi aux Nonces, Roma, 28 Novembre, 1801.

<sup>27</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 998, p. 320. Note de Consalvi à Cacault, 30 Novembre, 1801.

and two of the first three laws of the *Code Civil*, which had just been drawn up under the presidency of Bonaparte by the Council of State.<sup>28</sup> It was an institution of which they were jealous, as in order to form it the First Consul had selected the most capable men of business he could find and carried out his most important undertakings by their aid. Some of the generals, too, made no secret of their animosity against Bonaparte; of their discontent at having to submit to one who had been their equal, and of the irritation they felt on seeing the restoration of the Catholic Church, which they thought they had destroyed. They were displeased with the peace which had contributed so much to Bonaparte's glory; they found themselves, after ten years of warfare and lawlessness, once more subordinated to the civil authorities under a firm government, and they hoped that by the overthrow of the First Consul they might be able to bring back the anarchy, the licentiousness and the corruption of the Directory.<sup>29</sup> The great majority, however, of the army as well as of the nation was thoroughly devoted to Bonaparte, and, trusting to their support, he resolved to employ energetic measures to overcome the resistance of the assemblies and force them to accept the Concordat.

Bonaparte therefore withdrew the *Code Civil* from further discussion; he did not, indeed, dismiss the Tribune and the Legislative Body, but he left them without employment, in a state of inactivity and with the responsibility of having put a stop, by their factious spirit, to the plans he had formed for the good of France. He then left for Lyons, where he presided over a congress of five hundred of the most distinguished citizens of the Cisalpine Republic, for which he drew up a new form of Constitution. Its name was then changed to that of the Italian Republic, and he was proclaimed its President.

During this interval Cambacérès, the Second Consul, was charged with the duty of eliminating those members of the Tribune and of the Legislative Body who by their animosity against Bonaparte's undertakings had shown that they would certainly vote against the Concordat, and of replacing them by others who might be expected to vote in accordance with Bonaparte's wishes.

By the 38th article of the Constitution which had been drawn up in November, 1799, one-fifth of the Tribune and of the Legislative Body was to be renewed in the year X.<sup>30</sup> The members to be

<sup>28</sup> Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*. Paris, 1903, t. VI, p. 178, p. 214. Adolphe Thiers, *History of the Consulate and the Empire of France*. London, 1893, Vol. II, pp. 185, 201.

<sup>29</sup> Sorel, t. VI, p. 217.

<sup>30</sup> The year X was comprised between 23d September, 1801, and 22d September, 1802.

excluded were to be indicated by the Senate, but the method of doing so had not been specified, and the Senate might be persuaded to remove by ballot instead of by lot those who had led the opposition and had impeded all legislation. The plan, mainly due to Cambacérès, succeeded. The more influential members of the Senate were won over, and on January 15 and 18, 1802, it decided, by a large majority, that the renewals should take place immediately, and that the ballot should be employed for the purpose, but that it was to indicate not those who should leave the two assemblies, but those who should remain. By this means sixty members of the Legislative Body and twenty of the Tribunal, who had been most opposed to Bonaparte's views and were especially hostile to the Catholic religion, were excluded and their successors chosen, also by the Senate, from the lists of candidates presented by the departments.<sup>81</sup>

In spite of Bonaparte's declaration that he was resolved to name some of the constitutional clergy to the new bishoprics, Cardinal Caprara still hoped that he would not persist in this resolution, and in more than one letter to Cardinal Consalvi he expressed his conviction that none of the intrusive Bishops would be named. Bonaparte, on his side, according to his usual practice of taking by surprise at the last moment the persons with whom he was transacting business, deliberately kept the Cardinal in ignorance of his real intentions; for in the month of December he told a friend of Caprara's that he would not say whether he would or would not name any of the intrusive Bishops, but that the Cardinal should have confidence in him, and that he would certainly act in concert with him in the matter.<sup>82</sup> Caprara still continued, however, to implore of the First Consul to abandon his plans with regard to the constitutional clergy and to warn him that by choosing Bishops from their ranks he would overthrow the edifice which he had constructed, and that instead of the peace which he sought, he would bring about religious dissensions, which are the most disastrous of all. Even Portalis, the recently named Minister of Religion, presented to Bonaparte a strongly worded memorial, in which he pointed out to him that the reports forwarded by the prefects from all parts of the republic agreed in stating that public opinion was altogether in favor of the priests who had not taken the constitutional oath, and that their churches were the most frequented. Even in the days of the "Terror" the fury of the revolutionists had never been able to force the majority of the citizens to attend the religious services celebrated by the constitutional clergy, and the ignorance and bad conduct of

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<sup>81</sup> Thiers, *id.*, p. 236.

<sup>82</sup> Documents, IV., No. 1,035, p. 455. Caprara à Consalvi, Parigi, 5 Decembre, 1801.

many members of that clergy had much contributed to strengthen the aversion they inspired. Portalis again warned the First Consul, when sending him an annotated list of the intrusive Bishops, that they had not the confidence of the people, and that hardly one of them had any claim to be trusted by him. If, therefore, such men were placed in charge of the dioceses, the great work of the reëstablishment of religion would be compromised. There were, indeed, a few who were learned and virtuous, but they would have much to do to overcome the repugnance which the people felt for them.<sup>33</sup>

In spite of these warnings, Bonaparte, who towards the end of March had decided to increase the number of the new sees from fifty to sixty, still persisted in his resolution to nominate some of the intrusive Bishops. He still, however, carefully concealed his intentions from Caprara, probably lest the Cardinal should have the time to apply to Rome for advice and further instructions; but in order to make sure that the persons whom he should nominate should run no risk of being rejected by the Legate at the last moment, he sent the Abbé Bernier and Portalis to obtain from the Cardinal a formal declaration on the subject. Caprara replied that in order to put an end to the schism the Holy Father, even though it would be very painful to him, would allow the First Consul to name some constitutionals. He as Legate would then reconcile them to the Church, according to the rules which had been laid down for him, after making what remarks and observations he should judge necessary. But Bonaparte was not content with merely verbal assurances; he wished to have this concession guaranteed by the Legate's signature, and he obtained it thus.

On March 27 Cardinal Caprara was warned by a note from Bernier that on the following day he was to be solemnly received at Notre Dame according to the ancient ceremonial prescribed for Legates, and the "Te Deum" would be sung in thanksgiving for peace. The authorities would then pay him formal visits, and on April 5 he would be received by the First Consul in a public audience, after which he was to consecrate the new Bishops. On the evening of the same day Bernier and Portalis came to inform him that it was the desire of the First Consul that both the clergy in communion with the Church and the constitutional or schismatic clergy should assist at the ceremony of the following day. The Cardinal, though thus taken by surprise, pointed out to Portalis the impossibility of yielding to this request, and though Portalis assured

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<sup>33</sup> Documents, V., No. 1,171, p. 199. Note de Caprara au Premier Consul, Febbraio, 1802. *Id.*, V., No. 1,163, p. 164. Rapport de Portalis, Paris, 20 Février, 1802. *Id.*, *id.*, No. 1,172, p. 200. Rapport de Portalis sur les nominations à l'épiscopat, Paris, vers le 20 Février, 1802.

him that Bonaparte, who wanted to have a numerous gathering of clergy in order to give the ceremony greater solemnity, would be so irritated by his refusal that all the labor and care bestowed on the Concordat would be wasted and France allowed to remain in a state of schism, he still refused to give way, though he expressed his willingness to listen to some proposal which should not be at variance with his duty. The Abbé Bernier then said that he had foreseen that the Cardinal would refuse to take part in the ceremony at Notre Dame along with the constitutional clergy; he had, therefore, together with Portalis, prepared a document which he presented to him, assuring him at the same time that he would not find in it anything conflicting with his duty. The affair, he thought, might indeed be arranged if the Cardinal were to express his refusal under a form which should please the First Consul, whose anger might otherwise have fatal consequences.

In this paper, drawn up in the Cardinal's name and addressed to Portalis, the Legate was made to agree that the constitutional Bishops and priests did not require to be reconsecrated or reordained, also that the First Consul might nominate those constitutional Bishops whom he considered worthy. He also agreed that all parties should be reunited, and that, therefore, after giving canonical institution to the Bishops whom it should please the First Consul to name, he would proceed to reunite them (*je procéderai à leur réunion*), so that nothing should remain which might give rise to disorder or be a cause of humiliation. But until these constitutional Bishops demanded canonical institution in the usual form and received it, they were not in communion with the Holy Father, by whom they had not been instituted. This communion should therefore be established after the publication of the Concordat by the demand and grant of the canonical institution in virtue of the Concordat until when he, as Legate, could not recognize those who, since ten years, had ceased to hold the usual relations with the Holy See. The Cardinal was then made to express his readiness to go to Notre Dame without requiring the presence of any of the former Bishops or of the priests who were faithful to them, and thus avoid any cause of disturbance, but he could not hold any communication with the constitutional Bishops and priests until the publication of the Concordat and the demand and grant of canonical institution in compliance with its rules. He therefore left the First Consul free to name whatever ecclesiastic he might think fit to receive him at Notre Dame.

Cardinal Caprara had been thrown off his guard by the unexpected visit of Bonaparte's emissaries. He was much alarmed by their threatening language, and he was always only too ready to

make any concession by which he might hope to put a speedy end to the schism. He therefore made a few changes in the wording of the document, and said to Bernier: "Since you, who have considered the contents of this paper coolly and conscientiously and not hurriedly, assure me that it contains nothing contrary to our principles and maxims, I shall not refuse to have it copied and give it to you signed, with no other object than to avoid a difficulty which you both make me fear might prove fatal."<sup>84</sup>

On the same evening the Cardinal was informed by a note from Bernier that his letter had produced the result that they had expected. The First Consul had decided that as the absence of the clergy would deprive the "Te Deum" of the necessary solemnity, it should be deferred until the ratification of the peace. By that time the Concordat would have been published and the Cardinal would then be surrounded by a clergy recognized and instituted. Bonaparte might well make this concession, for he had obtained what he wanted—a promise in writing that the Legate would give canonical institution to the Bishops he might choose to name.

The Cardinal was at last informed of the First Consul's decision on March 30 at an audience which he had demanded for the purpose of offering his congratulations on the peace of Amiens. Bonaparte then told him frankly for the first time that among the new Bishops there would be a few of the constitutional clergy. Caprara objected that evil would inevitably result from their nomination, as he was well aware, since protestations were being continually made against it; but Bonaparte replied that the Pope had stated in his note to Cacault that if the constitutional Bishops performed what he had prescribed, he would accept them and give them canonical institution.<sup>85</sup> It was therefore useless to say any more on the subject. His decision was made—either that or nothing; two Archbishops and eight Bishops were to be nominated among the constitutional clergy. The Cardinal still continued to plead, but could obtain no other answer than: "Either that or nothing; the Pope has promised; the Pope must

<sup>84</sup> Documents, V., No. 1,197, p. 269. Caprara à Consalvi, Parigi, 4 Aprile, 1802. Documents, V., No. 1,194, p. 264. Note de Caprara à Portalis, Paris, 27 Mars, 1802.

<sup>85</sup> Documents, IV., No. 998, p. 323. Note de Consalvi à Cacault, 30 Novembre, 1801. "His Holiness has given a clear proof that he does not entertain such a sentiment (of pride, in refusing to accept the formula adopted by the intrusive Bishops in their letters) . . . by being the first to invite them, by the brief addressed to Mgr. Spina, and communicated by him to them, to be reunited by laying down their error. . . . His Holiness is ready to give a new proof of it . . . by readmitting them to communion with him, and even by instituting some of them, if named to the new churches, provided they perform what was prescribed to them in the said brief and in the instruction sent to the Cardinal Legate at the same time."

keep his word if he wishes the Concordat to be published and that France should not continue to be separated from unity." When Caprara remarked that it was thought that both the laity would refuse to acknowledge and obey the constitutional Bishops, Bonaparte answered: "I shall not deport to Cayenne the ecclesiastics who will dare to do that, but I shall send them all without exception to Romagna (a province of the Papal States) and distribute them among its cities." The Cardinal could only retort that since the Pope had yielded with regard to the nomination and canonical institution of the intrusive Bishops, it was his duty to carry out the instructions he had received and to insist that they should observe to the letter the conditions which had been laid down by the Holy Father. On hearing this firm language, Bonaparte gave signs of much irritation (*manifesto marcato sdegno*), and after some further discussion he turned to Portalis, who had assisted at the interview, and said to him: "You have heard what the Legate wishes; you shall, therefore, be responsible for it."<sup>36</sup>

The Tribune and the Legislative Body, from which the principal opponents of the government had been carefully excluded, met for an extraordinary session on April 5, when the Concordat was laid before them. The Tribune passed it by a majority of 78 to 7; the Legislative Body by a majority of 228 to 28, and it became law on April 8, 1802, under the name of "La Loi du 18 Germinal, an X." Along with it was voted, so as to form one law, a collection of seventy-seven regulations known as *Les Articles Organiques*, intended to define the relations between the State and the Catholic Church and to establish a claim on the part of the State to interfere on every possible occasion in the discipline of the Church and in the administration of purely ecclesiastical matters. Thus the authorization of the government was required before any bull, brief or rescript from Rome or the decrees of a foreign synod, or even of a general council could be published in France, and no Legate or Nuncio of the Holy See could exercise his functions without having obtained it. The rules of the diocesan seminaries were to be submitted to the approbation of the First Consul, and their professors were to be bound to sign the declaration made by the French clergy in 1682, and to teach its doctrines. The exercise by a Bishop of his right to form a chapter as well as the choice and the number of the ecclesiastics destined to compose it also required the authorization of the government. The parish priests were forbidden to bring any accusation in their sermons against any persons or against the other forms of religion authorized in the State, and they were to give the nuptial

<sup>36</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,198, p. 274. Caprara à Consalvi, Parigi, 4 Aprile, 1802.



blessing only to those who could prove that they had already contracted a civil marriage. These few extracts must suffice to show the general character of the *Articles Organiques*, which have been described as the "quintessence of that spirit known as Gallicanism, which has always been condemned by Rome."<sup>87</sup>

These articles may be considered as the result of the efforts of the Jacobins and the infidels, who, having failed to prevent Bonaparte from concluding the Concordat, now sought to restrict the little freedom it allowed the Church and to eliminate whatever it might contain favorable to religion. It was a resuscitation and a development of the vexatious regulations by which the Kings of France had sought to subject the Church to the State, although the Bourbon monarchy and its institutions had been so recently swept away in the name of liberty. Even on the day following the conclusion of the Concordat d'Hauteville, one of Talleyrand's secretaries in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addressed, in the absence of his superior,<sup>88</sup> a long protest to the First Consul against many of the concessions which had been made to Rome in opposition to the advice of Talleyrand, who brought the matter forward again in a report shortly before the ratification of the Concordat. He pointed out to Bonaparte that some of the fundamental conditions which he had laid down and which it seemed useful to maintain had been set aside, a statement calculated to arouse the suspicions of the First Consul and put him on his guard. Talleyrand then repeated d'Hauteville's objections, but more concisely. He regretted that the religious belief professed by the members of the government should have been introduced into a public document; that the power of creating ecclesiastical foundations should have been allowed too much latitude; that seminaries and chapters should have been mentioned, and that the convention should have contained no stipulation for the interests of the constitutional clergy or of the priests who had been secularized by marriage or by a voluntary renunciation. He thought, however, that the First Consul, after ratifying the convention, could provide against any inconvenience which might result if it were literally executed by special decrees referring to each particular case.<sup>89</sup>

The Councillor of State, Portalis, was charged with the prepara-

<sup>87</sup> Rinaldi, Vol. I., p. 431.

<sup>88</sup> Talleyrand had gone to pass some weeks at the baths of Bourbon-l'Archambault. Cardinal Consalvi considered that the final concessions which enabled him to conclude the Concordat would not have been obtained but for the absence from Paris of this "powerful adversary." Documents, t. III., No. 650, p. 258. Consalvi à Dorla, 13 Luglio, 1801.

<sup>89</sup> Documents, t. III., No. 778, p. 483. Rapport de Talleyrand au Premier Consul, 29 Août, 1801.

tion of the *Articles Organiques*. Much of this code was dictated to him by Bonaparte, for the First Consul,<sup>40</sup> though resolved to restore religion in France in spite of the opposition of the infidel party, sought to diminish the power of the clergy as much as possible and render it dependent on the State. The publication of these articles at the same time as the Concordat was considered in Rome as an attempt to suggest that they formed part of it. Caprara, indeed, assured Cardinal Consalvi that everybody was convinced of the contrary, but Portalis in his speech before the Legislative Body had spoken more than once of "the convention with the Pope and the organic articles of that convention,"<sup>41</sup> and Consalvi might well maintain that only one conclusion could be drawn from his words—namely, that they had been agreed to by the Pope.<sup>42</sup>

Organic articles to define the relations of the French Calvinists and Lutherans with the State were published at the same time as those annexed to the Concordat, but while the Holy Father had not been consulted with regard to the regulations bearing upon the Catholic Church, those for the Protestant sects were drawn up according to instructions furnished by representatives whom the various communities had been asked to send to Paris for that purpose.<sup>43</sup>

When the Papal Government had learned that the Legate at his official reception would be expected to take an oath to the First Consul, researches were made in the Roman archives to ascertain what course had been followed on previous occasions in the time of the monarchy, but no record of any such formality could be found. Some French writers, indeed, mentioned some cases, but without specifying any precise form, and it seemed to have consisted merely in a promise that the Legate would exercise his powers only so long as it should please the King. Pius VII. thought, therefore, that

<sup>40</sup> "Dans ce travail j'ai été dirigé par les notes sages et profondes que j'avais prises sous votre dictée, et j'ai marché avec confiance." Documents, t. IV., No. 941, p. 195. Portalis au Premier Consul, 24 Octobre, 1801.

<sup>41</sup> Documents, t. IV., No. 1,213, p. 389. Discours de Portalis sur l'organisation des Cultes, 5 Avril, 1802. "La Convention avec le Pape, et les articles organiques de cette Convention, participent à la nature des traités diplomatiques, c'est à dire à la nature d'un véritable contrat."

<sup>42</sup> Documents, V., No. 1,271, p. 581. Consalvi à Caprara, Roma, 5 Maggio, 1802. Cardinal di Pietro, in his report to Pius VII., was also of opinion that the expressions employed by Portalis might lead one to believe that the organic articles formed part of the Concordat. Rinieri, Vol. I., p. 439.

<sup>43</sup> Documents, t. III., No. 759, p. 452. Le Premier Consul à Chaptal, 10 Août, 1801. "Je désire . . . que vous donniez l'ordre aux préfets des cinq départements de la République où il y a le plus de protestants, et à celui de Genève pour les calvinistes, l'envoyer à Paris, auprès de vous, chacun un des principaux ministres du culte protestant . . . le but de cette mesure est de concerter les moyens de maintenir le bon ordre, la liberté et l'indépendance des cultes."

Cardinal Caprara ought not to take any oath unless absolutely forced to do so. In that case he should only promise to refrain from doing anything contrary or injurious to the government, and to resign the legation when the government should wish it.<sup>44</sup> But he was not to take the oath in the form which had been proposed by the French authorities, and he should not swear to observe the laws of the republic or to maintain the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church. Caprara seems to have been given to understand that he would not be asked to take any oath. At the end of February he assured Cardinal Consalvi that the matter had been arranged in such a way that there should be no oath, but that on being presented he should compliment the First Consul in a speech,<sup>45</sup> assuring him that the legation should cease whenever it pleased the government, and that while it lasted nothing should be done against the rights of the State or of the nation.

Whatever verbal assurances may have been given to Cardinal Caprara that he should not be asked to take the oath to the First Consul were set aside and taken into no account when, on the day before the audience, the decree authorizing him to act as Legate was drawn up, for it required that he should swear to "conform to the laws of the State and to the liberties of the Gallican Church." Contrary to all the usages of diplomatic courtesy, Cardinal Caprara was not informed of the date of his official reception until the very morning of the day on which it was to take place, and an hour before setting out he was given a copy of the oath, which he was to read and sign after making his complimentary speech to the First Consul. The Cardinal does not state clearly when the demand for his signature was made, but it would seem to have been at the audience after he had made his speech. He positively refused to sign the document, "although in substance it was only a confirmation of the words employed by me in the speech," but "for the sake of peace (*per quieto vivere*) and in order not to cause any embarrassment or inconvenience," he consented to read it.<sup>46</sup> Caprara forwarded this document to Rome. It was not drawn up according to the terms of the decree issued by the Consuls, and did not mention the *laws* of the republic or the liberties of the Gallican Church, but merely bound

<sup>44</sup> Documents, t. III., No. 735, p. 388. Note sur le serment du Légat (vers le 15 Août, 1801). Documents, t. IV., No. 888, p. 69. Suite des Instructions pour le Légat, Roma, 5 Ottobre, 1801.

<sup>45</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,174, p. 211. Caprara à Consalvi, 27 Febbraio, 1802. "L'affare è combinato in modo che non vi sarà questione di giuramenti; ed in quella vece si è concertato che io, nel presentarmi, faccia un complimento."

<sup>46</sup> Even Padre Rinieri cannot decide where the demand was made, "on account of the obscurity both of language and of thought with which the Cardinal's letters are written." Rinieri, I., 452.

him to retire whenever it should please the First Consul; to observe the *statutes* and customs of the republic, and to do nothing derogatory to the jurisdiction and the rights of the government.<sup>47</sup>

The Cardinal's surprise and indignation may well be imagined, therefore, when, in the official account of the audience published in the *Moniteur* on the following day, he read that he had taken an oath according to the form prescribed by the decree and, moreover, that he had signed it and put his seal to it. It was useless to protest against this deceitful act; he was told that such things were not worthy of attention; that such had always been the custom on the occasion of a legation, as might be seen from the books which gave the history of the *Legates a latere*; that the Parliaments had done the same formerly, and that such articles were copied from the parliamentary registers. Caprara could obtain no redress, and the decree of the Consuls and the oath which he was falsely reported to have taken were reproduced by the French and Continental press, to the great displeasure of the Holy Father,<sup>48</sup> for an impression was thus created that the republican laws contrary to the Catholic religion and the so-called "liberties of the Gallican Church, which had always been condemned in Rome, had at last been accepted and approved of.

Cardinal Caprara's first duty when officially acknowledged as Legate was to reconcile with the Church the schismatic Bishops, whom neither his arguments nor his supplications could prevent the First Consul from nominating to some of the newly formed sees. According to the Cardinal, Bonaparte personally was not favorable to them, but the very powerful anti-religious party, composed of Jacobins and former members of the convention which protected them, told him openly that unless he nominated some of the constitutional clergy Bishops, the Concordat should not be published, and that matters should not be left in the state in which they were—meaning probably by these words to hold out the threat of another "reign of terror" and a fresh persecution of the Church. Bonaparte refused, however, to allow the schismatic clergy to make a retraction which he considered too humiliating, and he maintained that it would be quite enough for them to renounce the civil constitution and accept the Concordat.

Of the prelates nominated to the sixty newly formed dioceses, sixteen had belonged to the hierarchy of pre-revolutionary times, twelve were constitutionals who had illegally occupied their sees

<sup>47</sup> "Item servaturus statuta et consuetudines Reipublicæ et nunquam jurisdictioni ac juribus Gubernii derogaturum." Documents, t. V., No. 1,225, p. 447. Réception du Légat, 9 Avril, 1802.

<sup>48</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,243, p. 494. Caprara a Consalvi, 18 Aprile, 1802. Documents, t. V., No. 1,271, p. 580. Consalvi a Caprara, Roma, 5 Maggio, 1802.

and thirty-two were chosen from the parochial clergy.<sup>49</sup> The sixteen former Bishops and ten of the constitutional Bishops were nominated before Easter; two of the latter had, since some time, retracted their errors and been reconciled with the Church, but the eight others still offered an obstinate resistance. On April 15 (Holy Thursday) most of them came to Cardinal Caprara to solicit the canonical institution, but they refused to comply with his request that they should sign a letter to the Holy Father, drawn up in the terms which he had prescribed, and in which they were made to express their acceptance of the decrees of the Holy See with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of France and their acknowledgment that the councils which they had held were illegal and schismatic. They then went to the Minister, Portalis, and drew up another formula of submission, in which they declared that they abandoned the civil constitution of the clergy (which had long ceased to exist); that they accepted the Concordat which had been just concluded; that they would obey the Holy Father and his successors, and they asked to be granted the favor of canonical institution. This letter was immediately forwarded to Caprara, and late that evening both Portalis and Bernier, who on Palm Sunday had been consecrated Bishop of Orleans as a reward for his services, again attacked the Cardinal on the subject, making every effort to induce him to adopt it and not to insist on the use of the expressions prescribed by the Holy Father. It was not difficult for the Legate to prove the insufficiency of the forms which the schismatics had employed in their letter and the impossibility of granting canonical institution to the intrusive Bishops unless they had previously abjured their errors. The reply was the usual threat by which the government always sought to intimidate the Legate—that his refusal to yield would upset all that had been done, and Portalis spoke insolently of what he called the pretensions of Rome, but after a long discussion the interview came to an end without any concession having been made on either side.<sup>50</sup>

Cardinal Caprara passed an anxious night, for he had been given to understand that he might expect to receive the order to leave Paris, and on the morning of Good Friday he had even begun to prepare for his departure when Bernier appeared. He came to make a last effort to persuade the Legate to accept the letter which the constitutional Bishops had written to the Pope. He spoke, as usual, of the heavy responsibility which the Cardinal would incur if he refused; it depended on him whether France was to remain schismatic and atheistic or become once more Catholic. The preparations

<sup>49</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,232, p. 464. Note, *Premières nominations à l'épiscopat*, 9 Avril, 1802. Rinieri, I., 461.

<sup>50</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,241, p. 489. Portalis & Bernier, Paris, 15 Avril, 1802. Documents, t. V., No. 1,243, p. 499. Caprara & Consalvi.

for the feast at Notre Dame on Easter Sunday, when the Legate was to say Mass and the "Te Deum" was to be sung in action of thanks for the restoration of religion in France and for the peace, had been suspended, he said, and it was for the Cardinal to decide whether the Concordat was to be published or whether France was to be allowed to relapse into infidelity and lead away with her, perhaps, all Europe. The unfortunate Cardinal, terrified by Bernier's threats and anxious to be relieved of some of his responsibility, sent for the theologians of the legation and asked them if, in consideration of the danger to which religion was exposed in France, he might consent to accept the letter to the Pope as proposed by the constitutional Bishops. The theologians, four in number, agreed that there was not an expression in the letter which indicated that the schismatic Bishops confessed their errors and abandoned them. On the contrary, they had carefully avoided whatever might imply such a confession, and they had, therefore, shown themselves unworthy of being reconciled with the Church.

Bernier was on the point of returning to Portalis to inform him of the failure of the negotiation. He said with tears in his eyes that it was all over with religion in France, and that all the labor undergone in the attempt to restore it would be thrown away, when the Legate declared that he was willing to make some further concessions, if by so doing he could succeed in retaining France in unity with the See of Rome.

One of his advisers then suggested a compromise by which he could extricate himself from the difficulty. Provided the substance of the abjuration to be made by the constitutional Bishops—that is to say, the confession and the abjuration of their errors—remained unchanged, the form might vary; it might be made in writing or in some other way. It was not unusual in the Church for heretics to make their abjuration secretly and verbally, and then to be reconciled. Let the schismatic Bishops, therefore, send their own formula to the Holy Father, and thereby satisfy the French Government, but make compensation for its deficiencies by a verbal abjuration. Whenever the *processus* for their canonical institution should take place, the purity of their faith, of their doctrines and of their morals would have to be attested by witnesses, who could not prove that these Bishops had abandoned the schism unless they were perfectly certain of it. The schismatic Bishops should therefore be bound to declare in presence of these witnesses that they had given up the sees they had occupied; that they promised to obey the Sovereign Pontiff, and that they accepted the judgments pronounced by the Holy See with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of France.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,243, p. 501. Caprara & Consalvi, 18 April, 1802.

The suggestion was accepted by Cardinal Consalvi and by Bernier, and decrees of absolution were drawn up, in which the Legate caused to be inserted the three conditions specified by the Holy Father which had to be complied with before the absolution could be granted. These were placed in Bernier's hands, and on the following day he brought back an attestation that he had given them to five of the constitutional Bishops, who had received them with due respect.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, a few of the constitutional Bishops protested shortly afterwards that when the decrees of absolution were presented to them by Bernier in presence of Portalis, they had refused to accept them and had made no retractation, while others still showed some adherence to their former opinions or at least manifested doubtful sentiments.<sup>53</sup> They were therefore considered as relapsed, and the bulls confirming the canonical institution granted by the Legate were forwarded only to de Montault, Bishop of Angers, and Charrier, Bishop of Versailles, who had a long time previously abandoned the schism. When Pius VII. came to Paris to crown Napoleon Portalis persuaded the others to visit the Holy Father, whose affectionate words at last conquered their obstinacy, and they signed the declaration which was demanded of them, by which they submitted to the judgments of the Holy See and of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of France."<sup>54</sup>

On Palm Sunday at Notre Dame the Legate had installed Mgr. de Belloy, former Bishop of Marseilles, as Archbishop of Paris, and, assisted by the former Bishops of Angers and of Saint Papoul, had consecrated the Abbé Cambacérès, brother of the Second Consul, as Archbishop of Rouen, the Abbé Bernier as Bishop of Orleans and the Abbé de Pancemont, parish priest of Saint Sulpice, as Bishop of Vannes.

The Concordat was at last solemnly proclaimed on the morning of Easter Sunday, 18th April, 1802. An address by the First Consul to the French people was posted in every department. It alluded

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Documents, t. V., No. 1,246, p. 521. *Mémoire du Légat sur la reconciliation des évêques constitutionnels*. Rinieri, I., p. 470. Cardinal Caprara made some verbal changes in the document which the Bishops forwarded to the Holy Father.

<sup>52</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,243, p. 503. The "processus" with regard to the Constitutional Bishops took place at various dates in April, May and July, 1802. Doc., t. V., pp. 512, 513, 525.

<sup>53</sup> Padre Rinieri has very carefully examined this obscure question, and is of opinion that there can be no doubt, even from the letters of those who protested that they had not retracted, that they had accepted the changes introduced by the Legate into their letter to the Pope, and that they did not deny explicitly that they had abjured their errors verbally. What they protested was that they had given no inward consent. Rinieri, I., p. 475.

<sup>54</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,273. *Allocution du Pape en Consistoire*, 24 Mai, 1802. Footnote at page 91.

to the outburst of passions, to the religious dissensions and to the civil wars which had been born of the Revolution and had spread disorder throughout society. Religion alone could check this disorder, and recourse was therefore had to the Sovereign Pontiff to obtain by his intervention the reconciliation of opinions and of hearts. At his voice the elements of discord had vanished as well as all the obstacles which malevolence might oppose to peace. The French nation was, therefore, exhorted to be united for the happiness of their country and to consider as their bond of union the religion which had civilized Europe.<sup>55</sup>

In Paris the announcement of the Concordat was accompanied with a display calculated to produce a deep impression on the minds of the people. At an early hour a procession was formed of the principal functionaries of the city, escorted by detachments of cavalry, which passed through the streets and halted at twelve places, at each of which the secretary of the *préfecture de police* read Bonaparte's proclamation and the "Law of the 18th Germinal an X, relating to the organization of public worship," the official title by which the Concordat and the *Articles Organiques* were designated. Large crowds assisted at this demonstration, with every sign of interest and satisfaction, while the canon of *Les Invalides* thundered forth a salute of sixty guns, which was answered by a battery on the *Place du Carrousel*.

The celebration of the feast at Notre Dame was carried out with a splendor such as Paris had not seen since the days of the monarchy. From the Palace of the Tuileries to the Cathedral the streets had been lined with troops, through which passed the long train of generals, statesmen and foreign diplomatists whom the First Consul had invited to attend the ceremony. Many of them, especially his former equals, the generals, were bitterly hostile to the reestablishment of religion in France, and had attempted to resist, but they had been forced to submit to his strong will. The Ambassadors, too, at first intended to decline the invitation, as it is not the custom for the diplomatic body to accompany a sovereign when going to assist at a religious function, and they also feared that they might not be treated with the respect due to their rank. In the end, however, they thought it more prudent to yield rather than offend a man with such a violent temper as Bonaparte.<sup>56</sup> The procession was headed by the consular guard, composed of picked men, which was soon to change the name for that of the imperial guard. It was followed by the carriages of the Councillors of State, by those of the Ambassadors and of the Ministers. The carriages of the Second and

<sup>55</sup> Documents, t. V., No. 1,252, p. 543. Proclamation du Premier Consul, 17 April, 1802.



Third Consuls, which were filled with their secretaries and friends, preceded that of Bonaparte, which was drawn by eight horses and in which sat the three Consuls, wearing their official uniform of scarlet velvet, trimmed with gold. On each side rode generals who were already celebrated and who were, later on, to become marshals of the empire.

At the door of the Cathedral the Consuls were received by the Archbishop of Paris and his clergy with the same ceremony of the presentation of incense and holy water as was customary under the monarchy. The Consuls took their place under a splendid canopy of crimson velvet and gold opposite the throne on which the Legate sat. The Cardinal then began a Low Mass. After the Gospel twenty-four of the newly appointed Bishops took the oath to the First Consul. A sermon was then preached by the Archbishop of Tours, Mgr. Raymond de Boisgelin, and at the end of the Mass the "Te Deum" of Paesello, intoned by the Cardinal, was chanted, to the accompaniment of the military bands and of two orchestras, one led by Méhul, the other by Cherubini, the greatest musicians of the day.<sup>57</sup>

After ten years of schism, during which the Church underwent as sanguinary a persecution as any of those inflicted by the Roman Emperors, France was at last officially reconciled to the Church. The First Consul, however, to whom was due the peace enjoyed by the Church, had taken care, both in the Concordat and in the *Articles Organiques*, to forge bonds for the clergy which should impede the freedom of its action on society and render it as much as possible subservient to his will, to be used merely as an instrument for the furtherance of his own interests. This became still more evident under the empire, to the establishment of which all his acts were then tending, and his ambition even led him to prevail on the aged Pius VII. to undertake the long and fatiguing journey to Paris in order to give by his presence greater lustre to the inauguration of the new dynasty.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

<sup>56</sup> Documents, V., No. 1,263, p. 566. Ph. Cobenzl & Colloredo, Paris, 22 Avril, 1802.

<sup>57</sup> The preceding details on the ceremony at Notre Dame are borrowed from an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 15 October, 1902, by M. Gilbert Augustin-Thierry.

## ENGLAND AND THE SULTAN.

THE party now supreme in Turkey—the Young Turks—has its delegates in the various capitals of Europe to advocate the principles and methods by which it hopes, or pretends to hope, for the reconstruction of the empire in terms of Western civilization and constitutional monarchy. They have been received with interest and sympathy, particularly in London. In other chief towns revolutionaries or patriotic visitors from foreign parts are received in a suspicious or in a business like manner. What may be done with them? How can we turn to profitable account the disaffection they represent? In London the noted assassin and bomb-thrower is welcomed in the drawing rooms of Mayfair and becomes the lady-killer of suburban villas. As we write Ahmed Riza Bey, the Kossuth of Young Turkey, the Gambetta of Young Turkey, is bowing over the hands of Duchesses in Belgravia and his followers are “shooting men” and outraging women in Bulgaria and Anatolia.

We shall be disliked for our slowness in seeing the disappearance of the leopard's spots. English people are emotional. English women hold their bits of lace to nose and eye when a walking sensation from St. Petersburg in the shape of an anarchist, from Cork in the character of an Irish landlord tells his woes. This amiability does not last long if some good reason intervenes; the anarchist may have been discovered pocket-picking, the Italian patriot found with unconsidered trifles from Lady P——'s boudoir,<sup>1</sup> “the gentlemanly Turk,” so they called him in London society when he was playing the very devil in Bulgaria in 1876-8, may have proved himself a difficulty to the Minister and a distraction to his wife,<sup>2</sup> and so each and all become confounded foreigners unless indeed the great nobles of Austria-Hungary or Spain or of the Foubourg St. Germaine or of Berlin.

We hope that Ahmed Riza Bey and his fellow-reformers may meet with the suspicion we think wise. Enthusiasts are easily taken in. The young Irelanders praised the Sultan in 1848 for refusing to surrender Kossuth; Irishmen in an aberration were as much devoted to Garibaldi as Lady Palmerston and Lord Shafesbury until their eyes were opened by the Garibaldian riots in Hyde Park.

<sup>1</sup> We speak of Garibaldian times, when Cabinet Ministers and their wives entertained such social outlaws. We must do the Irish landlord justice; he only robs under contract; he does not steal from shops or private houses. He is in bad company, though, with a continental patriot. But why does he affect grievances?

<sup>2</sup> The Turks are a polite people, it is said, and those of the embassy thought English ladies deserved attention.

At any rate our own view is that the Young Turks are and must be the enemies of Christianity, and we refuse to believe that their adoption of constitutional principles has a deeper meaning than the thousand palace revolutions which led to the changes of Ministries in the past and frequently to the deposition or murder of Sultans. Those Englishmen who discover in the policy of Young Turkey an accord with the ideas which are expressed by popular government forget that there never was a period in English history when the sovereign was absolute. Even under the Norman Princes enactments, and particularly those bearing on taxation, were framed with the assent of the Great Council of the kingdom—that body out of which the Houses of Parliament, the Judiciary, the Exchequer, the Privy Council came into being as convenient divisions. The change was not so much a process of evolution as of resolution into the component parts demanded of a governmental system made more complex by the rise of commercial interests, the increase of population and the emergence of more subtle doctrines in the relations of land tenure.

This was the primary condition of European States. It sprang from the Christian principle that the King was not the ruler of the conscience and the rights of his people. He was their protector and the asserter of their rights and the symbol of the supreme law of the State, in which the duties, the obligations and capabilities of each and all were crystallized. Christianity made men free not merely in the spiritual order but because their spiritual freedom demanded as of right the civil liberty to attain it. On the other hand, the Turk is the Sultan's slave, body and soul; his life is an accidental thing in the endless realm of fate, a bubble on the stream, a thistle-down in the wind. He has no sense of moral elevation to be reached, no spiritual destiny to be struggled for. If riches command enjoyment, the world is wide to plunder. He has his horse and his sword, and every man who works is his victim. His "purchase" is in other men's pockets. The wider his conquest extends the greater the spoil. He is a destroyer, with no thought of the morrow. Homes of industries, the town, the city are leveled by him in his pride, fertile lands are laid waste; he passes like the locust over cornfield and vineyard; if he remains in a region, he sits amid the desolation he has made; his narghile and his harem and an occasional head brought to his feet are the business of this life till he crosses the invisible bridge to the seraglio of his paradise beyond.

Think of this conscienceless, voluptuous savage embarking on that parliamentary life which was the life of every State in Europe till the Reformation, which the standing armies of the Reformation killed from the Seine to the Danube, which Reformation Kings

tried to kill in England, but which is the very instrument as well as the language of English liberty.<sup>3</sup> It is the sense of Christian statesmanship which the Church made articulate, which she defended against the Norman's infinite craft and iron hand and Plantagenets' paroxysms of angry pride, and which in the profound legacy of principles she bequeathed to the apostate nation she secured against the ecclesiastico-political despotism of Tudor, the cringing waywardness of James I., the measureless duplicity of Charles I.

It is perfectly clear that as matters stand the appeal to England must be in vain, for her interests are, in appearance, so intimately bound up with the religious influence of the Sultan over the Moslem world, and in addition her commerce with Turkey is so very considerable that she would be ready for a war to defend the existing fragments of the Turkish Empire for the successor and representative of the Prophet.

The Mussulman population of India is sixty millions. They are the bravest, strongest and most energetic of the various races inhabiting that possession. It is true there is great unrest in India at the present moment, but it is mainly to be found among the non-Moslem Bengales and the various approximating forms of heathenism which shade off from Brahmanism to the strange and at one time appalling superstitions of the very remote and desolate mountain spurs of the northeast and the plains of the centre.<sup>4</sup> It may be laid down that the Mahommedans hate all these with the ferocious passion which manifested itself in early days against the Persian Fireworshippers and a little later against the Byzantine Empire. The Mutiny in which the Mahommedans, Hindus and the other races and religions in India joined does not affect my initial proposition. They rose in a wild, savage rebellion because Moslem and Buddhist, Brahman and Rajput were required to bite cartridges that had been steeped in hog fat, to all of them an abomination. But that is a thing never to happen again. The suppression of the mutiny, in a manner as sanguinary and systematic as a massacre of janissaries by a frightened and enraged Sultan or of unreserved prisoners by a Roman emperor, crushed the very heart of that two hundred and forty millions. The favor shown to the great feudatories and their Mussulman subjects has started an interest in the Indian Empire which has some reality, while it has secured for them the jealousy and distrust of all the rest, a strong motive.

There is nothing to prevent a British Ambassador at Constantinople, when the occasion demands, to ask the Commander of the

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<sup>3</sup> Parliament—the speaking place of the people.

<sup>4</sup> The Thugs were a recognized religious fraternity until put down, in spite of the Anglo Indians. The abolition of Lutherism was strongly opposed by the same class. The wild "nated men" of the remote northeast are tame to a degree.

Faithful to give the sacred banner to the wind and to issue the mandate for a holy war in favor of his vicegerent in the Frankish lands called the United Kingdom at the boundary of the northern light and of the lands below the earth, where the people walk upon their heads, and Emir of the vast continent between them which His Highness has not yet taken from Edward of Frangestan aforesaid to bestow on his greater subject called the Mikado, at whose hands the most accursed of accursed Giaours met defeat upon sea and land.

One can easily imagine an Irishman like the late Marquis of Dufferin and Ava approaching His Highness the Padisha by frequent genuflections and prostrations, a Donnybrook Fair expression in his eye faint as the ray looking through a winter sky. We can hear him with the volubility of a herald address the Padisha with his long beadroll of titles, including the important fact that all crowns are held from him and that even the terrible old man nearly thirteen hundred years old,<sup>5</sup> whom the Christians worship and whom his viceroy Edward's ancestors deserted to embrace an imperfect form of Mahommedanism, is only a recalcitrant subject of the successor of the Caliphs and the Prophet, who ought to be impaled "to encourage the rest" of the Giaours.

The favor with which the reforms in Turkey have been regarded in England may be analyzed into the expectation that the final dismemberment of that empire's possessions in Europe is indefinitely postponed. The efforts of the Christian populations have never received official countenance in England unless under the special pressure of influences at home too strong for Ministers. This was the case at the time of the Greek rising in 1820, when a war of seven years was allowed to go on until the classic sentiment, strong in cultivated Englishmen, and the principles of the Liberal party, asserted in the *Edinburgh Review* and in Parliament, forced the government to unite with the French and Russian fleets at Navarino. A like policy was pursued up to the Treaty of Berlin. The Sublime Porte had a well-grounded assurance of the support of Lord Beaconsfield. He had been prevented from declaring war against Russia owing to the passions excited by the horrors in Bulgaria, but he could wait upon events, and in the meantime he directed

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<sup>5</sup> We think it was Timour who asked a Spanish Ambassador: "Was not the Pope an old man nearly five hundred years ago?" We make the Sultan count the Pope's age from the Higera. It is still the conviction of the Sultan's subjects that not only is he king of kings, but each and every potentate receives his state and jurisdiction from him. The hatred of Mahomet II. towards Nicholas V. was truly Turkish. He would conquer Rome and slay the Pope alive, make a saddle of his skin and feed his horse in St. Peter's. This is the true Turk, and not Ahmed Riza Bey.

Indian regiments to be landed in Malta, whence with the greatest ease they could be conveyed to the coast of Epirus. One can hardly conceive the character of a design which would have let loose on Christian peoples regiments fired by the same hates and animated by the same hopes as the Turks themselves. The usages of havoc were an inheritance of the Turk. The country on which or in which he made war was as though visited by Divine vengeance. Attila, Senghis, Timour were instruments of a power which gave into their hands dominion over the laws of nature. Whatever was fair and attractive in domestic and social relations perished when they came. Rivers no longer drained their watersheds, miasmatic marshes spread far and wide from their banks. Populous regions became empty, save where a few pale, tottering men and women emerged from their hiding places when darkness fell to seek whatever might fill the void of an imperious hunger that admitted of no nicety. The Turk was like to these conquerors in all respects except the immediate magnitude of the desolation and misery they caused. He took a longer time to destroy, but his work was, unhappily, more enduring. It is permanent in European Turkey, notwithstanding the intercourse and amenity of European civilization. In Anatolia, once so famed for the possession of all that delights, softens and elevates the intellect and the heart, the Turk is the maleficent spirit that has made man the unhappy creature who, amid his degradation, has the inherited consciousness of greatness in thought and action amid scenes worthy the highest energies of mind and heart. Wherever he has sat down the Turk and his hordes have been at war with Providence for the possession of man's life and the good things which bless it. To this predestinated criminal Lord Beaconsfield's policy would have given an ally fit for the office by traditions in his own country more appalling in their subtle and calculating cruelty than the blunt, primitive ferocity of the Turk. Why, those men so accomplished in the arts which cause suffering, who did the work of Warren Hastings, were natives or the disciples of natives. They had nothing to learn from powers that preside over torture in all its varying forms, but this is not all. They could destroy on a scale as magnificent as Apollyon's or the three great conquerors we have named. Often and often down to the historic waste of the Carnatic Indian conquerors and potentates were as powers of nature in their destroying force, guided by a profound and foreseeing intelligence from which nothing escaped or could escape.

As an instance out of a history made up of instances of fraud and mendacity, the Sultan's advisers and himself would, if they could, have betrayed Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury to the contempt of the Western Powers after signing the Treaty of Berlin.

It must be borne in mind that the Russian armies had reached Constantinople at the time. The Turkish army was in fragments when swept from the earthworks of Plevna, the army in Asia beaten to its knees, the European army demoralized and in pieces, notwithstanding the admirable defense it had made at Plevna. Russia, through England's interposition with a threat, abandoned her advantages. The taking of Constantinople was a work of no difficulty for Russia then. It would not be the task which Mahomet II. accomplished when the last Paleologus died at the Great Gate fighting desperately at the head of a few Greeks and a few Genoese after a siege of exceptional vigor between enormously disproportioned forces and a besieging artillery incomparably superior in bore and power to that of the city.

In 1878 the various Christian groups in Constantinople—Greeks, Armenians, Slavs from the Balkan provinces, Græco-Slavs of Servia—were more numerous than the Mahommedans, and all of them to a man would have joined the Russians in their attack. We do not say that the Mahommedans were cowed to that degree which refuses to face a victorious enemy, but they believed that their European empire was at an end, and they accepted the destiny with Oriental indifference or resignation. From the first days of their occupation of the European part of the Greek Empire the Turks were filled with the idea and handed it down as a tradition that their stay in Europe would not be a long one. In accordance with the sentiment that for them Europe afforded no final resting place they buried their dead on the eastern side of the Bosphorus. The time of their going out had come, it seemed to them, in 1878, and not for the first time, but the English Government stood in the way and concluded a shameful treaty which, amid the mockery of Europe, that bizarre and Oriental intelligence, Lord Beaconsfield, gave to the bankers and merchants of the city, the squires and farmers of the rural districts, the swashbucklers of the jingo press as a political war-chy "Peace with Honor!" a treaty of peace with honor he called the most conspicuous defeat in the annals of diplomacy.

Peace with honor! Well, for a Christian State to take the part of Turkey against her Christian subjects, tens of thousands of them at the very moment enriching the soil with so much of their remains as escaped beasts and birds of prey; tens of thousands of the daughters of them carried into Oriental captivity; tens of thousands of the children of them brought to the slave market for a rich man in the capital, when the Padisha's fifth had been deducted, for a rich man in Anatolia, a rich man in the Persian borders, a rich man in Arabia at the east, Morocco at the west—for a Christian State, we say, to uphold on the verge of the abyss such a power would have been a

turpitude to describe which no language is adequate even if some enormous material advantage were the reward. But it had not even the merit of a great and profitable infamy. The Sultan reaped some slight concessions, which diminished his humiliation, though he lost considerable territory in Europe and Asia. At any rate he was saved; but while England was cheering over the peace, His Highness refused to ratify the treaty until the British fleet sailed into Dulcigno. Peace and honor! A peace to be enforced on the protégé by another Navarino.

One of the difficulties of the moment is the attitude of *Servia*, a State of which one desires to speak with a certain tenderness. We cannot forget that the massacres in the Lebanon in 1860 caused *Servia* to give the example to the Christian provinces of European Turkey to rise against the enemy of the Christian name, the enemy of the home, the enemy of all that gives light to life. Notwithstanding the abandonment of the Christians by Austria and France under the influence and scarcely veiled threats of England, *Roumania* was formed out of the two provinces thitherto known as *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* by the impetus imparted from the *Servian* insurrection. *Bosnia* and *Montenegro* sprang to arms. *Crete*, that island which the Turkish official regarded as his delectable land, for he was master of life and property and honor in man and woman, however low he might be in rank, turned with claw and tooth on the power that maintained him.\* One by one the process of breaking away on the part of the Danubian and other provinces of Turkey in Europe has proceeded. Never has England by her Tory Ministers spoken for their freedom except when enthusiasts like Byron and the great Christian statesman who restored the *Ionian Isles* excited against them that love of liberty and justice to be found among the English masses and the sections of Nonconformity in which ignorance of mundane learning is not patronized. There were advocates for the retention of the *Ionian Islands*. We pass them by. There were advocates for the handing over of them to the Sultan instead of to Greece, and these last are the men who would be Moslems or Hindus, whichever paid in India, who would be fetish worshippers at Cape Coast Castle and follow for a consideration the lead of a vulgar, ignorant polemic like Mr. Kensit in London.

With a great Liberal majority it is not unreasonable to expect that a regard for the aspirations of all the Christian peoples in European

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\* Before the massacre of the janissaries by Mahmud II., detachments from them governed *Crete*. Nothing but the imagination which conceived Swift's "Modest Proposal" could tell what this rule meant. England has steadily opposed the diplomacy of Europe, which would alleviate the oppression of the island.



Turkey shall be maintained. One cannot conceive a member of the present Cabinet lamenting over the victory in 1827, which secured a modicum of liberty to Greece and a grudging extent of territory, lamenting, we say, an English victory in the cause of reason, justice and humanity as "an untoward event." So spoke a Tory Prime Minister in 1827, the Duke of Wellington. The whole Tory party was of a like mind in 1878. It has not changed its view in 1908, for its leader in the House of Lords laughed at the idea of massacres in Macedonia. Its ephemeral publications and its heavy encyclopedias are ever charged with contrasts between the Turks and their Christian subjects, to the favor of the first. The Christian is false and treacherous, the Turk open and truthful, according to these dishonored prints. If an outbreak occurs anywhere, the Christians were the aggressors; if proof irresistible as fate is given that in any quarter of the Sultan's dominions Christians suffered horrors worse than death, the apologetic answer is that they brought it on themselves. This is what we are told by the publicists and orators of England.

The monotony of such denials and apologies is not merely tiresome; it forces one to think he is under the spell of some demon which compels him to regard nameless wrongs as acts of administrative necessity, robbery as justice, murder as exuberance of spirits, just as an amiable man,<sup>7</sup> corrupted by the Orangemen of Ireland, regarded the murder of a nun in Ulster.

The lands may be tilled, but the harvest is gathered by the spoiler. One might venture even under this nightmare of mendacity to suggest that the course is economically unsound which deprives the cultivator of his inducement to labor. Yet this has been the dealing of the Turks with their Christian subjects during the centuries they ruled from the Euphrates to the Danube, from Hungary to Cape Matapan.

The pasture lands might under particular conditions of repose be stocked with sheep and black cattle, but the Mahomedan neighbor's fields were bare, so the latter appealed to the bim-bashi and his bashi-bazouks and the Christians' pastures were emptied as when they first rose from the Flood. We change the order. The crops in the first stage of growing were visited by the tax collector and his zaptiehs. The crops belonged to Christians exclusively, for "the gentlemanly Turk" toiled not, and the tax was paid as the price of permitting them to reach maturity. Before the ripening they were again visited, and again money or security passed to allow the beneficent powers of nature to do their work. Again when the

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<sup>7</sup> Lord Iddesleigh spoke of Orangemen firing volleys near a convent as done in gaily of heart.

sickle was in the corn the collector came and seized all, because he had made a mistake in his estimate of the returns. In vain the occupier might protest; the State—which meant the collector and his followers—should not suffer loss. The despoiled Christian inherited this bondage from his fathers.

Then from another point of the horizon came the mudir and his household army. Horses, silks, satins, whatever had escaped the collector, were carried off. Later on the pacha or the camaican came or sent for their shares, but as there were no other spoils left from the gleanings of the first visitors, maidens for these important officers, together with children for the slave market, were seized upon, and up to 1828 boys in infancy, collected like the tithes of lambs in another country, were taken from their parents for the renewal of that famous corps, the janissaries. The tributes wrung from weakness and despair by the Sultan's officers and His Highness are told in part in this page. The record of a day of distress and shame, of ruined homes, of murdered men and undone women is the record of each hour since the Turk started on his mission against Christ.

In the face of such a story expediencies of policy cannot justify the conscience of the English people. England has bound herself to protect the Sultan's possessions in Asia. We have not the time and we do not desire the space to consider this engagement. It is morally indefensible unless indeed a commission with sufficient power to protect the Christians throughout that large area should be appointed. As we have said, the considerations attending this political attitude are too complex to be discussed at the end of a paper. We shall simply return to the line we have taken, namely, to say that as province after province has crumbled away from the Sultan's rule in Europe; that as all his people and the traditions of the House of Osman itself, so far as they were permitted to pass Seraglio Point in the pupillage of any prince that ever succeeded to the throne or escaped the bow-string, bear testimony to a belief, or a judgment, or some racial intuition that the Turk's stay in Europe was from the first destined to be only temporary, the fulfillment of that destiny which is in reality the Nemesis of accumulated crimes crying to heaven for vengeance, should be accomplished by the European Powers.

Mahommedan instincts, passions, modes of thought are incompatible with Christianity. The Turkish mind itself is incapable of civilization as we understand it. Let there be no confusion; let no one speak of the Moors in Spain, of the Syrians, who gave a polished splendor to the court of the Caliphs. If you withdraw from the Turk the control of irresponsible power which holds him to a

locality, the necessity of even that primitive organization which binds together the units of a savage army against enemies, you will find him a Tartar horseman, speeding from dawn to sunset in his raids of robbery and massacre, cooking under his saddle the steaks cut from the living cow, drinking in the teeth of the Koran the kumiss of his ancestors, sleeping off in his black tent the effects of the meat he has eaten beyond repletion and the drink he has quaffed to intoxication.

It is for such a monster England forgets Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the reign of an ever broadening law, the purity of domestic life, the justice of public life.

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#### DANTE AS A TEACHER AND PREACHER OF RIGHT- EOUSNESS.

“THE central man of all the world,” according to Mr. Ruskin, “as representing the imaginative, moral and intellectual faculties all at their highest is Dante.”<sup>1</sup> It is not the purpose of this paper to treat of Dante as a poet, pointing out his rare felicity of language, the beauty of his poetic similes, the many delicate touches which show his keen and loving observation of nature—for instance, his accurate descriptions of the tender hues of the dawn, the delicate tints of flowers and herbage, the radiant beauty of his angels in the “Purgatorio.” What in the whole range of literature is there to equal the poetic beauty of the Earthly Paradise?—Matilda culling flowers on the banks of the stream, the glorious pageant in which appears the triumphal chariot representing the Church, accompanied by the seven allegorical virtues, the twenty-four Elders and the four Gospel Beasts described by Ezekiel and St. John. And how shall we follow the poet as he wings his flight into the Empyrean, the highest heaven? Words are feeble to express the keenness and subtlety of his vision as he describes for us the glories of Paradise. No uninspired writer approaches him in sublimity as he tells of the angelic hierarchies, the hosts of the redeemed, Free Will and other deep things of God.

Then, too, any account of the poet as poet must take into consideration the technique of his verse—the *tersa rima* of the “Commedia,” the construction of the three *cantiche* of the poem and the exquisite structural symmetry and correspondences of the sonnets and canzoni of the “Vita Nuova.”

<sup>1</sup> Stones of V. 2 s. 67.

Touching for a moment or two only upon the intellectual faculties of Dante, rated so high by Mr. Ruskin, we note that our poet was master of all the learning of his time—indeed, that the range of his learning was encyclopædic. We know from the evidence afforded by his works, especially the “*Commedia*” and the “*Convivio*,” how intimate was his knowledge of Aristotle, “*ill maestro di color che sanno*,” the master of those that know; of Vergil, his dear guide and more than father; of Thomas Aquinas, the great scholastic philosopher. We know that he studied for his degree at Paris, then famous for its schools of theology and philosophy. I for one should be glad to believe as firmly as does Dean Plumptree that Dante studied at Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

But besides all the learning of the schools and of antiquity, we know that Dante was keenly interested in problems of physical science. It would seem from many passages in his books that he had some premonition of the theory of gravitation. In many other passages there are references to the influence of the sun and moon on the tides, while in the latest years of his life he busied himself with the question of land and water on the earth. We know, too, that the laws of the refraction of light possessed for him a keen fascination.

But it is not the intellectual quality nor yet the poetical or imaginative quality in the “*Divina Commedia*” that makes it the great force, the power in men’s lives that it is. We all remember De Quincey’s distinction between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. Thought without feeling gives us science; thought interpenetrated with feeling gives us literature. It was because Dante had felt much as well as thought much, had felt with all the intensity of his passionate, sensitive nature, had felt the loss of all things dear unto him, had proved how salt is the taste of another’s bread—ah me—“*si come sa di sale lo pane altrui*,” how hard the path to go up and down another’s stair—had felt the longing homesickness of exile, the bitter pains and humiliations of poverty—it was because of all these experiences of life that he was able to project his heart and soul into the poem which Tieck calls a “mystic, unfathomable song.”

To quote from Scartazzini: “A consummate artist, he turned to account experience and fortune, character and morals, joy and sorrow, love and hatred, virtue and vice, life and death and added thereto the collected wisdom of his age.”

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<sup>2</sup> The only authority for this fact is a passage in the commentary of John of Serravalle, who translated the *Commedia* into Latin. Two copies only of this are in existence, one in the library of the Vatican, the other in the British Museum.

Unlike Homer and Shakespeare, who had the rare power of detaching themselves from and of standing outside of their work as it were, he impressed his own individuality upon his great poem, especially upon the "Purgatorio," until it reads in some measure as his autobiography.

And so it is that this great poem that made Dante lean for many a year has its message for us in the twentieth century, because it is the history of a human soul in its moral warfare—the flesh, the world and the devil in league against it, and sometimes baffling its efforts in its progress upwards to reach the highest good.

Carlyle tells us that if all had gone well with Dante in Florence, if he had been Podestà, had been well accepted with his neighbors, the world would have wanted this song of his. But years before this he had deliberately resolved after the death of Beatrice, in 1290, that if his life should be spared he would write of her, the "glorious lady of his mind," what had never yet been written of any woman. It is incontestable that much of the depth of feeling, the dramatic intensity of the "Divina Commedia," many of the terrible episodes of the "Inferno" are directly traceable to the violent political feuds of the time, in which Dante as a citizen of Florence was unhappily involved. But the year 1300 had in some way been a turning-point in the poet's life. This is the assumed date of the poem—"Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita"—"Midway in the path of this our life." Dante, born in 1265, had now reached the age of thirty-five, half the span of years allotted to man by the Psalmist. In his vision he finds himself in the midst of a dark wood. Some interpret this by saying that Dante had fallen into loose and immoral ways. Dante himself says in the "Convivio" that to comfort himself for the loss of Beatrice he had betaken himself to the study of philosophy in the writings of Cicero and Boethius, and so enamored did he become of this new study, which he represents under the guise of a "noble lady," that he forsook the study of theology, by which we are to understand his devotion to Beatrice. Difficulties confront us whichever way we look at the passage. Some explain it by saying that the poet wandered from the true faith and lost his way in the mazes of doubt. We are reminded of the dictum of Tennyson:

There lives more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

At any rate, when the weary pilgrim has attained the summit of the Mount of Purification, Beatrice sternly rebukes him for turning "his steps by a way not true."

And so, guided by Vergil, symbol of human reason, Dante takes his way through the different circles of the pit of hell till he arrives at the point furthest away from God, where, imbedded in ice, is

Lucifer, once the most beautiful and most glorious of God's creatures, "nobler far than any other creature," are Dante's own words.

It is to show "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," its heinousness, nay, its foulness, that Dante, now in words rough and raucous, again by imagery most grotesque and horrible, pictures the deed and its symbolic punishment.

In C. xi. of the "Inferno" Vergil explains to Dante the nature of sin. All sins may be divided into (1) those of incontinence, (2) those of bestiality or violence, (3) those of malice or fraud. The incontinent—that is, the carnal minded, the gluttonous, the avaricious and prodigal—sin from want of self-control, from impulses which have not yet hardened into habits. They are less displeasing to God, and so their punishment is less severe than that meted out to sins of the reason and the will. "The good of the intellect," says Thomas Aquinas, "is the knowledge of God, which is the true beatitude of every human soul." So the perversion of the intellect, the using of the powers of the mind to do violence to God or to one's neighbor involves the soul in a fearful responsibility and drags it down ever lower and lower.

Indulgence in sin degrades the soul till the body which inhabits becomes brutish like the beasts. The greatest sinners are traitors—traitors to God and country. Accordingly Judas, the betrayer of Christ; Brutus and Cassius, slayers of Cæsar, are placed in the lowest pit, continually flayed and champed upon by Satan.

There is a certain correspondence between the sin and its punishment. The carnal minded are swayed along by a fierce whirlwind, as they were moved on earth by the restlessness of their evil desires. The gluttons wallow in mud, their bodies distorted by the indulgence of their appetites, their minds darkened. Descending much further, we come upon the evil counsellors, who, as they sinned with their tongues, are imprisoned within a tongue of fire in the very heart of hell. The barrators, those who make a traffic in places of public trust and who sell justice for money, are immersed in pitch, symbol of the clinging, defiling power of money when gained by dishonest, unholy means. Dante was an idealist in civil government as he was in ecclesiastical polity, and in describing the politicians and unjust judges of the early part of the fourteenth century he spares no scornful epithets. Indeed, the canto in which they appear is the hardest to read in the whole "Inferno."

It is greatly to be regretted that so many who begin with the "Inferno" there stop short, deterred from reading further by the disagreeable impressions received from the horrible scenes of violence in the lower circles of the dolorous realm. Many, too, gain

all their knowledge of Dante from the illustrations of Doré, who was incapable of the spiritual insight necessary to an understanding of Dante's poem. They miss entirely the sweetness and noble-mindedness of the poet's nature who judge him by the "Inferno" only. Stern and inflexible when dealing with obdurate, hardened sinners, the tenderness of his nature is displayed in innumerable touches throughout the whole poem. His expressions of filial regard towards Vergil, the many instances in which he brings in as illustration the tender devotion of a mother's love are proof of this, without mentioning the deathlike swoon into which the poet fell at the recital of poor Francesca's pitiful tale. What can exceed the pathos and tenderness of that touch as he describes the lonely death of Buonconte da Montefeltro on the banks of a little stream flowing into the Arno. His last cry was to Mary, Mother of Mercy. God's angel took him while one from hell contended with him, but lost, and all for the sake of "one little tear"—"*per una lagrimetta*."

Dante, one day walking through the streets of Verona, heard some women talking together. "See," said one, "there is the man who has been in hell." "Ah, yes," said the other; "that is the reason, then, that his hair is so singed and his skin so dark." Yes, many who have followed Dante through all the narrowing, converging circles of the lower realm have failed to climb with him the long stairway of the Mount of Purification, have not mounted with him from one heaven to another till the highest blessedness is reached.

Hell is the place where are shown the effects of love distorted; here no prayer or hymn is heard; the blessed names of Jesus and Mary are never pronounced; all is darkness. When we reach the shores of Purgatory all is changed. Here is the place where love, perverted, defective or excessive, is purified. Purgatory is the symbol of our whole life; we are shown the continual struggle that must be maintained before we reach that state of sinlessness lost by our first parents, here typified by the Earthly Paradise. By continued penance or suffering we gain the victory over the besetting sin, until at last, after being drawn through the waters of Lethe—forgetfulness—and drinking of Eunoë, we are made pure and ready to mount to the stars. Let it not be understood for a moment that the office of the Christ as Redeemer is minimized. It is through the virtue of His redeeming grace that the fainting pilgrim is enabled to tread the weary round of the successive and ever receding cornices and mount to the next, when the angel erases from the brow the sign or seal of sin. Instead of sighs, groans, revilings, blasphemies, here are heard the prayers and offices of the Church; courteous accents

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\* *Purg.*, v. 107.

greet the ear, kindly offers of helpfulness are tendered that other, later comers perhaps, may go on their way.

Coming upon the shores of Ante-Purgatory, from the black night of hell, the tender hues of dawn gladden the sight—"the sweet hue of orient sapphire." Night follows the day only to refresh the wearied spirits of the penitents. In hell progress, with the exception of but on one or two occasions, was to the left; here the penitents turn to the right in ascending the mountain. Note the significance even of this.

The pains and penalties are symbolic, corresponding to the sin to be purged. The proud bear heavy weights, and so are bowed to the ground, where in the rock are graven instances or examples of pride brought low. The envious have sinned by means of their eyes, and so their eyelids are sewn together; the color of the rock which girds their cornice is livid. The slothful, several cornices higher up on the side of the mountain, rush by, to show their zeal and haste to make amends for their want of zeal in the former life, asking pardon for their rudeness in not slackening their pace while answering Vergil's question. Here it may be remarked that Vergil, the dear, sweet guide, has just finished discoursing upon the moral system of Purgatory, based upon a saying of Jacopone da Todi: "Set love in order, thou that lovest me."<sup>4</sup>

There are several episodes of great beauty in the "Purgatorio." The story of Buonconte has already been alluded to. There is the story of Pia, whom we meet with in the same cornice (Ante-Purgatory). In Ante-Purgatory Dante meets Casella and asks him to grant the solace of a song, as he was wont in the sweet world below. Further on the poets meet with Sordello, and into his mouth Dante puts the stinging, scathing rebuke to Italy which we find in the sixth canto.

Still further up, indeed, near the end of the toilsome journey (twenty-first), Statius, the Roman poet, is encountered, and here are some of the many delightfully human touches in this "Cantica." I must not omit to mention the idyllic vale of the Princes in the Ante-Purgatory.

I think it was Dean Stanley who said that he considered the "Purgatorio" the most religious book in the world—this he meant most likely excepting the Bible. I, for my part, have no hesitation in putting it above the "St. Thomas à Kempis" or the "Confessions" of St. Augustine. Indeed, the whole "Purgatorio" seems but an expansion of that famous passage of the "Confessions:"<sup>5</sup> "*Fecisti nos ad te, Domine, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in*

<sup>4</sup> Purg., Seventeenth and Eighteenth C.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. II.



te"—Thou hast made us, for Thyself, O Lord, and we can find no rest until we rest in Thee.

Dante himself claimed the title of the Poet of Righteousness,<sup>6</sup> and surely he has made good the claim. As we read the "Paradiso," passing from one heaven to another, we hear through him as he discourses with the Doctors of the Church, saints and Apostles, of faith, love, good works. Mr. Ruskin has remarked that this part of the "Divina Commedia" "is only less read than the 'Inferno' because it requires far greater attention and perhaps a holier heart."<sup>7</sup> "It is a perpetual hymn of everlasting love," says Shelley; "the most glorious imagination of modern poetry."<sup>8</sup>

What a conception of peace, harmony and perfect resignation to God's will that should rule in the hearts of all His creatures is that expressed by Piccarda in that "simple but perfect line," as styled by Matthew Arnold: "*E la sua volontade è nostra pace*"—"And His will is our peace."

The tone and spirit of these words is subdued. Dante in these last years of his life was becoming less denunciatory and vehement in his wrath than in the earlier years of his exile. Still there are other passages in the "Paradiso" where he arraigns Popes and others in high places for their wickedness. Early in life he had adopted the imagery of the Hebrew prophets and had formed his style upon theirs. Especially is this to be noted in his letters addressed to various princes and cities of Italy. Ezekiel and Jeremiah are his favorite prophets. Dante was ever a close student of the Bible. Dr. Edward Moore, one of the foremost Dante scholars in England, has collated over five hundred passages in which Dante has quoted directly or indirectly from it. It is because of the prophetic character of Dante's works that he belongs to all time. Not only to his own age, but to this, when the consciousness of sin is less keenly felt, when greed for money and neglect of the spiritual things of life are marked characteristics, he has a profound message. He is the guide and consoler of those who would live in the spirit<sup>9</sup> even more than Marcus Aurelius, for the one is ethical in his teaching, while the other is profoundly religious.

The late Bishop of Ripon wrote: "The study of Dante, to those who undertake it sincerely, is not merely an interesting recreation; it is a passion; it absorbs; . . . it arouses, incites, gladdens," and Mr. Gladstone: "The reading of Dante is not merely a pleasure—it is a vigorous discipline for the heart, the intellect, the whole man."

<sup>6</sup> Vulg. Elo., II., 2.

<sup>7</sup> St. of Vinler, II., 324.

<sup>8</sup> "Def. of Poetry."

<sup>9</sup> M. Arnold, Ess. on Emerson.

We learn from the lately published "Life of Mr. Gladstone," by Morley, that upon his engagement to Mrs. Gladstone the two adopted as "canons" to direct their lives these passages from the "Paradiso:"

As for the leaves that in the garden bloom.  
My love for them is great, as is the good  
Dealt by the Eternal hand, that tends them still.  
—Cary, CXXVI.

and

His will is our peace:  
It is the mighty ocean, whither tends  
Whatever it creates, and nature makes.  
—Cary, Para., C. III., 85.

And that we may not neglect the testimony of our own poets, Lowell says of this supreme poet that he is "a spur to noble aims," "a secure refuge in that defeat which the present always seems; that they prize Dante most who know and love him best. He is not merely a great poet, but an influence, part of the soul's resource in time of trouble."

Silvio Pellico, in the harsh rigors of an Austrian prison, upheld his soul on the sustenance he gained from two books, his only companions—the Bible and the "Divina Commedia."

It has been frequently remarked how passionate is the devotion, how intense the personal affection which Dante inspires in the hearts of those who know him through his works. There is nothing like it in all literature.

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## THE GODDESS OF REASON "IN LOCO PARENTIS."

SINCE the effectuation of the cleavage between Church and State in France, by means of the process called the Law of Separation, the general immediate effect of the change involved upon the fortunes of the whole community was a problem that could not be readily determined, since the gathering of particulars and statistics is a slow and laborious process. One may never know exactly what the change signified in its financial aspect, so immense were the values in property and stipends of the interests affected. Neither can we expect reasonably to ascertain the moral effect of the transformation from a religious system of instruction

of the young to a secular or rather pagan one; nor the physical results of a similar alteration in the systems of hospital and asylum relief to the sick, the injured, the orphaned and the age-disabled. It may be several years ere the full effects of the secular revolution, in these and other particulars, may be fully revealed to the social inquirer and the historian-moralist. Meanwhile, however, some help toward forming a judgment on the depth and nature of the wound inflicted on the body corporal and moral of the French nation is available in the statistics collected by our own authorities in the United States. In the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1907 very remarkable results are already shown. To the French Government they ought to be alarming, were it a government imbued with the ordinary sense of responsibility for the welfare of the people over whose fortunes, in the mysterious dispensations of Almighty God, it has been permitted for a season to preside. But ever since the apotheosis of the Goddess of Reason the century and more that supervened has shown that "*salus populi suprema lex*" is a mere figment in France with republican governments no less than imperial. For "the people" there is no more real consideration with the politicians of those two parties than with American ones of the original Vanderbilt brand, as represented in accepted American folklore.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the important matter dealt with in this report, it is incumbent on us to acknowledge the sense of impartiality with which the work of the Bureau is permeated, in the documents it annually presents for the information of Congress and the people at large. There is no suggestion of bias either religious or political in the language or the arrangement of the reports. Some years ago Catholics had reason to complain that no mention of what their voluntarily-supported schools were doing in the public service here, without any State assistance, was ever made in returns that ought to cover the whole field, but when the omission was pointed out to Dr. Harris, the late Commissioner, he lost no time in rectifying the mistake. Dr. Harris' successor, Dr. Elmer Ellsworth Brown, seems to have inherited Dr. Harris' principle of abstention from polemics in the survey of educational conditions at home and abroad. In his case the observance of the rule has become a matter demanding great delicacy of judgment inasmuch as the situation in France has undergone a complete transformation since Dr. Harris' retirement, and the "separation of Church and State" has been construed as a war upon the Church by the State, and especially in regard to the domain of education.

In treating of the present condition of education in the French Republic the utmost care was necessary to avoid hurting the feelings

of Catholics or the *amour propre* of the French Government; and this care has been shown all through the fifty pages which are devoted to the subject in the first volume of the Report referred to.

Centralization is the grand feature of the system of public education in France, as begun in 1833, under the administration of M. Guizot and perfected in 1899, under the present Republic, by the decree prohibiting the appointment of clerical teachers. The commune is taken as the school unit. Each commune or village is by law required to furnish at least one public primary school, and maintain it, but it has not authority over it; this power is claimed and exercised by the State, who appoints the teacher and pays his salary, just as it does that of the general or the admiral as well as the gendarme. The teacher is, then, the helpless servant of the State, and must entirely conform to its orders. This is a peculiar development of the conception of liberty in a great "free" Republic, it must be owned. It is enough honor for the ordinary citizen to pay his share of the taxation which supports the teachers; he has no more voice in the appointment of the people who are to teach his children what the State decides they ought to be taught than the natives of Labrador. In cities having a population amounting to more than one hundred and fifty thousand the schools are under local control, but the teachers are under no control but that of the central authority in Paris. This authority is delegated by the President to the respective Prefects in the ninety departments into which the whole territory of France is divided. The Prefect in each department is the "live wire" that connects the school with the politics of the Republic, whatever these may be for the time being. But it is a vicious thing for politics to have any influence on the course of public education, whether a republican government or a monarchical government be charged with the destinies of any country. And it is all the more vicious in a country like France, wherein centralization of authority has been brought to a perfection as nice as that seen in the launching of a great battleship by the mere pressing of a button by the gloved hand of a pretty girl holding a bouquet. The Prefecture is the great working apparatus of the government in France, whether it be republican or otherwise, for its members are the absolute tools of the regime in power, and their decrees as absolute and irrevocable as those of the Pharaohs. The mode in which the machinery of education operates is thus described in the United States Commissioners' Report now under notice:

"The civil head of a department and the head also of its school affairs is the Prefect, appointed by the President of the Republic, and the only political official in the long series of those who pertain to the State teaching service. Around his prerogatives—especially

the most important prerogative of appointing teachers (law of March 15, 1850)—is waged a perpetual conflict, but so far with the result only of limiting his power by the advisory functions of the academy inspector and the departmental council of public instruction. (Law of October 30, 1886.) The council has disciplinary powers over teachers, but in case of dismissal or other severe penalty the teacher has the right of appeal to the superior council. The academy inspector submits, as a rule, the propositions upon which the decisions of the council and the executive orders of the Prefect are based. This official is, in general, the controlling spirit in the administration of primary schools. He is assisted by a corps of primary inspectors."

Much care was bestowed by the present government on the preparations necessary to insure success ere it entered on the war against religion, and on the teaching staff its hopes were fondly centred. These hopes seem to have been dashed, to a considerable extent, by the results so far ascertained. We again quote from the Commissioner's Report:

"Teachers belong to the civil service, and to them is intrusted not only the elementary instruction of the people, but the responsibility of inspiring in them a sentiment of deep devotion to the Republic. Until a very recent date the zeal of the teachers in this great national effort had all the ardor of a religious crusade. . . .

"Recalling the conditions of the nation when the present Republic entered upon its work and the share which the teachers have borne in its establishment, it is easy to understand that they were for a long time sustained by an artificial stimulus. Now that normal conditions of order and tranquility prevail, the problem of maintaining an adequate and competent teaching force for the primary schools is more nearly identical with the same problem in other countries. A decline in enthusiasm on the part of the teachers was inevitable. The decline in the number of applicants for admission to the normal schools and to the teaching service is due in most part to a cause that operates in all countries, namely, the superior attractions of other careers as regards salary and social advancement.

"An additional cause of discontent on the part of teachers is undoubtedly found in the spread among them of socialistic doctrines and the consequent increase in official restrictions. The conditions in this respect are illustrated by the recent dismissal of a teacher in a school of Paris, who, as secretary of the Federation of Teachers' Unions, had signed a letter of protest in behalf of trade unions addressed to the Premier.

"In support of his action in this case Minister Briand declared that there could be no assimilation between labor unions and members

of the civil service; and he carefully discriminated between the state of dependence and uncertainty in which workmen subject to the will of a single patron live, and the security of the public functionary whose entire life, including provision for old age, is regulated by the State."

M. Briand was very careful to avoid pushing the comparison to the point wherein the relation of the teacher to the Prefect, in the rural departments of France, might be cited in ironical confirmation of his picture of a woful condition for the general weal. He is a very judicious Minister of Instruction and Public Worship.

It is evident that only a *succes d'estime* has so far attended the great experiment of making the entire educational system of a country of nearly forty millions of people dependent on the decision of a single individual and the working of the automatic button-started machinery. M. Jules Simon was probably the ablest of the anti-religious Education Ministers whom France has had in modern times, and he said, in a letter on the subject of school reform in 1872: "I should wish that every reform demanded of me should emanate from those who have passed their lives in considering and practising the work of instruction; that it should arise from common experiences instead of being imposed by a single will." The government of M. Clemenceau believes and acts otherwise. M. Briand believes his will is a solvent for all educational troubles, and he carries it out by simply pressing the button all over France. But the process does not appear to afford entire satisfaction when it comes to be examined as to its results.

By a very striking coincidence the subject of educational readjustment was engaging the attention of the ruling powers in Germany about the same time that it was perturbing the minds of statesmen in France. A new law recently passed the Prussian Parliament whose effect is practically to revolutionize the old system. Its cardinal principle is the very antithesis of that of the French legislation. It is decentralization. Summarizing the meaning and the anticipated effects of the law, the Commissioner's Report says:

"While formerly the schools and teachers of Prussia were subject to the dictates of the Royal Minister of Public Instruction, the entire external condition and the character of the schools have now been determined by a law agreed upon by the conservative forces of the kingdom, which at that time had the majority in Parliament. The bill before its passage was opposed by the radical elements. Yet, despite the vigorous opposition the bill met with in Parliament, in the press and in educational meetings, all the elements of the State now seem to unite in their loyalty to the law. It is reported from all quarters of the kingdom that the adjustment of conditions of

former years to the present legal requirements is going on undisturbed and smoothly, as befits law-abiding communities."

Let us now return to the working of the law of separation in France and see in how far it inures to the general welfare or whether it meets the expectations of those who devised it and carried it into effect. We can best do this by means of the comparative tables. Let us begin with the primary schools. The total enrollment in these, exclusive of the infant schools, for the year 1900-01 was 5,530,232, which was equivalent to 14.19 per cent. of the total population. In the year 1905, the latest covered by official survey, the total enrollment, again excluding the infant school figures, was 5,568,030. These figures would seem to show that an increase of nearly 38,000 had been effected within the five years comprised between the respective dates. The figures are practically worthless, as the evidence of several Parliamentary Commissions shows. A very large proportion of the total enrollment (28.5 per cent.) prior to the taking of the census for the year 1905 was that which covered the private schools taught by the religious orders. When the latest law came into effect, two years ago, these schools had ceased to exist, and the pupils were absorbed in the general public system. To make it appear that the violent change had produced no perceptible disturbance in the scholastic sphere, great exertions were made, it would seem, to have the figures as to enrollment show an increase proportionate to the growth of the population during the period between the dates given. It must not be left out of sight that the law as to school attendance in France is a compulsory one, yet previous to the recent legislation it was ineffectual to compel the attendance of children in many of the departments. M. Maurice Faure, the Deputy appointed to draw up a report on the subject, in 1902, said: "The obligatory law is ignored or partially evaded in many communes. . . . Legislation seems to have failed of its purpose, probably because at first its application was neglected by the authorities, who failed to realize that if they were negligent at the outset they would hardly have the face to insist later that parents should perform this new duty. The school committees, which are composed by the joint action of the municipal councils and the academy inspector and of members designated by the law, are of little account. Complaint had been made that the local members of the committees are too often indifferent and sometimes even hostile to the public schools."

Great efforts, seemingly, have been put forth to make it appear that the shutting out of the religious orders has made no change for the worse in the case of the primary schools, so far as the matter of enrollment was concerned. But enrollment is one thing; attend-

ance is the real test of the efficacy of any compulsory school law. In regard to this test the official reports are silent, and so the reader seeking information has got to read between the lines and draw his own deductions from omission of reference as to attendance or evidences of failure, as in the case of the complaint of M. Couyba, chairman of the Financial Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, that "while the school enrollment increases the number of illiterates remains stationary. Moreover, among the literate are included young people who are only able to read a little, or who can barely make the letters of their names. The Republic cannot be satisfied with this meager result." Reorganization of the local school committees, which are specially charged to look after the school attendance of the children of their respective communities and to report violations of the law, is urged by M. Couyba. These commissions, however, have no actual authority, and hence in the exercise of their duty with respect to delinquent children they simply incur the enmity of the parents. In brief, the compulsory system fails for want of adequate means for the enforcement of the law. So that little value attaches to statistics of school enrollment.

Desperate efforts had been made by the government to make it appear that the banishment of the religious orders would make no great gap in the educational system of the country. For several years the struggle had been going on before the final wrench was effected. By going back to the Commissioner's Report for the year 1902 we find some information which enables us to get an inkling of the intensity of that struggle. For instance, it is shown by tabular comparisons that the decline in public school enrollment became somewhat marked after 1889-90, or toward the end of the period assigned for the full secularization of the schools for boys. A transfer of pupils had been going on since that date from public and secular to private schools belonging to the religious orders.

Evidently the religious teaching had been pushing the secular hard, judging from the following table of enrollment in the respective classes of schools:

SECULAR.		
	1891-92.	1896-97.
Public:		
Boys .....	2,318,349	2,292,639
Girls .....	1,434,901	1,487,766
Private:		
Boys .....	53,955	48,199
Girls .....	97,722	83,202



## CLERICAL (UNDER RELIGIOUS ORDERS).

## Public:

Boys .....	36,969	25,766
Girls .....	490,964	384,149

## Private:

Boys .....	396,576	415,943
Girls .....	730,984	793,754

The proportions of religious teachers to lay were set forth in another table, which showed that in the public schools there were men belonging to religious orders teaching in the public schools, for the period 1886-87, to the number of 3,544, and in private schools, for the same period, a total of 6,560; while of women belonging to religious orders there were simultaneously teaching a total of 13,265. In the next quinquennial period the men of the religious orders teaching in the public schools had dropped down to the number of 132, while in private schools they showed a total of 9,249 for the same period, as compared with 6,540 for the preceding five year term; and in the next one they had increased in the private schools to 968, while they had disappeared altogether from the public ones. The women belonging to religious orders who taught fell away by over 2,000 in the public schools during the same period, while they increased from a little over 24,000 in 1886-87 to over 30,000 in 1896-97 in the private schools.

These religious teachers have now been all swept out of the primary schools as well as out of the secondary ones. In the latter there was more than 50 per cent. of the total secondary school population. The total number given in the year before the separation was 62,000. Now, the question which the Commissioner's Report raises is, What has become of those thousands of scholars? Only about 20,000 are accounted for, as having been shifted from the religious schools to the public ones and to private secular institutions. Many of the former scholars have followed their teachers across the frontier into Belgium. In the opinion of M. Steeg, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, many of the former students in the secondary religious schools, on withdrawing from these institutions, have taken up their abode in boarding establishments—of a semi-religious character, in Paris and several other large cities. Still, taking all these explanations into account, no satisfactory answer is forthcoming as to what has become of the enormous number of young men who had been forced out of both primary and secondary religious schools by the law of separation. At least 30,000 of these are still unaccounted for. The loss is not alone in scholars; the money loss to the Church has been enormous. The Commissioner's Report, on this subject, says: "Although the clerical

schools derived no direct support from the government, they profited indirectly by the annual appropriations from the public treasury for Church purposes. The loss in this respect is naturally enormous, as is shown by the fact that whereas appropriations for public worship amounted in 1905 to 42,324,933 francs (\$8,464,986), they were reduced for the year ending April 1, 1907, to 543,130 francs (\$108,026). The clerical schools also had the use of properties belonging to the Church, the final disposition of which property is still an unsettled matter.

Here are nearly eight millions of francs swept away from the Church at one stroke! Whence is this huge sum to be recouped? How can the sorely-tried Church contrive to carry on the work which this money represented? These are questions so grave as to fill the mind with dismay when contemplating the future of the Church in France; and, moreover, when we remember that this loss is not for a single year, but is to be repeated year after year, unless in God's providence the persecuting regime be overturned and some more rational rule be established, it is impossible not to feel the terrible gravity of the position in which this so-called "law of separation" has placed the venerable and immemorial Church in the once great Catholic country which led its hosts of deliverers to the Holy Land.

We have seen how the infidel government has failed in its attempt to form an effective corps of teachers, for the same reason that it will fail in making the child a sort of State automaton by eliminating the part of the parent in the matter of the child's education. Its theory is, seemingly, that everything belongs to the State, including the Church; the individual has no voice in the decisions of the State; he has to surrender his will to the will of the State, or rather to such persons as M. Briand and M. Combes, and make no demur. The action of the teachers shows, however, that great men like these are not always inerrant in their calculations. Teachers are men like themselves, and will not submit, in a Republic where they are told they enjoy unbounded liberty, to be snuffed out and treated as chattels or dumb driven cattle. Parents will likewise demand that if their children be not taught the principles of religion, they shall at least be protected from the language of blasphemy and insult to religion. This determination was manifested quite recently in a couple of remarkable incidents. In one case M. Girodet, the father of a child in a communal school in the Dijon district, had complained to the school authorities that the language of a teacher was grossly immoral and atheistic, and the charge was confirmed by the action of the local newspapers in suppressing it on the ground of its indecency. The teacher had ridiculed the idea of religion and declared that there is no God—"the only God was a well-filled purse," was

his declaration to a number of children. He also told them that the Germans had in the invasion of 1870 killed infants in their cradles, and declared that they were to be commended for such savagery because the French army is a band of ruffians. No notice of the father's protest having been vouchsafed, M. Girodet took legal proceedings claiming damages from the teacher, but the court refused redress, taking the extraordinary ground that the teacher's declarations amounted to nothing more serious than a matter of opinion! In a country like France, where patriotism stands on the plane of religion, so phlegmatic a view of a declaration almost amounting to treason is difficult of realization. However, M. Girodet persisted, and took the case from court to court, until he got the final appellate tribunal to declare his charges proved and to sentence the blasphemous teacher, not to dismissal or imprisonment, as he richly deserved, but to pay a fine of about forty dollars and costs.

A glaring contrast to the foregoing illustration was afforded by a case reported in the *Gazette de Creil*, an independent Republican journal. Both the cases, it should be mentioned, were translated for the *Catholic Times*, of London, and published in that able weekly. The French paper told how the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny at Senlis had opened a private school there, after their boarding school had been closed by the government, and had gathered a few pupils. This daring proceeding soon came to the ears of the government, who sent spies to Cluny to look after the bold Sisters. A short time afterward they were summoned before the Correctional Tribunal like common malefactors, and lined up along with such criminals in the courthouse. The *Gazette* sets forth the grounds of the indictment on which they were arraigned, in this order:

"(1) That they gave lessons in painting and advice as to manual labor to pupils of their former boarding school who applied to them; (2) that they organized an infants' school for children who were not of the school age; (3) that they established a labor bureau, the object of which was to provide work for young girls and women."

After a solemn deliberation on these high crimes and misdemeanors the terrible culprits were condemned by this remarkable tribunal, and were, we suppose, subjected to some form of punishment, although the *Gazette* omits to state what it was. We may safely assume, however, that it included the closing up of their dangerous school, as a measure of public safety.

While the wretched simulacrum of a government in France is waging this inglorious war on religion, and on women and children, the population continues to make war on the laws of nature and of God, in regard to marriage and the family. With deadly mathe-

matrical certainty a progressive diminution in the birth rate is working out the equation how long a time remains between the present decade and that which will witness the disappearance of the French as a people from the face of the earth. The spectacle of Nero fiddling while Rome burnt could not be more horribly incongruous than that of the Clemenceau government playing the part of unmanly cowards in warring on priests and nuns and children, in its present rabid fury. Within thirty years the male birth rate has declined from 430,000 a year to 395,000. This loss will work out like the law of compound interest, but in the inverse way, so that in a few decades hence the pace down the hill will be like that of what is called "galloping consumption." There is a dreadful inexorability in the rule which God has established in the natural order for the punishment of violations of the moral law. It works as remorselessly as the piston of the oscillating engine, and woe to the nation that of its own volition invites the action of the dread Nemesis. Its days are surely numbered, and "the Mede is at its gate and the Persian on its throne"—unless it repent and cease to challenge the vengeance of heaven by its misdeeds against God and man.

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## THE FIGHT FOR THE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND SOME OF ITS LESSONS.

CATHOLICS everywhere, but especially in English-speaking countries, should feel interested in the great fight for the control of the primary schools which has been carried on in England for the past six years; and some of the lessons to be gathered from it deserve to be treasured.

The immediate origin of this stout struggle may be traced to the education act passed by the Conservative government in the year 1902. The purpose of that act was to increase the efficiency of all schools by giving them more liberal grants from the rates and to subject them more than hitherto to local public control, without, however, interfering with the denominational character of such schools, as had heretofore been designated "voluntary" as distinguished from "board" schools. The act of 1902 was considered a boon, but not an unmixed blessing by English Catholics. It provided larger financial support for their schools, which, since the act of 1870, had received considerable "grants in aid," but nothing like a due propor-

tion of public moneys compared with the "board" schools. But, on the other hand, the new act subjected the schools to a vast amount of local interference, which in many cases resulted in rather extravagant demands for improvements in buildings and equipments at the expense of the Catholic trustees. All the same, the relief to the financial burdens so long borne by Catholics in the maintenance of their schools was considerable. All the expense of the educational work of the schools was now to be defrayed, for Catholics as for others, out of the public funds.

The Irish members of Parliament voted for the bill of 1902 as amended by the Lords at the urgent request of the late Cardinal Vaughan, but against what many of them considered, and what events have since proved, their own better judgment. Thoughtful men among them foresaw that the illogical combination of public control and of religious tests for teachers would not hold in a country constituted as England is at the present day. The bill left the Nonconformists excluded from teaching in the numerous Church of England schools, and it placed their children in a position of inferiority in districts where there was only a Church school, wherein, it was said, the Nonconformist children were treated as "little heretics." One of the best equipped in educational matters among the Irish members—Mr. John Dillon—prophesied that the act of 1902 would one day be swept away and replaced either by an entirely secular and Godless system, or else by a Protestant compromise, in which Catholics would have no part. The latter is just what has taken place, or, rather, been attempted in the bill by agreement, a compromise between Anglicans and Nonconformists, which would have left Catholics in a large measure out in the cold, and which all but passed into law a few weeks ago.

The Nonconformists set on foot a bitter and well directed campaign against the act of 1902. They adopted the tactics of passive resistance to the payment of rates in districts where the schools continued under Anglican control. Well-known leaders among them, such as Rev. Dr. Clifford, allowed some of their personal property to be sold at public auction rather than pay the rates. The great Anglican establishment kept slumbering on and smiled at what it considered the childish waywardness of its Nonconformist brethren. But the latter meant business; they had nothing to lose and everything to gain. Nearly all the old board schools were already under their control; they had never spent any money themselves to erect or support distinctive schools of their own, and they now made a determined onslaught on the school citadels of the Anglican Church, so as to have a hand in the whole primary system of England. To add zest to their campaign, they raised the cry of

"Rome on the rates," claiming that Protestant money was being spent in teaching Roman doctrines, but ignoring quite conveniently the fact that the rates of Catholics were being spent in just as large proportion to support Protestant schools. But the outcry against Catholics was only intended to arouse the latent bigotry of the English masses; the real enemy aimed at was the Anglican Church and its vast school emoluments and patronage, from which the Nonconformists were practically excluded.

The active, well organized Nonconformist campaign had for result to swell the tidal wave of Liberalism which swept over England three years ago, and thereby engage the new government to make educational reform, agreeably to the views of Nonconformists, one of the chief features of their political programme. The new Prime Minister put at the head of the educational department a well-known litterateur and a strong Nonconformist, Mr. Birrell, one of the members for Bristol. Catholics had no reason to find fault with the new Minister personally. One of his own sons, as he afterwards declared in Parliament, was at the time attending a Catholic school. He showed himself kindly, courteous and considerate, and he was avowedly very anxious to save Catholics from harm in his proposed educational reform. However, when his bill appeared it was found that Catholics would not get complete separate treatment, and that the government's design to bring the greatest number possible of Anglican schools under Nonconformist influence would entail the disappearance of Catholic schools in many districts. Mr. Birrell's bill threw open the schools to complete public control, abolished religious tests for teachers and introduced into every ordinary school a colorless religious instruction somewhat in the lines of the non-dogmatic compromise hitherto in vogue under the name of Cowper-Temple teaching, so called after the two chief authors of it in connection with the act of 1870. The fresh proposal for undenominational religion was dubbed Birrelligion.

Stout opposition to the new education bill was quickly developed all over England outside Nonconformistdom. The Anglican Church awoke from its slumber and set in motion the machinery of its strong organization and its powerful influence. Catholics naturally and necessarily joined hands with Anglicans in resisting the undenominationalizing tendencies of the new bill; but the Archbishop of Westminster, in his speech at the Catholic Truth Society's meeting at Birmingham, in 1904, and at Bradford the year after, clearly stated that whilst Catholics made common cause with Anglicans at the present stage, they would part company if ever the day came (as, indeed, it has since come) when the Church of England would adopt its usual course of broad compromise in the matter of religious

teaching. Archbishop Bourne prepared wisely for the coming struggle by taking into his counsels the Irish Parliamentary party and making them the champions of the cause of Catholic education in England. How faithful they have proved to the sacred trust confided to them, and how well they have served it may be gathered from the words used by the Archbishop at Bristol last month at the close of three years' almost continuous struggle: "Our thanks are due in the first place to Mr. John Redmond and to all the members of the Irish Nationalist party, whose position has been one of extreme delicacy, for they had recently received a special consideration from the government and were looking justly for special consideration later on for some of their national aspirations. They have acted in union with the Bishops, and their action has been marked by courage, eloquence and remarkable Parliamentary tact." This generous meed of praise has been, indeed, richly deserved by the Irish Parliamentary party. Their position as advocates of the English Catholic school cause has been all along "one of extreme delicacy." After long years of very harsh treatment at the hands of a Conservative government, they found themselves at the opening of the present Parliament in presence of a strong Liberal government, pledged to redress as far as it could the admitted wrongs of Ireland. Yet at the very outset they found themselves obliged to sacrifice national for Catholic interests, and for the sake of the Catholic little ones of England oppose the pet educational measures of their Liberal friends and ally themselves for the nonce with their hereditary foes, the English Tories, Catholic as well as Protestant. It looked for a time as if the old evil destiny of Ireland were come back again to dash from her parched lips the cup of salvation. But, thank God, it has not proved to be so, owing to the "courage, eloquence and tact," as the Archbishop so fitly says, of the Irish members. Their position in Parliament was never stronger than it is to-day, and they have secured from the very Minister whose English educational ambition they had thwarted the very best university education bill which a British Government could be expected to give to Ireland.

But the situation was a very delicate one, especially in the early days of the new Parliament. The present writer happened to be present at its opening as well as at the principal debates on Mr. Birrell's education bill. Few scenes could be more impressive than that of the opening night, when a full house hung sympathetically on the lips of the Irish leader as he exposed in eloquent yet moderate terms the distressful state of Ireland, the causes that had brought it about and the radical remedies that were needed. A like sympathy was shown, some weeks afterwards, when the Irish spokesmen for the English Catholic schools showed that, whilst they had no concern

with the fight between the Nonconformists and the Church of England, they did find themselves reluctantly forced to oppose the proposed measure unless they received guarantees that the Catholic schools would be left untouched. They showed that whilst the contemplated religious instruction might be all right for Protestants, it was rank heresy in the eyes of Catholics, and they would have none of it. They set forth in glowing terms the sacrifices which Catholics in England had made for their churches and schools. Tears came to many eyes as the leader of the Irish in England described the causes that had brought so many Irish poor to its shores, and the heroism with which the fugitives from famine built up schools for their children without any State aid in the very centres of British opulence.

It became clear, in the course of the debate in Parliament, that the majority recognized the special position and the special claims of Catholics, and the government strove to reduce to a minimum the hardships which the new bill would inflict on certain number of Catholic schools. But the Anglicans protested against separate treatment for Catholics, and it was found in the end impracticable to satisfy just Catholic claims without leaving the vast bulk of Church of England schools intact, and thereby dissatisfying the Nonconformists. Indeed, this has been the Scylla and Charybdis during the entire conflict, and has been the cause of the deadlock which still obtains. There was no denial then, nor has there been since, of the exceptional position and claims of Catholics, but the majority in Parliament refused to recognize any right in the Church of England to claim exceptional treatment in a national system. Brilliant speakers and writers, such as Mr. Herbert Paul, drove home the argument that the Anglican Church, having been established by English law, was subject in every particular to Parliament. But Anglicanism was backed by the House of Lords, and the Peers killed the Nonconformist educational offspring.

When Mr. Birrell retired from the Education Office to the no less difficult but, as events have proved, more fruitful field of the Irish Secretaryship, his successor in office, Mr. McKenna, tried his hand twice at educational bills, which met with much stiffer opposition and ended in a still more ignominious failure. Its author had soon to be relegated to another sphere of labor.

Finally the government, grown tired of its repeated failure to carry through its educational projects, confided to the new Minister of Education, Mr. Runciman, the task of arriving at some compromise between the Church of England and the Nonconformists. Accordingly negotiations were opened last summer with the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace naturally yielded to the overtures



made with a view to compromise. For he is the official ecclesiastical head of a Church which was founded on compromise and which boasts of the broadly comprehensive spirit which makes membership of it possible for the Low Churchman of little or no faith as well as for the High Churchman, whose beliefs and practices are almost identical with those of Catholics. Dr. Davidson agreed to a compromise whereby the Anglican Church would turn over its schools to the Board of Education, to be managed and taught like all other board schools. The Church of England was to receive in return what was called "the right of entry"—that is, the right to have religious teachers of its own enter every school twice a week and teach its tenets to the pupils whose parents did not object. Those same pupils were to be taught Cowper-Templeism three other days of the week. Moreover, such schools as did not wish to accept this arrangement would be free to contract out of the system, but they would receive a very diminished and unequal grant in aid from imperial funds. This "contracting out" clause was intended by the government chiefly for the benefit of Catholics, who it was well known would have nothing to do with compromise regarding religious instruction. And had the sum offered to contracting out schools been sufficient to meet their just requirements, Catholics would have raised no objection to the bill. But the sums proposed were found to be inadequate, and the acceptance of them would have entailed a loss to the Catholic body of about a million dollars a year, or, as it was put, a sum equal to the building of a new Westminster Cathedral each year. The object of the government in keeping down the amount to be given to contracting out schools was not so much to penalize Catholics as to force the High Church schools to come under the national system.

Here again was the old difficulty to do justice to Catholics without at the same time encouraging the High Anglicans to keep out of the national undenominational system. And it was on this rock that the bill was wrecked and abandoned. Catholics could not accept the financial terms offered, because they were inadequate to keep up the schools to the same standard of efficiency which was to be required of them as of the richly provided rate aided schools, and a far larger number of High Anglican schools than was expected wanted to contract out and insisted on better facilities for so doing. This was precisely what the government did not wish to countenance, and in face of the Anglican opposition, which was backed by a majority of the laity and clergy, though not of the Bishops, the bill by (supposed) agreement was abandoned. The *coup de grace* was given to it by the Representative Church Council held on December 3. At this meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury made a strong *apologia*

for his action in striving to arrive at a settlement which he thought would be on the whole favorable to the Church of England. He pointed out that within the past three years 550 Anglican schools had been closed, and that at this rate there would soon be very few Church schools left. The new bill gave them the liberty which they did not now possess to follow their children into the public elementary schools and instruct them there twice a week. The Bishops present, the official heads of the Church of England, were nearly all on the side of the Archbishop for compromise, but the vast majority of the representatives of the clergy and laity would have none of it. A strongly worded motion against it was presented by Sir Alfred Cripps and ably supported by the chief leaders of the High Church party. They showed that the proposed bill endowed forever the colorless religion known as Cowper-Templeism; that the right of entry for Anglicans would become in course of time a dead letter; that the consciences of large bodies of churchmen were aggrieved by the proposed compromise. The mover of this resolution scored severely the apathy of the prelates, which, he maintained, was the chief cause of the woful squeezing out of Church schools now taking place all over the country. This motion was finally voted on, with the result that the Bishops were 18 to 3 against it; the clergy were 73 to 35 for it, and so were the laity in the proportion of 113 to 46. And although the resolution was declared lost because it did not obtain the consent of the three houses, the discussion opened the eyes of the government to the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury did not represent an agreed or united Church of England in the negotiations. This discovery, together with the united and persistent opposition of Catholics, voiced by the Archbishop of Westminster and his colleagues and supported by the united "courage, eloquence and tact" of the Irish Parliamentary party, caused the government to abandon their fourth attempt to settle the question of control of the elementary schools of England. There the matter rests for the present—that is, in the condition in which the bill of 1902 placed it. But the end is not yet. It is certain that fresh legislation will be attempted by one or other of the great English parties in the near future. For this Catholics must keep themselves prepared, and the very best preparation for the struggles of the future will be the taking to heart the lessons of the past four years.

The first and most important of these lessons is the value of union and organization. The Nonconformists owed their initial success in campaign to the active, well organized onset they made on Anglican supremacy. But it was reserved for Catholics to display in the course of the long conflict an absolute unity of purpose, an uncompromising adherence to principle and an organized resistance to

injustice which arrested the uplifted arm of one of the strongest governments of modern times. The union of Catholics was, of course, organic. Catholic religious instruction given by Catholic teachers is a *sine qua non* for Catholic schools, so that in this respect there was no room for divergence of opinion among Catholics. But it was in the plan adopted to keep this unity of purpose well before the public and make it effective that the leaders in the educational campaign deserved most credit. Whilst Lancashire and the North took, as usual, the leading part in the getting up public demonstrations to proclaim and insist on Catholic rights, it fell to Archbishop Bourne to watch the more silent but far more important battleground within Parliament. He wisely saw that it was there the most practical work was to be done. We have already mentioned how His Grace took the Irish Parliamentary party into his counsel and made them the champions of the English Catholic cause. The result has proved the wisdom of this policy, and it affords a valuable lesson in the right and proper use of an intelligent body of laymen by ecclesiastical authorities. The late Mr. Gladstone used to say that if you trust a man you should trust him fully. The same applies to groups of men. Archbishop Bourne not only confided the Catholic cause to the Irish members, but he showed them marks of the fullest confidence. He gave them a free hand and left them the arbiters of the best tactics to be adopted as occasion arose.

Another very important lesson to be gathered from the educational fight in England is the futility of compromise, especially on matters of principle, and the fatal weakness of those who have recourse to it. Cardinal Newman has told us in his "Apologia" that the results of the compromise which he made with the ecclesiastical authorities of Oxford in connection with Tract 90 led him to hate compromises ever afterwards. Compromises on matters of faith or of religious principle are fatal. Yet all heretical forms of religion are necessarily prone to compromising. For they possess no firm beliefs; they are never sure of their ground, and every wind or view shakes them. Such systems of religion, being founded on private judgment, must compromise with the world or disappear, and they know it. It was, therefore, nothing out of the way for the official head of the Anglican Church to enter on the road of compromise, even in the matter of the religious teaching of his Church's children. But there is in the Church of England a very considerable body of able men and sincere Christians, who belong to the soul, though not to the body of the Catholic Church. These men loudly protested against the idea of compromise in matters of religious principle. Their views have found expression in what is considered the ablest review of England, the *Saturday Review*, to which, by the way,

Catholics are much beholden for its noble advocacy of Pius X.'s French policy. That journal had three articles on the compromise bill, in each of which the illusion and sin of the proposed compromise was set forth, and the very eminent ecclesiastic who fathered it in the name of the Anglican Church was handled without gloves as unfaithful to his trust. In the third of these articles, entitled "The Fate of the Compromise," the following expressions occur: "Cash stuck where principle was swallowed. . . . The Archbishop wanted a little more, the government a little less. . . . The subject of their haggling and huxtering being the religious faith of the majority of the children of England, we do not find all this a very seemly business. Caviare as it might be to the Gallios who make up the Settlement Committee, we had much rather this contention were about some 'obstinate questionings of sense and outward things.' It would better become a high steward of the mysteries of God. . . . Confidence in the Bishops is more than shaken. . . . We can understand convinced opposition, but the middle course, to profess—we will not be offensive, we will say to have—strong principles and to strive strenuously only to minimize their force—this is a position a plain man cannot understand; it requires an Archbishop or at least a Bishop to do that." The writer draws attention to the fact that "the Roman Catholics everywhere were active and solid against it (the compromise bill)." (*Saturday Review*, 5 December, 1908.)

The acceptance of compromise by the official heads of the Anglican Church has set in strong relief the uncompromising attitude of the Catholic Church and the reasons on which it is grounded. Nothing could have put in more marked contrast the unity and unchangeableness of faith and the unstable quicksands, the shifting beliefs and opinions of heresy. The conflict has thus been, from the point of view of faith and principle, a distinct gain to the Catholic Church in England. There is no longer any logical position outside her fold for the large and very influential body of High Anglicans who are in revolt against the compromising spirit of their own Church leaders. The heroic stand made by Catholics, notwithstanding the paucity of their numbers and the slenderness of their resources, must open their eyes to the one way of truth and life. It certainly has opened the eyes of numbers of thinking men, and it is morally certain that we have heard the last of the bigoted cry, "Rome on the rates." Catholics have vindicated for themselves a position in the education question, the justice of which has had to be admitted and the force of which cannot be ignored.

A further lesson which stands out clear from amid all this war for the control of the elementary schools of England is that the vast

majority of the people of that country insist on having religion of some kind taught to their children. They will have none of the secular or Godless schools such as prevail in certain other countries. This is satisfactory as far as it goes, for, although the religious instruction known by the name of Cowper-Templeism is very meagre and uncertain, yet the principle of uniting secular and religious education is sound and supplies to Catholics one of their strongest arguments. It is certain that it would fare ill with Catholic schools in England if ever the day came when the public elementary schools would be conducted on secular lines. It is to be feared that in such conditions Catholic schools would have to shift for themselves. It is true that this is what Catholics are doing in Australia and in our own country. But the circumstances are very different in this sense—that, whereas, American and Australian Catholics *can* and do support their own school system, English Catholics are too few and too poor to do so. The result of secularism in England would be for the poorer Catholics either inferior education or loss of faith. It is to the credit of British statesmanship that it recognizes the exceptional position of Catholics, and it is hoped that some way will yet be found whereby Catholics and all others who desire positive denominational teaching for their children will be able to secure it within a national system. In other words, Pandenominationalism, as it is called, under public control bids fair to be the character of the English elementary education of the future.

These reflections on the origin, history and issue of the great school fight in England supply additional grounds for certain valuable conclusions for ourselves here in the United States. The first of these, to which the Catholic Church in America is long since wedded, is the necessity of religious training in the schools. We have seen that the overwhelming majority of English people of all shades of opinion are agreed on this point. This unanimity on the part of one of the most enlightened of modern nations gives increased force to the arguments of those who maintain that it is very injurious for the best interests of the United States to spend so much treasure on Godless education, which is so frequently diverted to ends that are subversive of the very life of the Republic. It has to be admitted, however, that the difficulties in the way of denominational education here are far greater than in England. There is a much larger proportion of our population indifferent or even hostile to religion of any kind. Moreover, the Jews, who are growing so numerous and influential, don't keep up separate schools here, as they do in England, nor do they appear to have sufficient specific belief left in them to care to do so. The hordes of the children of their poorer immigrants are receiving free education at

the expense of the State in far higher proportion than the children of other immigrants, who, being for the most part Catholics, support their own schools. Indeed, only Catholics and the relatively small bodies of Lutherans and Episcopalians give any proof that they have sufficient regard for the tenets of their religion to support at their own expense schools where they will be properly inculcated. Strong religious faith is thus heavily mulcted, and the standard of education is thereby lowered throughout the land. Will the United States awaken to the deplorable deficiencies of Godless education in the primary schools and discover a just and adequate remedy? There don't seem to be many grounds for an affirmative answer just yet. The first step to be taken would be a united demand for religious education of some kind in the public schools. This would pave the way to the recognition of religion as an integral part of education, and once this was settled in the public mind, there would be less difficulty in recognizing the claims of denominational schools in harmony with the beliefs of parents. However this may be in the future, Catholics have reason to thank God that they have the liberty and the means, even though through great sacrifice, to uphold their own distinctive schools and make them the equals in secular training with the pampered secular schools of the State, whilst they are at the same time the nurseries of Catholic faith and morality.

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#### NEWEST PHASES OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

“**R**OUTE to Constantinople.” Such was the inscription upon a triumphal arch on the road followed by Catherine II. of Russia when, at the head of an army of two hundred thousand, she invaded the Crimea. Russia has never since lost sight of the “Route to Constantinople,” and we may be sure that with characteristic tenacity she will keep her eyes fixed upon it. Hence Russia may truly be said to have been the greatest factor in the “Eastern Question.”

It was Joseph II. of Austria who, perhaps, best formulated the *Question*. In the spring of 1787 he visited Catherine in her camp on the Black Sea to conclude a secret alliance with her. She then proposed to him to partition the Ottoman dominions and to restore the Greek empire of Constantinople. “But what shall we do with Constantinople?” In this question, put by the Austrian to the

Russian, lies the essence of the Eastern question. Decide what is to be done with Constantinople and you have solved it. We know that Russia wants Constantinople, but for very good reasons of state the great powers, and notably England, do not wish her to have it. Since 1566 Russia and Turkey have been in conflict at least ten times, and the end is not yet. The Danubian principalities were the occasion of the last war, and they may at any time cause a conflagration again.

Strange had been the vicissitudes of these remarkable peoples. Roumania, now divided into Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, in ancient times the home of the Getæ, among whom Ovid had languished in exile, became in the second century a Roman province, in which Trajan established his legions. Trajan's memory lives in the land to-day, while in tradition, language and race the stamp that Rome impressed upon it is still visible. Goths, Huns, Slavs and Bulgars succeeded or intermingled with each other, and when the waves of foreign invasion had rolled back we find the country occupied by Slavs on the plains, and the descendants of the Roman colonists in the mountains. In the thirteenth century the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were established. Turkish power gradually increased within these districts, and by the seventeenth century Roumania had become a dependency of the Ottoman empire.

The earliest inhabitants of Bulgaria were Thracians and Illyrians, both of the Indo-Germanic family. The Roumunea are the Romanized descendants of the former, while the Albanians are all that is left of the latter. The country became a Roman province in 29 B. C., with the name of Moesia. By the fifth century of our era Slavs had scattered over the province, but in course of time the Bulgars, who have bequeathed their name to the country, became the ruling power. They were, however, swallowed up by the Slavic population, so that the present inhabitants of Bulgaria, taken collectively, may be regarded as Slavs. Bulgaria retained its independence until, about the tenth century, it became incorporated into the Byzantine empire. A second Bulgarian empire lasted from 1185 to 1398, when it fell under the dominion of the Turks.

Servia seems to have been originally settled by Slavs, but it does not come into the full light of history until about the twelfth century. Its independence lasted until the close of the fifteenth, when it was incorporated into the Ottoman empire.

Montenegro, originally a part of Illyria, belonged for some time to Servia until, about the middle of the fourteenth century, it became independent, a position it has practically occupied to the present.

Albania, the scene of the exploits of the great "Scanderbeg," is nominally subject to the Porte, but the wild mountain tribes are

practically independent. Bosnia and Herzegovina, like Macedonia, were until a recent date subject to Turkey.

The fact that these countries were inhabited by a kindred race with kindred languages could not fail at an early period to draw the attention of that rising Slavic State to the east of Europe, so near to them geographically as well as ethnologically. Russian interference in the Balkans dates back to the seventeenth century. Moldavia and Wallachia, oppressed by the Turks, naturally turned to Russia for protection, a boon for which Russia claimed some compensation in the form of an allegiance. An understanding was not reached until 1711, when an alliance was entered into, but in the end the Ottoman arms prevailed. However, there had been an entering wedge. Constantinople loomed up as a prize to be coveted, the dream of Pan-Slavism began, and the Eastern Question had assumed definite shape. Russian agents were hereafter to be active in the field. The peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774 gave Russia an intercessory power with Turkey in the affairs of Roumania, and made her a powerful factor in Wallachia and Moldavia, while her active interest in the other Danubian principalities went on apace.

The Treaty of Paris, after the Crimean war, came to modify the existing state of affairs and pave the way for future developments. The two principalities of Roumania became autonomous as far as their internal administration was concerned, although they remained subject to the suzerainty of the Porte. The Russian protectorate ceased, and they were placed under that of the contracting powers generally. Servia, too, remained subject to Constantinople, but under the united guarantee of the powers.

Affairs continued more or less in this condition, until the war of the Balkan Peninsula in 1877. The spark was struck by Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, in the summer of 1875, witnessed a rising of the Slavonian population against the Turks. A year later, Servia and Montenegro came to their aid and declared war against Turkey. The Servian troops were under command of the Russian general Tcherniaief, who had volunteered his services. When Servia was about to get the worst of it, Russia intervened, demanding from the Turks a cessation of further hostilities against her. The result was an armistice of two months.

In the meantime, Bulgaria had been in the throes of a frightful agitation. The insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina had sent its echoes over that land, and the inhabitants, anticipating a general massacre of Christians, began to organize a revolt. It was not a success, and the terrible Bulgarian massacres followed. About fifteen thousand people were put to death in the district of Philippopolis alone, and fifty-eight villages and five monasteries were



destroyed. It was this massacre that had decided the declaration of war by Servia. In 1877 Russia entered into the conflict most successfully. After the fall of Plevna her armies crossed the Balkans, captured Adrianople and the dream of Catherine II. was about to become a reality. But at the moment of victory her further advance was blocked by the Treaty of San Stefano, signed on March 3, 1878. Now followed the Congress of Berlin, which reconstructed the Danubian principalities and added another phase to the Eastern Question.

In the recent complications Roumania had sided with Russia, and on May 14, 1877, she proclaimed herself independent. Russia was disappointed that the Balkan States, for whose sake she, ostensibly at least, had gone to war, did not, with the exception of Montenegro, proclaim themselves her vassals.

Roumania had thus taken the law into her own hands, although the powers did not recognize her independence until 1880. In 1881 both chambers voted to elevate the country to the rank of a kingdom, and the powers soon granted them recognition. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who had ruled as Prince since 1866, was crowned King at Bucharest. The husband of Carmen Sylva, who had been Princess Elizabeth of Wied, was very popular with his adopted country, and he managed to conciliate his powerful neighbors, Austria and Russia, relations with which had been strained for some time.

At the Congress of Berlin Bulgaria was divided into three portions—Bulgaria proper, which was constituted an autonomous principality, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, with a Christian government and a national militia; the province of Eastern Roumelia, under the direct authority of the Sultan, and Macedonia, with part of the Vilayet of Adrianople, which remained under Turkish administration.

Prince Alexander of Battenberg was elected first Prince of Bulgaria in 1879. During his reign, which lasted about six years, Eastern Roumelia was annexed and a successful war was waged against Servia. After his abdication, Bulgaria continued its autonomous existence, and chose another Prince in the person of Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, who ascended the throne as Ferdinand I.

The independence of Servia was also recognized by the powers, and in 1882 Prince Milan assumed, with their assent, the title of King.

The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the exception of the Sandjak of Novibazar, were to be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary, and Montenegro was declared independent. The Danubian principalities were thus placed upon an entirely new footing.

Servia now became the principal theatre of the rivalry between Austria and Russia. The King inclined to Austria, while Queen Natalie and the people sided with Russia. The unpopularity of the King increased by his divorce from the Queen, and, finally, tired of his position, he abdicated in favor of his son Alexander, in 1889.

Since the beginning of the century two families had competed for supremacy in Servia. The one was descended from Kara George, the terrible old hero who toward the end of the eighteenth century had for a time delivered his country from the Turks. George Petrovich, surnamed Kara (the Black),<sup>1</sup> is perhaps the greatest figure in Servian history. He was foully murdered by his rival, Milosh Obrenovich, who, in 1815, had once more proclaimed the independence of Servia. Two years later Milosh became hereditary Prince, and he remained in this position until 1839, when a revolution put his son Michael on the throne. In 1842 Michael was himself driven out and Alexander, the son of old Kara George, was proclaimed Prince. He held the throne until 1858, when he was deposed and the family of the Obrenovich once more ascended it in the person of old Milosh, who in 1860, when he died, was again succeeded by his son Michael. Eight years later Michael was murdered in the garden of his Belgrade palace and his cousin, Milan, followed him on the throne, the same under whom Servia became a kingdom. It seems scarcely credible that this tragic history of rivalry between two families, with its concomitant revolution and bloodshed, should belong to the nineteenth century and not to some obscure period of the barbarous past; and yet the tragedy was not at an end.

Alexander, who had succeeded his father Milan, married in 1900 Madame Draga Maschin, a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Natalie. This marriage was most unpopular, and the influence of his wife over the King rendered it still more so. All this resulted in a military conspiracy, and on June 11, 1903, Alexander and Draga were brutally murdered in the palace of Belgrade. This assassination once more placed the Karageorgevich family on the throne in the person of King Peter, who, in course of time, was recognized by the powers.

We may now turn our attention to Turkey, for while the principalities and kingdoms on the north were passing through the various phases of revolution, war and diplomacy, undercurrents were at work which were destined to revolutionize the Ottoman empire, and which may settle the Eastern Question unless a reaction set in.

It would appear that from the earliest times despotism was the favorite form of government in the Orient, a consequence perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> In Turkish.

in the unchangeable East of the patriarchal system. Yet the Koran does not seem to have especially favored it. Writing of Islam, Vambery says that "there is no other religion so democratic in character, nor has the sovereign power ever been circumscribed to the same extent as by the maxims of the teaching of Mohammed." Nor can it be said that the Koran is opposed to the pursuit of knowledge. In the Middle Ages the Saracen race flourished in the East and in Spain by its intellectual attainments, and before the great mediæval universities had arisen, Baghdad and Cordova were intellectual centres.

It may probably be affirmed with greater truth, that the want of progress in the Ottoman empire is to be attributed to the character of the Ottoman Turks, rather than to the teachings of the religion they profess. Still, there have not been wanting occasional efforts at reform among them, and there have been times of great prosperity. Under Suleiman the First education was promoted, and the fine arts as well as literature flourished. With the death of this Prince, the decline of the Ottoman empire began.

Late in the seventeenth century the Köprili, Grand Viziers under several Sultans, introduced a series of reforms which were not destined to last. However, towards the close of the century, contact with European civilization began to tell on the character of the Ottoman people, who gradually became more humane, while the printing press contributed its share toward the cultivation of more civilized principles. But the progress made was slow, and when, toward the end of the eighteenth century, Selim III. endeavored to inaugurate an era of reform and to learn what he could from the French monarchy, then tottering to its ruin, he forfeited his throne and his life. His nephew and successor, Mahmud II., who ascended the throne in 1808, was more successful. He annihilated at one blow the power of the janizaries and established the *nizami djedid*, or regular army. His greatest obstacle lay in the people, whose contempt for the *giaours* was so great that they could not be induced to accept Western civilization as a model, while they regarded the Koran as the source of all knowledge. One cannot help admiring Mahmud, who, convinced that European civilization was superior to the Asiatic of his own dominions, pursued a steady course, with little or no encouragement and in spite of obstacles innumerable. Yet, for various reasons, his life work seemed a failure, although the *effendi* class was more and more brought under the influence of Western civilization, owing no doubt to the impulse given by Selim III. and followed by Mahmud II. The latter's successor, Abdul-Mejid, preferred the seclusion and pleasures of the palace of Dolma Baghtché to the cares of state, which he left to others. Fortunately

there were then some remarkable statesmen in Turkey, such as Reshid Pasha, and others who owed their ability to the influence of the Western civilization which had been invading Constantinople. The reforms they succeeded in introducing were, however, more apparent than real, while the true Turkey beneath the surface remained intensely Oriental. One of the greatest evils that befell the country at this period was the facility with which it obtained large European loans, and the facility with which the money was squandered on luxuries, the jewels for the ladies of the harem alone having cost millions. This reckless expenditure of money, without any real advantage to the country, sank Turkey into an enormous debt, and naturally tended to place it at the mercy of its creditors. Abdul-Asiz, brother and successor of Abdul-Mejid, instead of remedying the evil, continued the expenditure on his useless buildings.

It was in the reign of Abdul-Mejid that society in Constantinople, by this time fully under European influence, began to dream of liberty and a constitution, while in foreign countries a revolutionary propaganda began. Under the present Sultan, Abdul-Hamid, government assumed the most personal, autocratic and absolutist form, while the country at large tottered to its ruin, the navy went to pieces and the army suffered. Corruption and speculation spread over the empire, and Turkey became a byword for the nations of the earth.

On the other hand, education has greatly increased, the beautiful Turkish language has improved and the literature of other European countries has greatly enriched it. In spite of the opposition of the government, the country has become more and more imbued with the civilization of the West. Vambery writes: "Nothing would be simpler than to force the Sultan to introduce reforms by a joint fiat from the powers."<sup>2</sup> What the powers have failed to accomplish the party of Young Turkey has finally effected.

The fact, however, that Abdul-Hamid was able to carry the ship of state with comparative safety through the long period of his reign, argues well for his personal ability, which, I think, even his worst enemies will concede. Although Turkey has groaned under his despotism, yet it owes him more than one benefit, if nothing else, then surely the decrease of the national debt. He found the country indebted to the extent of over £200,000,000, with an interest of nearly £17,000,000, and further, as a result of the Russian conflict, a war indemnity of £30,000,000 was laid upon Turkey. The national debt has been reduced to £80,000,000 and the war indemnity to

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<sup>2</sup> "Turkey in the Nineteenth Century"—In "Historians' History of the World," Vol. XXIV., p. 436.

about £21,000,000. In his day 3,500 miles of railway have been built, and the army, even though its pay was in arrears, has been reorganized. The Sultan is said to be an indefatigable laborer, working night and day. As to the army, the opinion of one acquainted with it for a number of years is very favorable.<sup>3</sup>

The labors of the Sultan, which, as he said when addressing the multitude from the window of his palace last summer, had been for the good of the country, could not counterbalance the awful system of oppression that had been weighing upon it throughout his autocratic reign. The network of espionage that encircled the empire had been drawn closer in recent years, and no one could feel safe. The army chafed under it, everybody was watched, and the spies themselves were observed by other spies. Myriads of eyes seemed to scintillate from the palace, penetrating to the home of the most obscure official in the remotest corners of the Sultan's dominions.

Everything was done to defeat the movement of Young Turkey, and many of the patriots were exiled to other portions of the empire; but the very means employed defeated the plans of the autocrat of Yildiz, for the exiles carried with them their opinions, which they did not hesitate to spread broadcast, thus becoming the active agents of an ubiquitous propaganda and sowing the seeds of constitutional liberty. The people, Christians and Moslem alike, groaning under an intolerable yoke, proved a fertile soil, and the revolutionary spirit ripened rapidly.

For years the Young Turks had been working outside of Turkey, with centres in London, Paris and Geneva. Their great obstacle arose from differences, racial and religious, among the friends of liberty. It was quite natural that the Turks proper, and perhaps the Moslems generally, should abhor anything that might interfere with the integrity of the empire, while the Armenian, Greek and Slav population, on the other hand, should welcome such a change, which might restore to them their nationality. Hence the difference of views with which the leaders had to contend and the obstacles to be overcome.

The Young Turkey party abroad was made up principally of Mahomedan fugitives and Armenian exiles. Among the former were especially prominent Mahmud Damat, brother-in-law of the Sultan, and his son, Sabah-ed-din. The latter, nephew of the Sultan, was destined to become at the early age of thirty the leader in the movement. The friends of liberty did not, however, organize until a very recent date.

In 1902 a congress was held at Paris, under the presidency of

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<sup>3</sup> "The Turkish Army of To-day," Captain C. B. Norman in *United Service Magazine*, September, 1903.

Sabah-ed-din, without succeeding in clearing away all the difficulties. Five years later, a second congress met with representatives of the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Ottoman League of Private Initiative of Decentralization and Constitution, and the Israelite Committee of Egypt. Greater harmony resulted and racial differences were smoothed over. The party seemed ready for a bloody revolution, if it should be required, and an oath bound the members of the Ottoman society together.

The Committee of Union and Progress in Paris took the lead. It was made up of Arabs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Armenians and others. The impossible had at last come to pass, and Christians and Mahometans extended to each other the hand of fellowship. The women in Constantinople and other large cities aided the work, for Moslem women might not be searched by spies and ordinary police, and they thus became very useful as channels of communication and bearers of messages and despatches.

All but three or four of the leaders were ignorant of the precise object of the movement and the goal to which they were hastening. The Sultan was aware of the agitation, but he was in the dark as to the movements of the society and consequently unable to check its advance.

The constitution which Turkey now enjoys is nothing new in itself. It is merely a resurrected one, but with stronger guarantees and a greater stability. In 1876, shortly after his accession, Abdul-Hamid had granted to his people a constitution which had been drawn up by Midhat Pasha. It was, however, of short duration, for in 1878, after the Russian war, it was summarily suspended. The Young Turkey party opened its tomb and recalled it to life in the summer of last year. Six months were spent in preparation, and Macedonia was chosen as the first field of operations, as the disaffection among the Turkish troops was more widespread there than elsewhere. The Sultan had at last overreached himself, and that very system of espionage upon which he had so greatly relied drove the troops into rebellion. The Committee of Union and Progress had begun its work by gaining the good will of the troops, for the army alone could render its success possible. The one on whose side the army stood was sure to win.

Niazi Bey practically raised the standard of revolt. With 300 insurgent soldiers and a number of Moslem civilians he successfully took upon himself, with the acquiescence of the people, the administration of the country around Resna and Ochrida. In a short time the troops in Macedonia had taken the oath of allegiance to the committee. The only bloodshed was in the summary execution of

a very few officers who hesitated. The committee was now supreme in Macedonia.

The leaders were in telegraphic communication with the palace at Constantinople, and they demanded of the Sultan a constitutional government. It was even intimated to him that the army was ready to march on the capital if he refused. For a while he hesitated, but it did not take the astute monarch long to see that there was nothing left but to choose between deposition and surrender. For the moment at least he gave up his autocracy and kept his throne. The decision of the judicial authority of Islam that the case was not one in which Moslem could be pitted against Moslem decided the issue. The Sultan was powerless. When he was made aware that the Albanians were foremost in the movement and that he could not depend on the troops he yielded.

His first step was to dismiss his Albanian Grand Vizier, Ferid Pasha, and to appoint Said in his place. On July 24 the constitution was restored. The Sultan swore on the Koran to be faithful to it, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam bore public testimony to the intention of His Majesty to carry out his pledge. On July 31 Abdul Hamid made a declaration to the powers that he had sworn to abide by the constitution.

At this unexpected result and at the glorious tidings, a wave of joy swept over the empire, religious and race animosities were forgotten, the Sultan grew to be suddenly immensely popular, and England, as the great sympathizer with the aspirations of the people, was loudly cheered. From Constantinople a thrill went out all over the Ottoman empire, and from all the provinces, with the possible exception of Arabia, echoes of joy returned to the capital. As one instance of the universal jubilation that prevailed, Jerusalem may be cited. The spirit of brotherhood and peace filled that warlike city, the name of which seems to be a misnomer, as never before. The people assembled in the great square within the military barracks adjoining the tower of David. When the Governor had announced the constitution and the band played the national anthem, universal cheering rent the air. Sheikhs, priests and rabbis made speeches, fearlessly denouncing the old regime. Moslems, Christians, Jews, Samaritans and Armenians fraternized and formed in procession, preceded by banners with emblems of liberty, the Jews carrying their Torah.

The new Vizier, Kutchuk Said Pasha, did not last long. Though a man of liberal ideas, who at one time had even been in danger of his life, he did not prove quite acceptable to the reform party. It was remembered that, together with the Sultan, he had been responsible for the suppression of the constitution of 1876, and when,

after the promulgation of the new constitution, he set free, together with the political prisoners, a large number of ordinary criminals, a trick to create disorder was suspected. Other causes being added, he yielded to the popular clamor and resigned.

Kiamil Pasha succeeded him. The new Vizier was eighty-six years old, and he had been fifty-eight years in the service of his country. Like his predecessor, he had been in disgrace and in danger of his life. When the constitution was proclaimed the Sultan recalled him to office and placed him on the Council of Ministers. He is known as the "Grand Old Man" of Turkey.

One of the objects of the "committee," which practically ruled in Turkey, was to get rid of Ministers and public servants who under the old regime had had a bad record.

The constitution had been obtained through the indefatigable exertions of Young Turkey, but without the coöperation of the army it would have been impossible. If the Young Turks set the wheels of the car of liberty in motion, it must not be forgotten that the army, the bureaucracy and the Mollahs kept them going and finally forced the autocrat to surrender.

Will this constitution prove lasting? Edward Dicey, writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, seems to be skeptical and to take a pessimistic view. He sees breakers ahead in a possible reconciliation of the army with the Sultan. This is not the only danger, however. The sending out of office of so large a number of old functionaries and spies, who are thus deprived of their means of support, cannot fail to swell the ranks of the reactionaries. There is also danger of abuse. Liberty in a people not prepared for it may easily degenerate into license, for the masses do not understand what a constitution means, and the name has awakened the most unreasonable hopes and created extravagant dreams.

Thus the originators of the reform movement may find themselves ere long between two extremes—anarchy on the one hand and reaction on the other. All will depend on the stand taken by the army. Should the troops fall out with the leaders and declare for the Sultan a terrible crisis may be awakened.

Still it must be remembered that the present constitution, established by a bloodless revolution, appears to rest upon a more solid basis than formerly. The Sultan has given the most solemn pledge in the face of the world, with the highest sanction of his religion, and the constitution has met with general approbation throughout the empire and beyond its frontiers. Officers of the old regime have not hesitated to adopt and praise it and fear seems to have vanished. At a meeting held in New York, at which Mundji Bey, the Chargé d'Affaires in Washington presided, a letter expressing



sympathy with the movement of progress in Turkey was read from President Roosevelt. The Turk can hardly retrace his steps and his shadow no longer inspires fear.

Behind this movement of Young Turkey another power must be sought for. It will be found in the harem. The complete isolation of the Turkish woman cast for centuries a veil over the domestic life of the Turk, into which no foreign eye might penetrate. Nowhere was the mystery of Islam more complete. Still the Turkish woman was the mother of Turkey. The tender age was, as in other countries, though not to the same extent, subject to her influence, and from her the first impressions were received. But the Turkish woman, or the inmate of the harem of whatever race, is to-day no longer what she was a hundred or even fifty years ago. If for a long, long period she bore her indolent, captive life with resignation, while her husband and other male members of her family fought their battles and pursued their avocations in the great world beyond, to-day she has grown restless, and the yoke galls her. Her eyes have been opened, for European civilization has penetrated into the harem. Though she could not mingle with the male portion of humanity beyond the narrowest limits, though her windows remained barred and her face covered, she knew what the world was doing, and she awoke to a new life and began to feel her fetters. The sounds of the music of France, Germany and Italy penetrated through her latticed windows, and she learned to execute the great composers; the literature of Europe became familiar to her, not only in translations, but in the original, and though no man might speak to her save her husband or nearest relative, the company of ladies was not prohibited, and her isolated life thus came into touch with the West. She saw how different she was from her European sisters, and she began to understand that she was a slave. She who had tamely submitted to her lot now felt rebellious at the thought that she had scarcely a voice in that most important step of life, marriage. She began to feel her inferiority when she reflected on the cruel fate that forced her to marry a man she did not even know, and though polygamy in its strictest sense is no longer universal in Constantinople, still the knowledge of Western customs could not fail to arouse her instincts against it where it did exist.

A resident of Constantinople whose position in society brought her into contact with the higher and most educated classes wrote me more than a year before the constitution was proclaimed: "I am sure you would find great changes in the last few years. There is no doubt that the Western world has had its influence, good or bad, it is at present difficult to say, but there is surely a revolt among the upper classes, who are educated by Europeans. I have been

told by several Turkish ladies that Loti's 'Les Désanchantées' is a very true story, but the men out here say, naturally, that it is very false. I am inclined to believe the woman's side, from all I have seen, and I know quite a few most charming, highly educated, quite up-to-date Turkish women. There is a great charm about them. They are so gentle, kind, extremely dainty."

I may add that Pierre Loti seems to vouch for the accuracy of the picture he draws, though he has employed fictitious characters to bring it into relief. He has shown us only the harem of the higher classes, the one, however, in which this social revolution is taking place, and he has given us its most refined features, so that it really furnishes an incomplete picture.

Now that the emancipation of Turkey is complete, the doors of the harem will ere long be thrown open by the men themselves, who have borrowed from Western ideas, and the world will know more of such women, as Leila Sultan, daughter of Ab-dul-Hamid, a distinguished musician, and "Adalet," whose contributions to the *Nineteenth Century* lifted a corner of the veil.<sup>4</sup>

Of course this sudden awakening will not be without its evils, for license is often mistaken for liberty, but let us hope that this will be only a passing phase. Many years ago Fuad Pasha said that the emancipation of Turkey must begin by the emancipation of Turkish women, and Richard Davey, who cites the Pasha in the *Fortnightly Review* (1895), adds that "the question of the East is the question of women."<sup>5</sup>

The awakening of the unknown, mysterious world beyond the threshold of the harem could not mean anything but the awakening of the educated classes, and it is thus quite natural that we should look in the domestic circle for one of the causes of the revolution the world has just witnessed.

According to a London correspondent, many women appeared in the revolutionary processions in Macedonia, several of them unveiled and carrying banners. This act was greeted with applause by the spectators, who seemed to lay aside the deeply rooted Mahometan prejudice in this regard, while many men went so far as to kiss their hands, saluting them as liberators of their country.<sup>6</sup>

It is, indeed, most significant that a similar movement toward freedom exists among the women of Persia, having had, no doubt, much to do with the revolutionary movements in that country. Persian women are even more secluded than those of the Turks, nor can their education be compared with that of Turkey in Europe,

<sup>4</sup> "A Voice From the Harem" and "Life In a Harem," *Nineteenth Century*, 1890. The writer, a Turkish lady, was herself the inmate of a harem.

<sup>5</sup> "Present Condition of Mohammedan Women in Turkey."

<sup>6</sup> *Review of Reviews*, September, 1908.

yet in both capitals of the two great divisions of Islam, in Stamboul and in Teheran, the women are awakening to a new existence, after the lethargy of ages, and a social as well as political revolution is in progress.

I have reason to believe that this social revolution among both sexes has no little agnosticism as a concomitant. While the religion of the Prophet, undoubtedly, still has a strong hold on the masses, I do not think that it can be denied that in spite of traditional respect for the Koran, many among the educated classes have drifted away from the beliefs it inculcates without receiving anything instead. It is said that Freemasonry has also had its share in this modernizing work, and the fact that many of the leaders are said to be members of French and English lodges would seem to add color to this assertion. Freemasonry is, assuredly, a power, the secret springs of which are beyond investigation, but which has surrounded the world as with a net, a power that, unobserved itself, sets many wheels in motion, and which is able to influence public opinion to an enormous extent. Besides, it stands to reason that a secret society offers many opportunities to the conspirator, who, of necessity, is obliged to work in the dark.

The constitution had hardly been proclaimed than serious troubles arose in the Balkan regions and on the island of Crete. Perhaps there were undercurrents running counter to the aspirations for liberty that were then uppermost in the best Turkish circles. It has been suspected that the liberal regime in Constantinople did not meet with the approval of all the powers, and that a great secret conspiracy was formed and directed from various European capitals to discredit the administration of the Young Turks. The troubles that arose in the Danubian provinces would then have been the result of this secret movement.

Whatever there may be of truth at the bottom of this, the fact is that the trouble commenced in September with the strike on the Oriental Railway, in which the Turkish Government has a proprietary right. This railroad is part of the trunk line from Vienna to Constantinople. It runs from Turkey across Eastern Roumelia into Bulgaria. Under the plea of preventing violence, Bulgarian troops were ordered to "provisionally" occupy that part of the line running through their country. The strike was suppressed, but the troops continued to occupy the railroad. The Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, protested to Prince Ferdinand's government against this protracted control of the line, which he regarded not only as a violation of Bulgaria's agreement with the railway company, but also as an infringement of the rights of Turkey as defined in the Treaty of Berlin. A protest was also

entered at the various embassies at Constantinople. This action of Bulgaria was far from meeting with universal approbation. However, heedless of public opinion and of criticism, the Bulgarian Government replied that "although the situation requires that it shall keep the Oriental Railway at present in its own hands, it has no intention whatever of infringing the rights of ownership or of injuring the material rights of any one." It also made the declaration that it would deal directly with the railway company and not with the Turkish Government.

An incident had about this time occurred which may have influenced this action of Bulgaria. When invitations were sent out to a diplomatic dinner at Constantinople it was found that the name of the Bulgarian agent, Dr. J. S. Gueshov, had been omitted. To the protest of Bulgaria the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Pasha, replied that the Porte intended no offense, but that Bulgaria, being a vassal State of Turkey, its agent at Constantinople could not be regarded as a real diplomatic representative who could properly be present at the function in question. But Bulgaria was soon to shake off even the semblance of the yoke which the Congress of Berlin had laid upon her, and by her own deliberate act cease to be a vassal State. Before this took place, however, another event of deep significance occurred which would seem to strengthen the conspiracy theory and point to a concerted action in certain quarters.

On October 3 Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, announced to the powers through his Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron von Aehrenthal, that his government would annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. Two days later Ferdinand of Bulgaria solemnly announced at Tirnova, the ancient capital of the country, complete independence from Turkish suzerainty and proclaimed himself "Czar of all the Bulgars."

This had hardly occurred than Crete was heard from. The Hellenic inhabitants of the island, nine-tenths of the entire population, profiting by Turkey's disturbed condition, hastened to repudiate Ottoman suzerainty and proclaimed themselves united to Greece. On October 14 this act was confirmed by a vote in the National Assembly. Since 1898 Crete has been an autonomous State, nominally subject to Turkey, but really governed by a High Commissioner of the powers. For the last two years the King of Greece has nominated the Commissioner, and his choice was ratified by the four protecting powers—Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy.

Within a couple of days after this last event, Servia was wrought up to war fever over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro declared her intention of joining Servia in the event of a war with Austria. For a while a dark war cloud hung over the

East, but in the end wiser councils prevailed, for Serbia, isolated as she was from supplies, would have been at the mercy of Austria, especially if the latter had been backed by Germany, and it is very doubtful if Russia would or could have rendered any assistance. Had war actually broken out, the result might have been terrific, and several of the great powers might have been drawn into the vortex.

As it is, Austria had her way, and the two provinces were annexed without any formality except to haul down the Turkish flag and take the oath of allegiance from the army. Since 1878 the assimilation to Austria had gone on so steadily that the change was not felt.

In annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria pledged herself to give them a constitution, guaranteeing their civic rights and a representative assembly. This arbitrary act was the logical outcome of the Berlin treaty, which had really given the provinces to Austria, leaving nothing to Turkey but a shadow. Such is practically the statement of Baron von Aerenthal, who denies that the act of his country is a violation of the treaty, declaring it to be a development "which was foreseen when the convention was framed, and which in no way justifies the convocation of a European Congress."

This annexation would seem to be a German move on the political chessboard against Pan-Slavism in the direction of the Orient. For the last thirty years Bosnia and Herzegovina have been regarded as the "German gates to the Orient." We must, however, bear in mind that Austria herself, if freed from German influence, may become an instrument for the promotion of the Pan-Slavonic movement. Of her population of 45,000,000 more than 22,000,000 are Slavs, while the remainder—German, Magyar and Latin—are divided and hostile to each other. By absorbing all the Balkan States she, instead of Russia, would come to be regarded as the protectress of the Slavonic peoples.

In face of these events Turkey could, of course, not be expected to remain silent. The government at Constantinople, through the Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, protested to the powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin against the action of Austria and of Bulgaria. The Treaty of Berlin had, however, so often been ignored that there was little likelihood of the powers taking any practical stand. A protest was also made to the powers interested and to Greece, Austria and Bulgaria against the action of Crete.

In his speech from the throne at the opening of the first Parliament, which was inaugurated on December 17, and at which he presided, the Sultan denounced Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary for their "illegal and unfriendly acts."

Turkey may well congratulate itself on this auspicious beginning,

for the Sultan reiterated his satisfaction at the existence of the constitution and showed in every way his willingness to uphold it. It must also be remarked that the elections went off with dignity and without disturbance.

In the meantime discontent is, no doubt, brewing in Servia and there are other signs of unrest. For Bosnia and for its sister province, Herzegovina, according to a recent despatch from Constantinople to the press, an indemnity amounting to \$10,800,000 has been offered by Austria and accepted by Turkey. It has also been stated that the difference with Bulgaria would also be settled on a cash basis. The Sobranje convened on October 28 as the fourteenth national Bulgarian Assembly, and as a result it was agreed to make compensation to Turkey, but the question as to the sum seems to remain unsettled, a question into which Russia has voluntarily entered.

There has been talk of a conference of the powers, to which Austria consented on condition that her right and title to the two annexed provinces be not called in question. Should the congress convene it is not at all unlikely that the *status quo* will be acknowledged and legalized. In fact, the acceptance by Turkey of the indemnity has settled the question between the two powers most directly concerned.

The difficulty between Austria and Servia, however, cannot be so easily adjusted. The question is which of the two States shall control the Serb-Croat population. Should it come to blows, it is quite evident that Austria is prepared to strike hard.

It seems, however, that there are many influences which will augment the movement for peace and avert the danger of war. Charles Austin Beard, Ph. D., in a recent pamphlet entitled "European Sobriety in the Presence of the Balkan Crisis," and published by the Association for International Conciliation, points to these influences and proclaims the present situation a triumph for the cause of peace. There can be no doubt that nations are becoming more and more averse to war, and that the movement in favor of universal peace is advancing. The bloodless revolution in Constantinople and the drifting away of the Balkan war cloud are signs of the times and, let us hope, harbingers of universal peace. Still we must remember that all danger is not past, and perhaps before this paper goes to press, new and startling events may have occurred.

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A DREAMER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE are surely reasons not a few for making a study of *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come, delivered under the similitude of a dream, wherein is discovered the manner of his setting out, his dangerous journey and safe arrival at the desired country.* The book is interesting as a reflection of Bunyan's own world, with its manners, its ways and its talk. This is a part of the historical side with which we are not here concerned. It is the product, too, of a mind thoroughly saturate—inebriate, in its classic sense—with knowledge of Holy Scripture—a knowledge shown everywhere in the phrasing of the work, but still more so in the mystical beauty of the way in which that phrasing is used. The version of Holy Scripture which Bunyan uses is the Jacobean, or "authorized," with its incomparable English, founded, as we should always remember, if immediately on the versions of Wicklif and Coverdale, ultimately on those of Catholic earlier translators.

The book is of those that have the power that comes of having been written straight from the heart. "If thou wouldst have me weep, thou must first weep thyself." It was written without a conscious aim. The author tells us in his own quaint verse how he "had undertook" to make another book than this; how different we can only thankfully guess. Suddenly he fell into an allegory about the journey of the saints and their way to glory; so he turned from the treatise which he had intended to write, and those happy "twenty things" and those happy "twenty more" which he says he had in his crown came fast as sparks of fire, to be put by themselves lest they should prove endless and eat out the book that he was already about. Even then there was no thought of a possible public of readers.

I only thought to make  
I knew not what: nor did I undertake  
Thereby to please my neighbor; no, not I.  
I did it mine own self to gratify.

Only his vacant times were thus spent, and nothing did he intend but to divert himself and keep himself, in thus doing, from worse thoughts.

Thus I set pen to paper with delight.

I have dwelt at some length on this account of the genesis of the great book which I want to say something about for reasons which there is no need to give, they being so obvious. It is a book beloved of thousands of readers of many a generation. It is a book written in strong, clear, nervous English, a book that has become a classic,



because it has the qualities of a classic, a people's classic. It is indeed a poem in Sidney's sense of the word, a true creation, a thing truly indeed *made*.

It is a book true to what holds good with all of us—the seeking of heaven, the difficulties and dangers and all the hindrances that beset the spiritual life, the sweetnesses and comforts that come to those who set their faces to go to Jerusalem, the necessity of diligence, zeal, self-denial, self-surrender—that self-surrender which includes all other surrender—the realization of the love of the Lord of pilgrims and His perfect work, the beauty of fellowship, the loveliness of charity.

The form of allegory was for long a specially favorite one for the conveying of lessons of truth. It is not the highest form, as our Lord, who used it so much, showed when He said that the hour was coming in which He would no more speak to His disciples in proverbs (or parables), but would show them plainly of the Father. But it is a form that has been helpful and interesting and has the highest sanction in that of our Lord Himself. On the principle of likeness or similitude are founded the literary forms simile, metaphor, fable, parable, allegory; and it is the very same principle that bids us to recognize "the spiritual meaning of every sensuous fact and that bids us understand by the things that are made the invisible things of God from the creation of the world." (Romans i., 20.)

Much of the allegory in English literature has a tendency to be overlong and sometimes even more than tiresome. It is surely not so here, so strong is the human interest, the characterization, the vitality. Where Bunyan's allegory fails is, I think, in the longer doctrinal conversations. There sin is no longer the great burden on the back, but frankly sin. When the talk is of sin and grace, the allegory is dropped. So it is Dryden's "Hind and Panther," where the "fairest of the spotted kind" is instructed by the milk-white Hind in the mysteries of Catholic theology.

How delightful is Bunyan as a giver of names! What characterization in such appellatives as Obstinate, Pliable, Worldly Wiseman, Good-will, Mistrust and Timorous, Greatheart, Hopeful, Faithful. Can we not, as it were, actually see the embodiment of spiritual blindness, *Mrs. Bat's eyes?*

Very old is the comparison of life to a pilgrimage, a comparison that naturally transfers itself to the life spiritual. "Strangers and pilgrims" the Apostle calls us as he tells us that we seek a heavenly city. The pilgrimage to the shrines of the great holy ones had been done away before Bunyan's time; to him the thought of such would have meant nothing, but he knew the spiritual pilgrimage, and so far as we may we will try to go along with him.

The starting point of Bunyan's pilgrimage is conviction of sin, followed by conversion. We must remember that the sacramental system is ignored, though there are at least two or three passages which might bear a Catholic interpretation, an interpretation which we cannot fairly suppose intentional. These I will quote further on. "Election," "conversion," "the day of grace," "the coming to Christ"—these are what we find. Probably a pious Dissenter of the present day or an Evangelical Churchman of the type that is so rapidly disappearing might use these words as Bunyan used them; but what I specially wish to do in this present paper is to show the great importance in studying a book like this—studying it apart from its place in English history and English literature, of getting into sympathy with it as far as that may be. In considering it as a book dealing with the life spiritual let each of us say: "How far can I, a member of the rock-founded Church which no tempests from without can shake, no wrongnesses from within defile, go with my brother, the Baptist preacher, the prisoner for conscience' sake, the dreamer of the pilgrim going Zionward, go with him as a fellow-Christian, and, more, even learn of as a poet and a teacher?"

" . . . As I slept I dreamed a dream. I dreamed, and behold I saw a man clothed with rags standing in a certain place with his face from his own house, a Book in his hand and a great burden upon his back. I looked, and saw him open the Book and read therein; and as he read he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, 'What shall I do?'"

The man, Christian, tells of his distress to his wife and children, and tells them how they must all come to ruin unless some way of escape can be found. They are amazed, thinking that some frenzy distemper has got into his head; therefore, it drawing toward night, and they hoping that sleep might settle his brains, with all haste they got him to bed. But he spends his night in sighs and tears, and is worse and worse in the morning. After a little while they can bear with him no longer and use harsh and surly carriages to him, driving him to take refuge in his own chamber or in the solitude of the fields.

"Now I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the fields, that he was, as was his wont, reading in his Book and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read he burst out, as he had done before, crying, 'What shall I do to be saved?'"

"I saw also that he looked this way and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because, as I perceived, he could not tell which way to go. I looked then, and saw a man named Evangelist coming to him, who asked, 'Wherefore dost thou cry?'"

Christian tells how he has found by his Book that he is condemned

to die and to be judged. For this he is unwilling as well as unable. Evangelist gives him a parchment roll, on which is written: "Flee from the wrath to come," and directs him to a wicket-gate, which Christian can only see if he keeps a certain shining light before him, which he "thinks he sees." When he knocks at the gate it is to be told him what he shall do.

We may compare the beginning of Christian's pilgrimage with the lovely parable of a pilgrim which the Augustinian, Walter Hylton, has given us, and take, as I think it is quite possible to take, Bunyan's "conversion" as the "re-forming to the image of Christ," of which Hylton has so much to say. So Hylton's pilgrim sets forth to go to the spiritual Jerusalem, the sight of God, who is Peace, under the guidance of the Humility that says, "I am nothing, I have nothing," and the Love that says, "I covet nothing but one thing, that is Jesus." And this is Bunyan's aim—the conversion, the turning away from vanities to serve the living God. It is interesting to note that though the pilgrim reads his book, that Book in which it was held that salvation lay, to be found for himself by every individual seeker, this is not enough. Thus Christian must have help, a living voice, a human guide, Evangelist. So also at the wicket-gate we have, "It shall be told thee what thou shalt do."

As Christian is supposed by his unconverted family to be laboring under some frenzy distemper, so Hylton's pilgrim is told by his spiritual foes that if he hold forth his desire to Jesus so fully, he shall fall into sickness or into fantasies or into frenzies.

How excellent is the characterization of Pliable, who, while Obstinate entirely refuses to go with Christian, whom he and Pliable had followed with the intention of forcing him to return to the City of Destruction, is so attracted by the thought of the wonderful inheritance incorruptible, undefiled and fadeless, that he joins the pilgrim and hears from his lips such descriptions of the fair things of the future that he thinks the hearing of these things enough to ravish one's heart, and would fain hurry on the burden-hindered Christian in a swifter pace to their attainment. Then, wallowing in the very miry Slough of Despond, wherein Christian, by reason of the burden on his back, begins to sink and knows not where he is, Pliable is offended, scandalized. "Is this the happiness you have told me all this while of? . . . May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave country alone for me!"

With a desperate struggle or two he gets out of the mire on that side of the slough that was nearest his own house. "So away he went, and Christian saw him no more."

Mr. Worldly Wiseman next strives to hinder the pilgrim on his way. Do we know nothing of him? Has he not been with us, and

may he not be, in some shape or other, even to the end? And what of the village named Morality, where the gentleman dwells whose name is Legality, who has skill to help men off with such burdens as Christian's? What of the attempts among non-Catholics to substitute the study of ethics for the code by which Christians go? Are not these things a parable, and may we not find in the "pretty young man" whom Legality has to his son an impersonation of the attempt to put the duty of a citizen before the duty of a Christian?

In Bunyan's mind the application was, of course, to the keeping of the law. Flashes of fire come from the terrible hill (Mount Sinai), under which Christian finds himself standing—the hill that seems ready to fall upon his head. "And now he began to be sorry that he had taken Mr. Worldly Wiseman's counsel. And with that he saw Evangelist coming to meet him, at the sight of whom also he began to blush for shame." The true teacher warns him, and yet assures him of pardon and again directs him to the wicket-gate. Here we may note the cry, conscious or unconscious, for an infallible teacher.

At the gate a grave person named Good-will opens to him, lets him in, and as he is entering gives him a pull. Then said Christian, "What means that?" The other told him: "A little distance from this gate there is erected a strong castle, of which Beelzebub is the captain. From thence both he and them that are with him shoot arrows at those that come up to this gate, if haply they may die before they can enter in." To Bunyan ill spirits are ill spirits all through, real foes with whom to contend, foes ever watchful, relentless in their enmity to the pilgrims and the pilgrims' Lord. Christian must henceforth walk in the narrow way and avoid all of the many crooked and wide ways that "butt down upon it." To the request for help to cast off his burden, Good-will replies: "Be content to bear it until thou comest to the place of deliverance."

And the place of deliverance he comes to by and by. The side-note—and the side-notes must by no means be neglected if one would make a study of the book—says: "There is no deliverance from the guilt and burden of sin but by the death and blood of Christ." Who can deny this? We differ only in our belief as to the method of applying these priceless things.

At the House of the Interpreter Christian is shown strange things, lovely and terrible. Here we have the leading of the pilgrim into a little room where sat two little children, each one in his chair. Passion seemed to be much discontented, but Patience was very quiet. And the reason of the discontent of Passion was that while the Governor of the children would have him stay awhile for his best things, he willed to have all now; but Patience was willing to

wait. And a bag of treasure was brought to Passion and poured down at his feet, and he took it and rejoiced and laughed Patience to scorn; and a little while all was lavished away, and to Passion nothing was left but rags. And Christian saw how Patience had indeed the best wisdom. How fine is the portrait of the man of a very stout countenance who arms himself to cut his way through the host of foes to gain entrance to the stately palace, beautiful to behold, where there were walking certain persons clothed all in gold. How fair is his welcome from those within. We can smile with Christian and say with him: "I think verily I know the meaning of this."

How awful is the picture of Despair, in the man in the iron cage in the very dark room. It is terrible to us Catholics in a larger and fuller sense than to any "not yet of this fold." For to us Hope is not merely a good thing, a sweet thing and a pleasant, a something in the spiritual world corresponding to that in the natural which is the "merry heart that goes far in a day," but a virtue, the second of the great theological virtues, the possession of which is not a mere desideratum, but the fulfilling of a commandment. Hence to us the negation of that virtue, which is despair, is a sin. "God hath denied me repentance," says the man in the iron cage. "His Word gives me no encouragement to believe; yea, Himself hath shut me up in this iron cage, nor can all the men in the world let me out." A ghastly statement, undenied and unsoftened by the Interpreter.

In the second part of the "Pilgrim's Progress," relating the journey of Christian's wife and children, there are passages telling of the Interpreter's House that are quite unforgettable. Such is the one which describes the room wherein was a man that could look no way but downwards, with a muck-rake in his hand. "There stood also One over his head, and a celestial crown in His hand, and proffered to give him that crown for his muck-rake; but the man did neither look up nor regard, but raked to himself the straws, the small sticks and dust of the floor." We need not to be told the interpretation of this, but we all need to pray in some form the prayer of Christiana, "Oh, deliver me from this muck-rake!"

When he leaves the Interpreter's house Christian goes up a highway fenced on either side with a wall, and that wall was called Salvation. With great difficulty he runs up this way, because of the great burden on his back. But the time of deliverance was come for him.

"He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending, and upon that place stood a cross, and a little below, in the bottom, a sepulchre. So I saw in my dream that just as Christian came up with the cross

his burden loosed from off his shoulders and fell from off his back and began to tumble, and so continued to do till it came to the mouth of the sepulchre, where it fell in, and I saw it no more."

How beautiful is the description of Christian's joy, the joy of the loosing from the burden and weight of guilt. "Then was Christian glad and lightsome and said, with a merry heart, 'He hath given me rest by His sorrow and life by His death.' Then he stood still awhile to look and wonder, for it was very surprising to him that the sight of the cross should thus ease him of his burden. He looked therefore, and looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the waters down his cheeks."

To some of us, surely, such an experience as this has come. We remember the sort of transport that came to us after receiving the Sacrament of Penance on some special occasion. Better still for those souls to whom this transport comes often and often, as the gracious *absolvo te* falls on the ear. For them a radiance is over all that nothing else has ever brought, and through all that wonderful joy they, as it were, look and look again even till the springs that are in the head send the waters down the cheeks.

How wise is the answer of Christian to Formalist and Hypocrisy, who come tumbling over the wall, instead of entering by the gate, and plead that if they get into the way, it matters not how they have got in. "I walk by the rule of my Master," says the pilgrim; "you walk by the rude working of your fancies."

To the base of the Hill Difficulty he comes, a steep hill and high, right up which goes the narrow way. And this hill was hard to climb, and because of the steepness of it Christian had at last to clamber upon his hands and knees. "Now, about the midway to the top of the hill was a pleasant arbour, made by the Lord of the hill for the refreshing of weary travellers. Here Christian rests, but instead of using the pleasant arbour as a mere place of refreshing, he allows himself to fall asleep within its shelter, and has much loss of time to suffer thereby as well as increase of danger."

The House Beautiful probably represents the communion of saints militant. At any rate we may take it so to our profit. Here is the happy meal at which the pilgrim sits down with Prudence, Piety and Charity and the others of the great, dear family who entertain him. "Now the table was furnished with fat things and with wine that was well refined, and all their talk at the table was about the Lord of the hill; as, namely, about what He had done, and wherefore He did what He did, and why He had builded that house. And by what they said I perceived that He had been a great warrior, and had fought and slain 'him that had the power of death,' but not without great danger to Himself, which made me love Him the more, or, as

they said and as I believe, said Christian, He did it with the loss of much blood; but that which put glory of grace into all He did was that He did it out of pure love to His country. And, besides, there were some of them of the household that said they had seen and spoke with Him since He did die on the cross."

Late at night they betook themselves to rest. The pilgrim they laid in "a large upper chamber, whose window opened toward the sunrising; the name of the chamber was Peace."

There are wonderful things to be shown him before he leaves; great records of many valiant deeds done by the servants of the Lord of the hill; all manner of things in the armory, "enough to harness out as many men for the service of the Lord as there be stars in the heaven for multitude," and, besides, many excellent things with which Christian was much delighted.

On the morrow comes the sight of the Delectable Mountains, Immanuel's land, whence he is one day to attain to the sight of the Celestial City. Forth he goes, armed by their hands with armor of proof—that armor which St. Paul had long ages past told us of: "Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off." Do we not see, "if the day be clear," see, with our spiritual eyes, the far-off heights of glory and beauty, to which one day we may attain—heights whence the very City herself, the holy Jerusalem, may be seen?

After the happy sojourn at the House Beautiful comes the sharp combat in the Valley of Humiliation. Not a few of us would be ready to bear witness to the truth of this experience, well knowing how often it is that hours of rest joyful, and even more than joyful, are sometimes followed by the sharpest trials and the sorest temptations, in the times when, with Christian, we are indeed "hard put to it." The darkneses of the Valley of the Shadow of Death are around us, and the confusion comes wherein we do not know our own voices and are tempted to think those things which are suggestions of the Evil One proceed from our own hearts. But, true as this is, it is not all that Bunyan meant, as we see by what he says in the second part of his book. There the horror of Christian's combat with Apollyon and the desperate trouble of the Valley of the Shadow are attributed to "those slips that he got in his going down the hill"—"the fruit of his own doing." So we have here a deeper lesson yet, even the lesson that overlong tarrying where sweet rest has come, rest intended for the strengthening of our spiritual being, rest designed for the renewing of powers that have been sorely tried, is a grave danger on our way to the Celestial City. The procuring of this rest, instead of obeying the call to strenuous endeavor, is paid for by sore loss of comfort and hindrance in

progress, symbolized in Christian's case by the loss of his "roll" ("the assurance of salvation") and the delay and danger that comes of the loss of time spent in going back to seek it; great loss indeed, and often terrible temptation, under which the soul risks being sorely worsted.

"The Valley of Humiliation is of itself as fruitful a place as any the crow flies over," say Bunyan later on. Perhaps by that time (six years after his first dream) he had learned a still deeper experience, so that he knew better of the use and the beauty of this Valley wherein the lilies grow. "Indeed it is a very fruitful soil and doth bring forth by handfuls. Some also have wished that the next way to their Father's house were here, that they might be troubled no more with either hills or mountains to go over." How true is this, and how wise the Dreamer's comment: "But the way is the way, and there is an end." "In this Valley our Lord formerly had His country house; He loved much to be here; He loved also to walk these meadows, for He found the air was pleasant. . . . This is a valley that nobody walks in but those that love a pilgrim's life. And though Christian had the hard hap to meet here with Apollyon, and to enter with him a brisk encounter, yet I must tell you that, in former times, men have met with angels here, have found pearls here, and have in this place found the words of life."

More are the lovely sayings which we find in this book concerning humility. May those who read here go for them to the book itself. They should read there, too, of Christian's meeting with Faithful and of the meeting of the pilgrims with "one Talkative," and the sight of Evangelist, who predicts to them what troubles they shall meet with in Vanity Fair and encourages them to steadfastness.

How vivid is the description of this great world-old Fair, with its merchandise of all kinds for the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life! "The way to the Celestial City lies just through this town where this lusty fair is kept, and he that will go to the City, and yet not go through this town, must needs 'go out of the world.' The Prince of Princes Himself, when here, went through this town to His own country, and that upon a fair day, too; yea, and as I think, it was Beelzebub, the chief lord of this fair, that invited Him to buy of his vanities; yea, would have made Him lord of the fair would He but have done him reverence as He went through the town." Here the pilgrims are assaulted, besmeared with dirt and put into the cage, that they may be made a spectacle to all the men of the fair. Beaten and loaded with chains, they are led up and down the fair, and at last tried by an evil Judge, Lord Hategood. Envy, Superstition and Pickthank bear witness against them, and the jury, among whom we find Blind-man, No-good,



Love-lust, Live-loose, Liar and Implacable, bring Faithful in guilty of death. The most cruel death they can invent is Faithful's portion, who straightway is carried up through the clouds with sound of trumpet, the nearest way to the Celestial Gate. Bunyan knows how the martyrs fare.

Christian escapes from his enemies, accompanied by one Hopeful ("being made so by the beholding of Christian and Faithful in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the Fair"). And, as Hopeful tells Christian, many more of the men of the Fair would take their time and follow after. By-ends of Fair-speech joins them, asserting himself a pilgrim to the Celestial City—By-ends, among whose kindred are my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, Mr. Facing-both-ways and Mr. Two-tongues, the worthy parson of such a parish. How delightfully By-ends explains how he got what he avers to be not his name, but a nickname. "The worst that ever I did to give them an occasion to give me this name was that I had always the luck to jump in my judgment with the present way of the times, whatever it was, and my chance was to get thereby." Indeed, Bunyan's humor is not a small part of the interest of his book, with its dry wisdom and keen putting of truth.

Again comes sweetness and consolation, pleasant waters running through a meadow, beautified with lilies and green all the year long, where they might in safety lie down and sleep and wake to gather of the fruit of the trees that grew there, good for healing and for health.

Through the following of a by-path instead of the straight road the pilgrims fall into the clutches of Giant Despair, of Doubting Castle, who finds them asleep in his grounds and treats them in merciless fashion, beating them with his grievous crab-tree cudgel after rating them as if they were dogs in the dark and stinking dungeon where he had thrust them. He counsels them to make away with themselves, as Spenser's Despair does also counsel the knight who has fallen into his power. Hopeful keeps up the heart of his brother, as from his name it is meet he should, and at last they escape through the use of the key in Christian's bosom, forgotten hitherto—the key called Promise, that will no doubt open any lock in Doubting Castle. So the pilgrims go upon their way, wiser and gladder, too.

What sympathy Bunyan feels for the tendency to want of hope! He himself had known the anguish of despair, the torment of doubt; and especially in the second part of his book he dwells much on the subject by his presentation of such characters as Mr. Fearing, the poor pilgrim who "stumbled at everything and had a Slough of Despond in his mind," and Mr. Despondency and Much-afraid, his daughter, who go on their darkened way in pain and fear till at

length the clouds roll back and the light of the Celestial City greets them. Yes, Bunyan had indeed gone through needless anguish resulting from passionate credence given to a theology which it would not be wrong to call, in some respects, even anti-Christian. But the tender sympathy that had come out of this experience belongs to the great and beautiful kingdom of holy Charity.

Then comes to the pilgrims the sweetness and solace of the tarrying with the Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains, who look lovingly upon them and welcome them. And in the morning they lead them forth to walk with them and show them sights of warning on the top of the hill called Error; at whose bottom lie several men all dashed to pieces by a fall that they had from the top. From Mount Caution, too, they see the blind as they stumble among the tombs; and, again, they are shown a door, which is the door of that by-way to hell, wherein enter hypocrites and traitors, blasphemers and liars. All these had had "a show of pilgrimage," and yet were miserably cast away. And the pilgrims say the one to the other: "We had need to cry to the Strong for strength."

By this time "the pilgrims had a desire to go forward. . . . Then said the Shepherds one to another, 'Let us here show to the Pilgrims the gates of the Celestial City, if they have skill to look through our perspective glass.' And the Shepherds took them to the top of the hill Clear, and there they essayed to look through the glass, but they could not look steadily, for their hands shook ("the fruits of servile fear," says the side-note). Yet they thought they saw something like the gate, and also something of the glory of the place." And they depart with a song on their lips. Forgetful of the warning of the Shepherds, they fall into the snare of the Flatterer, and suffer grievously thereby. For they have gone on the Enchanted Ground, and it is hard to escape thence. Of the many they meet in their way it would not be possible here to tell, and one can only feebly indicate the rich wisdom, clothed in strong garb, often, indeed, of homespun, which the reader of this great book will find.

Past the Enchanted Ground is the pleasant and safe Land of Beulah, where the sun shineth night and day. It lies beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death; and from this place they could not so much as see Doubting Castle. The sun shines there night and day, and here is to be heard the continual singing of birds and the flowers are seen appearing on the earth and the voice of the turtle dove is heard in the land. Hence, too, the pilgrims have a more perfect view of the Celestial City, with its pearls and precious stones, and the streets thereof paved with gold. And great longing comes upon the pilgrims, and they are sick with desire of the City.

On and on they go, their long and weary journey drawing to its end. On and on, till they come to the great River of Death, to be crossed by all, for there is no other way to the City Celestial. Christian begins to sink, and the sorrows of death compass him about, and darkness and horror fall on him, so that he cannot see before him. He can neither remember nor orderly talk of any of those sweet refreshments that he met with in the way of his pilgrimage. And fears come upon him, and thoughts of what he has done amiss, and evil spirits scare him. Hopeful helps him with words of kindly cheer, and at the last the darkness is past and the enemy is as still as a stone. The angels meet the pilgrims, and the reward is theirs to enter into the joy of their Lord. The waiting for Death is treated very fully in the second part of the book.

With a temperament such as Bunyan had; with his intense power of believing, of seeing; with his feeling for the lovely, the holy, the dread, the true; with his fervid realization of the spiritual world around him, the alive, the unseen, the high angelhood in union with God, the devildom in enmity against Him and His; with his gift of clear and fearless utterance—with all these, what might it not have been to him to have come under the teaching of the Church? And what might we not have gained in priceless possessions had this been so?

I have said that there were certain passages in the book which might possibly bear a sacramental interpretation, though that interpretation is not what their author consciously intended. I am not alone in believing in the unbounded suggestiveness of the work of great "makers," and the mystic in Bunyan may have spoken where the theologian was dumb. The passages which I shall quote, lovely as they are, stand out lovelier a thousandfold if taken in a Catholic sense, and the words of the poet may be given a larger, richer meaning than he himself could have conceived of. Let us be, like Christiana, "of quick apprehension," and apprehend the deepest and fairest that we may.

"I saw now that they went on till they came at the river that was at this side of the Delectable Mountains—to the river where the fine trees grow on both sides, . . . where the meadows are green all the year long, and where they might lie down safely. By this river side, in the meadow, there were cotes and folds for sheep, a house built for the nourishing and bringing up of those lambs, the babes of those women that go on pilgrimage. Also there was here One that was intrusted with them, who could have compassion, and that could gather the lambs with His arm and carry them in His bosom. . . . Now, to the care of this Man Christiana admonished her four daughters to commit their little ones, that by these

waters they might be housed, harboured, and succoured, and nourished, and that none of them might be lacking in time to come. . . . So they were content to commit their little ones to Him."

So are the little ones of those women that go on pilgrimage committed by Holy Church to the arms of Him who will carry them, as they rise, new-born in His grace, from the cleansing and healing of the baptismal river.

Take, again, the medicine that Mr. Skill, the physician, gives to the lad who has eaten of the evil fruit of the Enemy. It is indeed "to the purpose" it is made *ex carne et sanguine Christi*. It is a medicine good against all the diseases that Pilgrims are incident to—a medicine good to prevent disease as well as to cure when one is sick. "Yea," says Mr. Skill, "I dare say it, and stand to it, that if a man will but use this physic as he should, it will make him live forever."

Surely the words of the seer are here. Can the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist be more clearly, more fittingly expressed?

Once more, when the Pilgrims, Christiana and her company, are waiting for the summons to pass over the River of Death, "the children of the town would go into the King's gardens and gather nosegays for the pilgrims and bring them to them with much affection. Here also grew camphire, with spikenard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with all its trees of frankincense, myrrh and aloes, with all chief spices. With these the Pilgrims' chambers were perfumed, while they stayed here, and with these their bodies were anointed to prepare them to go over the river when the time appointed was come."

Yes, in the time of waiting for the supreme call, are there not nosegays gathered by loving hands for the waiting ones? Is there not flower and fragrance of all sweet spices from the gardens of the King? And is there not "the rich juice of the olive" *wherewith their bodies shall be anointed to prepare them to go over the river?*

The sympathy of Catholics has ever been deep and large for their forefathers, persecuted and deprived of their birthright and the glorious things included therein. Must it not also go out to the children of those persecutors whose fathers tore from them the goodliest of all heritages? Must we not think with a great and kindly sorrow, a sorrow, too, that is to be borne by us in our pleading at the feet of our Lord, of those who, having grown up untaught of authority, have groped their way through wildernesses of text, unconnected by the true spiritual interpretation? For those who have steered their boats near perilous shores where pilot there was none to be seen, have wasted spiritual strength in needless combat, have missed loveliness and helps and comfortings and guildings,

whether coming with the stately steps austere of Discipline and Penance or in the gentleness of the Banqueting House of the Prince? And shall we not be glad also, in the faith that in the wilderness the All-gracious One, in mercy and love for their true intent, to their great desire for Himself and His love, has granted them at times to find the heavenly roses of beauty and fragrance; the droppings of the manna celestial; that, among the rocks and shoals, they have discerned a light afar off and heard the very tone of the Pilot's voice? Shall we not take thankfully and lovingly all the gold which, if mixed with dross, is yet true gold; yes, and often gold of the finest? Shall we learn from a heretic? Shall we be taught by a Baptist preacher? Surely yes, in so far as the true vision was vouchsafed to him; in so far as the lips of the Dreamer spoke the truth.

As Mr. Standfast says, "I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of, and wherever I have seen the print of His shoe in the earth, there I have coveted to set my foot, too."

In the book of this Dreamer we may hear our Lord spoken of; here, surely, is the print of His shoe to be seen.

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## CHURCH AND STATE.

### ST. AMBROSE AND THE CIVIL POWER.

THE year 374, which saw the election of St. Ambrose as Bishop of Milan, is a date of importance in the history of the relations of the Catholic Church with the newly Christianized Roman State. Up to this time the State in its dealings with the Church had had things very much its own way. In the East resistance to imperial encroachments in religious matters had generally been feeble, and a majority of the Eastern Bishops had encouraged rather than resisted the attempted subversion of the Constitution of the Church by heterodox Emperors. The issues which for more than half a century, from the conversion of Constantine to the accession of Theodosius, had so divided Eastern Christendom, had been in the West, during the latter part of the reign of Constantius, the occasion of only comparatively short-lived dissensions. Yet, at the same time, it is true that Constantius had been only too successful in bending to his will the great majority of the Western as well as of

the Eastern hierarchy. The fourth century had, indeed, produced, before the elevation to the episcopate of the Governor of Emilia, several worthy champions of spiritual liberty, but to St. Ambrose is due the honor of being the first Bishop who won a notable victory, destined to have far-reaching consequences, in the already acute contest between the spiritual and the civil authorities.

It was, therefore, a new era that began when the voice of a child called to the episcopal throne of Milan the imperial Governor of Liguria and Emilia, better known in after ages as the great Father of the Western Church, St. Ambrose. From the beginning of his episcopate Ambrose took a leading part in all questions of ecclesiastical interest, and always as an uncompromising champion of the orthodox faith. His influence in the councils of the young Emperor Gratian was of the highest, but it was only after the death of this unfortunate Prince that began the portion of his career with which we are now concerned.

The successful revolt of the Spanish General Maximus and the subsequent murder of his imperial friend and pupil, Gratian, were severe blows to the Bishop of Milan. Britain, Gaul and Spain were content to accept the rule of the usurper, and thus only Italy and Africa remained faithful to the young Valentinian II., half-brother and colleague of Gratian. A contest for supremacy was now inevitable between the representatives of rebellion and legitimacy, with the odds decidedly in favor of the former. For Maximus was an experienced soldier and ostentatiously orthodox in religion, a fact greatly to his advantage in the West; whereas, Valentinian II. was a mere boy, with the additional disadvantage of being identified with the unpopular faction of political Arians. Still his position was not altogether hopeless, as he had the moral support of the Eastern Emperor, Theodosius, who, however, for the moment was not in a position to render him more effective assistance. The Bishop of Milan, too, was a powerful ally, who, despite his uncompromising orthodoxy, threw the weight of his influence on the side of the brother of Gratian.

The first assistance rendered by the Bishop of Milan to Valentinian II. was to undertake an embassy in his behalf to the court of Maximus. The mission, it is true, failed to attain its object, though through no fault of Ambrose. But subsequently matters were adjusted between the two legitimate Emperors and the usurper by the recognition of Maximus as a colleague. The political situation being thus adjusted, the Arian party at the court of Milan began to be aggressive. In the matter of the restoration of the altar of victory, indeed, the young Emperor was at one with Ambrose, but this harmony between Church and State was not destined to con-

tinue. The election of St. Ambrose had proved a serious check to the Arians of Milan. The predecessor of the new Bishop, Auxentius, had been of their party, and they had possessed strength enough to prevent the election of a known orthodox candidate as his successor. Both parties agreed to the choice of Ambrose, who was only a catechumen, and each probably hoped the Bishop-elect might adopt its own tenets. As it happened, the views of Ambrose proved strictly orthodox, and thus at a stroke the cause of Arianism was lost in its Western stronghold.

For the orthodoxy of Ambrose, as the future was to prove, was not of the kind that compromised with or yielded before difficulties. From the moment of his consecration worship according to the Arian form ceased in the churches, so that not even a single basilica was left the Arian court in which to hold services in accordance with their religious tenets. The danger from the side of Maximus for the moment held the ruling spirit at court, the Empress Justina, in restraint, but after this was removed a demand was made on Ambrose that one of the basilicas of the city should be placed immediately at the disposition of the Emperor.

Thus again arose the important question as to whether property vested in the Church could be disposed of by the chief of the State according to his pleasure. Previous Christian Emperors had settled the matter by the right of might, but in Milan at this time the forces of Church and State were too evenly balanced to admit of so easy a solution. Realizing this fact, the Empress, on behalf of her co-religionists, was at first quite moderate in her demands; all she asked for was a small basilica, the Portian, which was not even within the confines of the city. But Ambrose, realizing that a great principle rather than an insignificant church was in question, refused to accede to the request of Justina. This decision, naturally enough, irritated the court and a second and peremptory demand was now made that the most important church of the city, the New Basilica, should at once be handed over to the imperial officers.

But the members of the Arian court were quickly made to realize how little power they possessed to enforce compliance with their wishes. The mere demand for the New Basilica so deeply agitated the Catholic Milanese that the scared counsellors of the Empress were compelled to advise the withdrawal of the imperial order and request Ambrose to calm the public. They then proposed a compromise; the Empress, they declared, would be satisfied with the basilica first asked for. But the Bishop would make no concession. The day following this refusal, Palm Sunday, while Ambrose was engaged in instructing the candidates for the Easter baptism, tidings were brought to the effect that imperial officials had seized and were

then engaged in placing the imperial insignia on the Portian basilica. Thus the pride of the vacillating court had at length overcome their fears, and the crisis had come. When the news of the seizure became known, the people burst into fury. An unfortunate Arian priest, whom they encountered in the streets, would have fared badly at their hands but for the intervention of Ambrose. The court, however, remained firm. Gothic soldiers took possession of the contested basilica; heavy fines were imposed on the wealthy merchants of the city, and many persons were even imprisoned. But these measures, so far from intimidating, only still more aroused public indignation. The situation was evidently becoming dangerous, and the court again sought an accommodation with Ambrose. But the Bishop remained firm. To the argument of the imperial representatives that the rights of the Emperor over property in general were practically unlimited, he interposed a categorical denial; "those things that are God's," he informed them, "are not subject to the imperial power," but as regarded his personal property, the Emperor was welcome to dispose of it as he saw fit.<sup>1</sup>

While the troops remained in possession of the Portian basilica, which was surrounded by a hostile multitude, a great concourse gathered in the New Basilica, fearing lest the imperialists, now that they had resolved on bold measures, would seize it also. Ambrose was called for, and after reading the lesson for the day from the pulpit, he addressed the assemblage on the extraordinary state of things of which they were eye-witnesses. He began his discourse by contrasting the patience of the Milanese Catholics with the heroic endurance of Job. He then paid his respects to Justina by significant allusions to Jezebel and Herodias, after which he explained the reasons for his attitude in the question at issue. His refusal to comply with the wish of the young Emperor, he affirmed, was on the ground that to do so would be a betrayal of the trust assumed by him with the episcopal office. "It is not lawful for me to surrender it (the basilica), nor advantageous for you, O Emperor, to receive it." A church is the house of God, and as such the laws that regulate other property do not apply to it. "Do not, O Emperor, lay on yourself the burden of such a thought as that you have any imperial power over those things that belong to God." And after recalling the principle of giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, he draws the inference pertinent to the case: "The palaces belong to the Emperor, the churches to the Bishop. Authority is committed to you over public, not over sacred edifices."

During the course of the services at which this discourse was delivered several Gothic soldiers were noticed among the congrega-

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<sup>1</sup> St. Ambrose, *Bp.* 20.



tion. Previously the Bishop had instructed the people to refrain from association with the troops, because of their participation in the seizure of the Portian basilica. This decision greatly disturbed the soldiers, who on the one hand had to obey orders, and on the other were cut off from the religious celebrations of Holy Week and Easter. True, most of them were probably Arians, but this designation could have had little meaning in their ears. Their fathers had accepted the form of Christianity preached to their nation by the famous Ulphilas, and of course the nice distinctions that divided orthodoxy from heterodoxy were largely if not wholly lost on a rude, illiterate soldiery. Moreover, they knew the late Bishop of Milan, Auxentius, though holding their form of Christianity, had been recognized as Bishop by all parties till his death. As to the question in debate between the court and the Bishop, that was to them a matter of indifference, but the concrete fact that they were excommunicated affected them grievously. Some of their number, therefore, while off duty hovered round the New Basilica, and little by little, attracted by the solemn chanting of the liturgy, they approached the entrance and finally mingled with the congregation. Their appearance at first alarmed the women, but the soldiers reassured them, saying that they had no hostile intention, but, on the contrary, that they had come to take part in the services.

The news of the soldiers thus fraternizing with the people caused consternation at court, for it was now reasonably feared that the military could not be relied upon for the execution of extreme measures against the adherents of Ambrose. The Empress, indeed, held out till the following day, but meanwhile the soldiers looked on while mischievous street urchins amused themselves by tearing in pieces the imperial insignia on the Portian basilica. Further resistance might be dangerous, and as Ambrose paid no more attention to threats than to entreaties, the soldiers were ordered to withdraw, thus leaving the church in possession of the Bishop. The fines imposed on the merchants were also remitted, and the victory of Ambrose was celebrated by the entire city, including the military, with every exhibition of joy.

A significant occurrence at the close of this incident is of interest because of the contrast in the issue with a similar occurrence of the reign of Constantius, in which Pope Liberius and the court eunuch Eusebius had figured. The chief chamberlain of Valentinian II., in the style of his predecessor, demanded of Ambrose menacingly why he dared while he, the chamberlain, was alive to treat the young Emperor with contempt. Ambrose calmly answered: "God grant you to fulfill your threat, for then I shall suffer as Bishops do, while you will act as do eunuchs." But times were changed, and the day

had passed in the West when an Emperor and a eunuch could punish the bold assertion of the Church's rights as Constantius and Eusebius had punished Liberius.

The imperial court accepted defeat, as was to be expected, ungraciously. The Empress bided her time, however, before moving anew in the duel with the powerful Bishop of Milan. The second onset in the contest opened several months after the events described with a proclamation of tolerance in behalf of those who professed the Arian creed of Rimini, and this was followed by a mandate summoning Ambrose to a debate with the Bishop, named Auxentius, whom the Arians had secured as leader, in which the decision was to be in the hands of a committee of laymen, half chosen by each disputant, with the boy Emperor as President. This absurd proposal was received by Ambrose with scorn. In his reply to Valentinian II. he begins by recalling the policy in Church matters of the first Valentinian, which was that only "priests should judge concerning priests." Now, however, the ill-advised son of an Emperor who had consistently observed this principle, foolishly asks the Bishop of Milan to submit to the judgment of laymen, presided over by an unbaptized stripling, in a matter purely ecclesiastical. "When have you heard," asks the Bishop, "that laymen gave judgment concerning a Bishop in a matter of faith? If a Bishop is to be taught by a layman, what will follow? Let the layman argue and the Bishop listen; let the Bishop learn from the layman. But undoubtedly, whether we go through the series of the Holy Scriptures, or the times of old, who is there who can deny that in a matter of faith—in a matter of faith, I say—Bishops are wont to judge of Christian Emperors, not Emperors of Bishops."

Moreover, what is there to judge? He (Ambrose) is the legitimate Bishop of Milan, with a title no one may dispute. The entire Christian population of Milan chose him for his office, and they are content with his ministrations. If Auxentius wants recognition as a Bishop, let him seek it from his foreign adherents; in Milan nobody wants him. In any event, even if there were something on which to pass judgment, it is already prejudged; the imperial edict in favor of the council of Rimini is clear enough indication as to how the lay committee will decide. If Auxentius has anything to say for himself, let him say it before a synod of Bishops, the only legitimate judges in a question of faith.

This refusal to submit his cause to a lay tribunal was followed by an imperial order, which Ambrose disregarded, to leave Milan. Thus once more were his opponents foiled, for, too weak to expel him by force, they had hoped he would submit quietly to an order of exile. The people also entertained some fears lest he might yield,

but in a famous sermon preached at this time he reassured them as to his attitude; he would yield to force, but to force only.

Things remained in this state for some time longer, on one side passive resistance, and on the other the wish, but not the strength, to proceed to extreme measures. During the crisis Ambrose, constantly guarded by a large concourse of his people, who feared lest he might be seized treacherously, kept vigil day and night in the New Basilica. This state of siege continued for several days, but the time passed quickly in chanting the vigorous hymns composed for the occasion by the Bishop. The great event of this period, however, was the discovery of the bodies of the martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, which enabled Ambrose to consecrate the New Basilica with the greatest solemnity. Numerous miracles signaled the transfer of the precious relics, and these, together with the general enthusiasm of the occasion, decided the struggle in favor of the Bishop. The following year (387) we find Ambrose, after reconciliation with the court, undertaking a second embassy to the court of Maximus at Trier, for the purpose of averting, if possible, the imminent danger that threatened Valentinian at the hands of the man who had already deprived his half-brother, Gratian, of throne and life.

From the point of view of her son's interest, the contest in which Justina and her Arian councillors had involved Valentinian II. with the Bishop of Milan was extremely impolitic. Arianism in the empire had received its death blow from the hand of Theodosius; the East since his accession to the throne had returned to orthodoxy, and the West had never, save for a moment, and then not formally, departed from the Nicene faith. Under these circumstances it was pure folly to involve the young Emperor in a struggle with the strongest defender of the faith that the Church had produced since the death of Athanasius. Maximus of Gaul was not slow to see the advantage to himself of Justina's attitude. The orthodoxy of the usurper was of the strictest order politically. He had won the favor of an influential part of the Gallic and Spanish episcopate by his persecution, even unto death, of the Priscillianist heretics, after which he was in a position to read Valentinian II. a severe lecture on the doings at Milan.

The reconciliation of Valentinian with Ambrose was doubtless strongly influenced by fear of this powerful mentor, and the embassy of Ambrose was undertaken for the purpose of trying to dissuade Maximus from invading Italy. But the second mission of the Bishop of Milan, like the first, to the court of Trier, was doomed to failure, for the very good reason that Maximus had already decided to dethrone his young colleague at the first oppor-

tunity. This had now arrived, and the following year (387) his army entered Italy. Valentinian at his approach fled to Aquileia and thence to Thessalonica to the protection of Theodosius, while Maximus marched to Rome without opposition.

Whatever sympathy the Eastern Emperor may have felt for the fugitive brother of his benefactor, Gratian, Theodosius was too good a general not to see the difficulties of the situation. Maximus was, indeed, an unwelcome colleague, but the western portion of the empire was now in his hands, and a contest with him for supremacy would be no mere holiday expedition. Nearly a year elapsed, therefore, before Theodosius declared war; then, having contracted a still closer alliance with Valentinian by his marriage with his sister Galla, he set out for Italy.

The forces of Maximus were first encountered and defeated at Siscia on the Save. A more stubborn contest at Pettau was also won by Theodosius, after which he crossed the Julian Alps, took Aquileia by storm and executed his fallen rival. A new division of the empire was then made, in which Valentinian II. received from his generous protector not only the territory of which formerly he was master, but in addition that which for five years had been governed by Maximus. Justina lived just long enough to witness her son's restoration; after her death the young Emperor embraced the orthodox faith, and during the short remaining portion of his life had no more staunch friend than the Bishop of Milan.

The victorious Theodosius remained nearly three years in the West after the fall of Maximus, and, as during this time he resided chiefly in Milan, his relations with St. Ambrose were intimate. Two such men as the great orthodox Emperor of the East and the greatest of contemporary Bishops could not well fail to entertain for one another a high degree of esteem. Such, indeed, was the fact, yet on two occasions circumstances again forced St. Ambrose into opposition to an Emperor in the conscientious discharge of the duties of his episcopal office. On the first of these occasions the question was in regard to a disturbance that took place in Callinicum, a city on the Euphrates. A Jewish synagogue of Callinicum had, according to the report received by the Emperor, been burned to the ground at the instigation of the Bishop. About the same time the report of a second disturbance, in the same locality, between some orthodox monks and the Gnostic sect of the Valentinians was brought to Theodosius; in this case the Valentinians had attempted to break up a procession of the monks, which so enraged the latter that they had destroyed the heretical meeting house.

On receipt of these reports from the Count of the East Theodosius acted promptly. The Bishop of Callinicum was commanded to

rebuild the synagogue at his own expense, and the monks were ordered to be punished in some manner not stated by St. Ambrose in his account of the matter.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop was absent from Milan when these decisions were given, but on hearing of them he at once wrote Theodosius a strong letter of protest. Taking up first the case of the destroyed synagogue, he pronounced the sentence entirely without justification. For, in the first place, he maintained, justice demanded that the statement of the defendants should have been obtained before inflicting so severe a penalty. But, assuming for argument sake that the Bishop of Callinicum had done what was said, that he had been "too timid in the judgment seat," the consequences of a Christian Emperor compelling a Christian Bishop to build a synagogue will be very serious. For if the Bishop complies with the imperial order, he will be guilty of apostasy; whereas, on the other hand, if he refuse and is punished, he will be a martyr. St. Ambrose seems to suppose that the destruction of the synagogue was due to fanaticism, in order that, as the incendiaries regarded the matter, "there might not be," in Callinicum, "a place where Christ was denied."<sup>3</sup> Ambrose makes no attempt to condone the crime of the Christians of Callinicum; he, indeed, evidently regards their action as blameworthy. But from his point of view the harm was now done, and it was impossible for a Christian to remedy it. To attempt to do so by erecting a new synagogue, "a home of unbelief, a house of impiety, a receptacle of folly, which God Himself has condemned," would be nothing short of apostasy. Moreover, what a triumph this will be for the Jews, who a few years before, under Julian, had burned with impunity two Christian churches at Damascus, one of which is still in ruins, while the other is being repaired at the cost of the Christians. At Gaza also, and Ascalon, and Berytus basilicas had been destroyed by Jews, and at Alexandria a church had been burned by Jews and pagans, yet the Christians, under the successors of Julian, Christian Emperors though they were, had neither sought nor obtained redress. But now, forsooth, a Christian Emperor orders Christians to compensate representatives of a race from whom they had suffered bitter persecution for the destruction of a miserable edifice in an insignificant village. If the Emperor desires to reimburse the Jews for their losses, why not be consistent and order compensation all round? At Rome very recently the house of the Prefect had been burned down, yet nobody had been punished. Recently also, at Constantinople, the Bishop's house had been burned under circumstances similar to those in which the Jewish synagogue had been destroyed, but at the inter-

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<sup>2</sup> Epp. xl. and xli.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. xl., 18.

cession of the Emperor's son the guilty ones had escaped punishment. Why, then, after all these instances of arson with impunity, make an exception of Callinicum? Is it because it is a synagogue?<sup>4</sup>

Such is the general tenor of this important letter. St. Ambrose repeatedly insists on the triumph of the Jews if the Emperor's orders are carried out, and on the fact that the Christians in similar circumstances neither asked nor received compensation. Moreover, he maintains, the Christians cannot conscientiously contribute anything to the erection of a structure for a worship rejected of God. He even warns Theodosius of the fate of Maximus, whose misfortunes were popularly attributed to his having given orders for the re-erection of a synagogue burned in Rome. Nothing good can come of this, it was said. "That King (Maximus) has become a Jew," and the punishment of his apostasy came in the shape of a succession of defeats which ended in the loss of his throne and life. Finally, says Ambrose, the whole question amounts to this: "Who is to avenge the synagogue? Christ whom they slew, whom they denied?" In a word, St. Ambrose, voicing the Christian public opinion of the time, regarded the order of Theodosius as impious, as nothing short of persecution, since compliance with it on the part of the Christians would be equivalent to a public rejection of their faith.

After forwarding this letter to Theodosius St. Ambrose hastily returned to Milan and in a sermon preached in the presence of the Emperor again brought up the question of the order to re-erect the burned synagogue. Allusions in the sermon were so significant that after the services Theodosius waited on the Bishop to discuss the matter. The upshot was that the Emperor yielded and the incident closed with a remission of the punishment decreed both against the monks and the Bishop of Callinicum.

Of far greater moment than this question of compensation for property was the conflict between Theodosius and Ambrose relative to the massacre of Thessalonica. The impression made by this incident on contemporaries is reflected in the overdrawn accounts of the affair given by Sozomen and Theodoret, which represent the Bishop of Milan at the door of his cathedral prohibiting the Emperor from attendance at the liturgy until he would perform adequate penance for his grave offense against the moral code of Christianity.<sup>5</sup> The account of the matter given by St. Ambrose himself, though wanting in some details, is obviously more trustworthy, and the principle at stake is brought out as clearly, if more soberly, as by these historians.

A brief outline of the facts in this well-known episode will be

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<sup>4</sup> Ep. xl., 13.

<sup>5</sup> Sozomen, H. E. VII., 25; Theodoret, H. E. V., 17.

sufficient for our purpose. The Master of the Soldiery in Illyricum, Botheric, had caused the arrest and imprisonment of a popular charioteer who had committed a crime of a very heinous order. Some time afterwards races of unusual interest were to be held in Thessalonica, a circumstance which at first drew general attention and afterwards sympathy to the imprisoned charioteer. A demand for his release was met with a decided refusal, which aroused the fury of the mob and caused a riot, in which Botheric was slain. Knowing something of the violent temper of Theodosius, St. Ambrose at once interceded with him in behalf of the Thessalonians, and received a promise of clemency. But subsequently other councils prevailed, and without the knowledge of the Bishop an order was forwarded to Thessalonica which resulted in the indiscriminate massacre of seven or more thousand citizens.

It was only after the despatch of the fatal order that Theodosius came to realize what would be the possible consequence. He then endeavored, but too late, to countermand it. When the tidings of the massacre were brought to Milan St. Ambrose at once addressed the Emperor in a letter of dignified rebuke, calling his attention to the penalty which as a Christian, and notwithstanding his imperial dignity, he shall have to pay as satisfaction for his inexcusable violence. The Bishop begins with an allusion to the friendship that has long existed between himself and Theodosius, and expresses his high appreciation of the many favors of which he has been the recipient at the hands of the Emperor. Of late, Ambrose continues, he has kept away from court, not from any ungrateful feeling, but because he saw very clearly that other counsellors were preferred before him, and because in particular his advice on the Thessalonian question had been rejected. Beforehand he had plainly stated that a punishment of the citizens of Thessalonica such as had since been carried into effect would be an outrage of the most atrocious character. At the time Theodosius agreed with him, and promised leniency, yet he had subsequently, at the instance of courtiers, changed his mind, with the most fatal results. But now that the harm is done, only one thing is left—the Emperor must do penance for his sin, which penance must be commensurate with the offense. Until he has thus satisfied the requirements of the Church's laws he must not attend the celebration of the liturgy, for the Bishop will not dare offer sacrifice if he intends to be present. This letter Ambrose has written with his own hand, lest any one should be aware of its contents; it is for the eye of the Emperor alone.<sup>6</sup>

From the tenor of this communication it is clear that St. Ambrose privately warned Theodosius that he must consider himself excom-

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<sup>6</sup> St. Ambrose, *Ep.* II., 14.

municated until such time as he shall be ready to acknowledge publicly, as any other Christian, and do penance for his offense. As to whether the Emperor, as Sozomen and Theodoret affirm, endeavored to force the issue by attempting to enter the basilica, despite this prohibition, may be doubted. Theodosius knew too well the sort of man with whom he had to deal to act in the manner described by these historians. It is now generally regarded as more in harmony with the probabilities to admit only that Theodosius, after some hesitation, accepted the Bishop's decision and gave the public satisfaction required of him.

The question of the massacre of Thessalonica was the last of importance that arose in the West in the fourth century as an issue between the directing authorities of Church and State. The great impression made on the minds of contemporary Christians by the firmness of St. Ambrose is well indicated by the dramatic accounts of the occurrence handed down by the Eastern historians, Sozomen and Theodoret. But while modern writers generally agree in discounting their recitals, yet the actual facts are indisputably of immense importance. For, if we stop to contrast the relations of Constantine to the churchmen of his time with those of the successive Emperors who ruled in Milan in the last quarter of the fourth century, one cannot fail to observe a striking change in the relations of the two powers in Western Christendom. From the moment of his conversion Constantine, though deferential in certain respects to the ecclesiastical authorities, assumed as a matter of course the position of a Christian *Pontifex Maximus*. The precedent thus established, without protest, was not merely followed literally, but developed in a sense which would ultimately, unless successfully resisted, prove ruinous to the legitimate freedom which the Church should exercise. The Eastern portion of the empire, from this point of view, had been particularly unfortunate. Emperor after Emperor, from Constantine to Valens, imposed on the Church with too great success his will as the supreme directing authority in Christendom. And although in theory the civil rulers generally admitted that they had no authority in the domain of faith; that their self-assumed duties were exercised in their character of "Bishops of the Exterior," yet in practice they constituted themselves the final judges of the orthodoxy of creeds to which Christian Bishops were compelled, under pain of exile, to subscribe.

The West had been more fortunate in being governed, save during part of the reign of Constantius, by Emperors who had little taste for matters theological. The Western Bishops, too, were at one when conflicts did arise as to the limits of imperial interference in ecclesiastical administration. And although they yielded on one



famous occasion—at the synod of Rimini—to the imperial will, yet they were themselves the first to deplore their fall and withdraw their adhesion to a doubtful formula. A large and most influential section of the Eastern episcopate, on the other hand, all through the fourth century, so far from protesting against, actually encouraged, in the interest of their own worldly ambitions, the assumption of supreme authority by the Emperors within the Church. Successive heresiarchs in the East were the originators and fomenters of Cæsaropapism. And even at the close of the century, when the orthodox, in the reign of Theodosius, came into favor, they also were disposed to permit without protest this Emperor to exercise prerogatives to which the Divine Constitution of the Church gave him not the shadow of a claim. It was only when Theodosius visited the West that he for the first time learned the restrictions to which even an Emperor must submit. The Emperor, Ambrose had informed Valentinian II.,<sup>7</sup> is in the Church, not over it, and Theodosius in his public penance illustrated the enforcement of this principle. Yet Ambrose, while maintaining all through his life the legitimate prerogatives of the Church, cannot be said to have detracted in the least from the authority and deference due to the head of the State. In the matter of the basilica demanded by Justina he merely established a precedent, the justice of which is recognized to-day by all jurists in the United States—namely, that a church erected and dedicated to a given form of worship cannot be arbitrarily used for a totally different form of worship without the unanimous consent of the congregation. His attitude in the affair of the burned synagogues is usually regarded as more questionable, yet how entirely his objection was due to conscientious scruples is apparent from what he has written on this subject. But universal approval has been the reward for his noble letter to Theodosius on the massacre of Thessalonica. It was something new in the history of imperial Rome to find any man bold enough to rebuke the tyranny of an Emperor, whether pagan or Christian. The Christian Emperors, indeed, in the matter of arbitrariness, were little if any improvement over their pagan predecessors. The name of Constantine is stained with the judicial murder of his son and his wife; the cruelties of Valentinian I. were so dreadful as to raise the question of his sanity, while Theodosius had been guilty of the Thessalonica massacre, and this not at all on the impulse of the moment, but after he had promised Ambrose to exercise clemency. Yet these three Emperors were not merely the ablest who controlled the destinies of the empire in the fourth century, but in addition they were the Emperors who best understood what Christianity meant

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<sup>7</sup> *Sermo contra Auxent.*, 36.

to humanity. But with the pontificate of St. Ambrose a different state of things begins. The firm and respectful opposition of the great Bishop of Milan to imperial dictation in matters ecclesiastical, no less than his insistence that a Christian Emperor must respect the Christian moral code, marks the beginning of a tradition never to be lost sight of in the Christian West of subsequent ages. Unfortunately for the East, Constantinople produced no Ambrose. The nearest approach to him, St. John Chrysostom, lacked somewhat of the prudent firmness as well as the moral support of his people which made Ambrose victorious. Chrysostom's failure in the Eastern capital is in striking contrast to the victory of Ambrose in Milan. The lives of these two men mark the parting of the ways in the very different destinies of the two sections of Christendom. For the greater part of a century Eastern Christianity had been permitting Cæsar to exercise ever more and more the authority which belonged to the Church, whereas, in the West, during the same period, the consciousness of danger to religious liberty from the same source was gradually taking firm hold of the minds of the Western episcopate. St. Ambrose for the first time clearly defined the spheres of the two authorities and, more important still, in practice he was successful in having his definition accepted. His example was not to be forgotten in Latin Christendom, whereas in the East the death of Chrysostom in exile marked a new advance in the growing subjection of the Eastern Church to the despotism of the State.

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#### THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE Turks, primitively one of the numerous nomad tribes who roamed over Central and Eastern Asia, were first known to history by that name at the commencement of the sixth century. Founders of an empire which extended from the borders of Manchuria to the Carpathians, as Seljuk Sultans they governed the greater part of the Khalifs' dominions in Asia from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, extending the Mohammedan religion and rule into Anatolia and preparing the way for their successors, the Ottomans. First as captives and slaves of the Khalifs, then as a military aristocracy and subsequently as Seljukian Sultans they absorbed the power that once belonged to Arab and Persian, from the Oxus to the borders of Egypt and the Asiatic frontiers of the

Byzantine Empire. The wide empire of the Saracens became theirs, and the aid which Erotoghrul, son of Suleyman—a member of the Oghuz branch of the Turks—gave to Kay-Kubad, the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium, in resisting a Mongolian invasion near Angora, was the first step that led to the creation of the Ottoman Empire, which has for more than six hundred years been ruled by thirty-five Princes in the male line without a break in the succession. There is no such example, says Stanley Lane-Poole, of the continuous authority of a single family in the history of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The Turkish capture of Constantinople, completing their conquest of the Balkan Peninsula, was the fulfillment of a dream. Othman or Osman, son of Ertoghrul, born in 1258, from whom the Osmanli or Ottomans derive their name—the first ruler of the line who declared his absolute independence—fell in love with the daughter of Edeballi, a doctor of the law, at the little village of Itburuni, near Eskişehir. She was called Mal Khatun, or “lady treasure,” and Kamariya, or “moonbright,” from her surpassing beauty. The poet’s words, “the course of true love never yet ran smooth,” were antecedently verified in his case. Her father discouraged the suit until a dream prevailed where a lover’s pleadings failed. One night Osman in a dream thought he saw himself and the old man stretched upon the ground, when from Edeballi’s breast there seemed to rise a moon, which, waxing to the full, approached the prostrate form of Osman and finally sank to rest in his bosom. Thereat from out his loins sprang forth a tree, which grew higher and higher and spread out its branches till the boughs overshadowed the earth and the seas. Under the canopy of leaves towered four mighty mountains, Caucasus and Atlas, Taurus and Haemus, which held up the leafy vault like four great tent poles, and from their sides flowed the Nile and Danube, the Tigris and Euphrates. Ships sailed upon the waters, harvests waved upon the fields, cities raised domes and minarets towards the green canopy; temples and obelisks, towers and fortresses arose and on their pinnacles shone the golden Crescent. As he gazed a great wind blew and dashed the Crescent against the crown of Constantine, that imperial city which stood at the meeting of two seas and two continents, like a diamond between sapphires and emeralds, the centre jewel of the ring of empire.<sup>2</sup> Osman was about to place the dazzling ring upon her finger when he awoke. He related his dream to her father, who, convinced of the great future thus foreshadowed for the offspring of Osman and the moon-faced damsel, consented to their union.

<sup>1</sup> “Turkey,” by Stanley Lane-Poole, second edition. London: Fisher Unwin, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Von Hammer, “Geschichte der Osmanischen Reichs” (I, 66-67). Quoted by Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

The stirring story of Osman's career, until death closed it at the age of seventy, after a reign of twenty-six years, is a record of rapidly succeeding conquests which brought the Turks nearer and nearer to the goal of their ambition—the seat of the Greek Empire. When he encountered the Byzantine army at Baphoeum, he routed it and ravaged the whole of Bithynia, so that the Greeks dared not venture outside the walls of Nicæa.<sup>3</sup> Brusa, one of the two chief cities held by the Greeks in Asia, surrendered in 1326 to Osman's son Orkhan, after a ten-years' siege, and was made the capital of the already expanding Ottoman Empire. While Nicæa, the cradle of the Greek Church, and which had been for two generations the capital of the Greek Empire, was closely blockaded, and Osman's flying cavalry ravaged the country as far as the Black Sea, the Emperor, standing on the towers of his palace at Constantinople, could see the flames of the burning villages across the Bosphorus. The immediate conquest of Nicæa and Nicomedia and the firm establishment of the Turks upon the shores of the Bosphorus quickly followed the death of "Black Osman,"<sup>4</sup> and in two generations the Turks found themselves masters of the whole of the northwest corner of Asia Minor and actually in sight of the then, as now, much-coveted prize destined to come into their possession. The Sultan, as he stood on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus, could see the domes and palaces of Constantinople, the metropolis of the decadent and doomed empire of the Palaeologi.

An alliance between the Turks and the Genoese, whom they aided in their conflict with the Venetians, the other great maritime power of the Mediterranean, and the most resolute opponents of the Crescent, led to the first entrance of the Ottomans upon European soil. Suleyman Pasha, Orkhan's eldest son, who had already operated with success in the Balkan provinces, crossed the Hellespont on a couple of rafts with eighty followers and took the castle of Tzympe, which in a few days was garrisoned with three thousand Ottoman soldiers. Cantazucenus, the Greek Emperor, who had given his daughter Theodora in marriage to the sexagenarian Moslem, Orkhan, was too busy with the hostility of his other son-in-law, John Palaeologus, to resist this unprovoked invasion; he even sought the assistance of the Sultan against his rival. More Turks were accordingly sent over to reinforce Suleyman's command. Palaeologus was beaten, but the Ottomans had won their foothold in Europe. In 1358 an earthquake overthrew the cities of Thrace.

<sup>3</sup> Finlay, "Hist. of Greece," III., 387.

<sup>4</sup> In accordance with his last wish, he was buried at Brusa, where his sepulchre existed up to the last century. His sword is still preserved at Constantinople, and each successive Sultan is invested with the founder's weapon at his coronation.

Houses crumbled to the ground, and even the walls and fortifications fell upon the trembling earth, while the terrified inhabitants fled from their shaking homes. Among the rest the walls around Gallipoli fell down, the people deserted the city, and over the ruins the Turks marched in. The Emperor in vain protested. Orkhan declared that Providence had opened the city to his troops, and he could not disregard so clear an instance of Divine interposition. The civil war which still raged left Cantazucenus small leisure for attending to anything but the attacks of Palaeologus. The shore of the Hellespont was quickly garrisoned with Ottoman soldiers, and the first fatal step had been permitted which led to the conquest of the empire and the perpetual menace of Europe for several centuries.<sup>5</sup>

Adrianople (1361) and Philippopolis were soon after taken by Amurath or Murad I., the successor of Orkhan, who died in 1359, and Macedonia and Roumelia became provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which in 1365 concluded a commercial treaty with the Republic of Ragusa, over which it assumed a protectorate. But the Turks had others to count with besides Greek degenerates, and, in view of recent events in the Balkan Peninsula, it is interesting and suggestive to recall that the stoutest resistance to their onward march was made by Servians and Bulgarians. "To say nothing of danger from behind in Asia," says Lane-Poole, "there was a belt of warlike peoples beyond the Balkan, who weremade of very different stuff from the emasculate Greeks. Behind the empire were ranged the vigorous young Slavonic races of Servia and Bornia, the Bulgarians, and the Vlachs, with their traditions of Roman descent; the Skipitars of Albania, a hardy race of mountaineers, and, above all, the Magyars of Hungary, who, with their neighbors the Poles, formed for three centuries the chief bulwark of Christendom against the swelling tide of Mohammedan invasion. In 1364 the first encounter between the northern Christians and the invaders took place on the banks of the Maritza, near Adrianople, whither Louis I., King of Hungary and Poland, and the Princes of Bosnia, Servia and Wallachia, pushed forward to put an end once for all to the rule of the Ottomans in Europe."<sup>6</sup> But the end was not yet. The more alert Turks, although they were only half the number of the Christian troops, by a sudden night attack surprised and defeated the Hungarians at a spot which is known to this day in Turkish as *Sirf Sindughi*, or "Serbs' rout." The whole of ancient Thrace, except the country around Constantinople, was now in their grasp. In 1375 Nissa, the birthplace of Constantine the Great and one of the strongholds of the Byzantine Empire, capitulated after

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<sup>5</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

a twenty-five days' siege. Servia secured peace by agreeing to pay an annual tribute of a thousand pounds in silver and furnish a thousand horsemen to the Turkish army. Bulgaria sued for and obtained a respite by a matrimonial alliance, and the Greek Emperor declared himself a vassal of Murad, who in 1388, after suffering a defeat at the hands of a Slavonic crusade, led by Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, to expel the common enemy, conquered and annexed Bulgaria to the Ottoman Empire. But it was only to meet his death after the famous battle of Kosovo (1389), celebrated in Servian history, legend and patriotic ballad poetry, when Milosh Kobilovich, a Servian warrior, made his way into the Sultan's presence and plunged his dagger into his heart. Swift vengeance was taken by the Turks. The dying Sultan before he expired in his tent ordered the execution of Lazarus, the Servian Czar, and the assassin, whom the Servians have extolled as a national hero, was hewn to pieces by his guard. They wrecked little of human life in those days. Bajazet, or Bayezed, the new Sultan, who was proclaimed on the battlefield in the sight of the dead body of his father, slew his own brother, Ya'kub, although he had fought gallantly during that eventful day. The murder of their brothers became an established principle of Ottoman succession. Murad himself had put to death his son Saveji when he rebelled against him, and Bajazet was equally resolved to brook no brother near his throne.

He had soon to face a more formidable foe. The Pope in 1394 proclaimed a great Catholic crusade against the Moslems, led and organized by Sigismund, the chivalrous Catholic King of Hungary. The flower of European chivalry flocked to the standard of Sigismund, volunteers in a holy war, the object of which was to drive the Turks out of Europe, cross the Hellespont and rescue the Holy Land from the infidels. It might have been successful but for the abandonment of the Christian cause by the Servian King, who had given his sister to wife to the Sultan, and who, at the battle of Nicopolis, when the Magyars had driven back the Turkish janissaries and come to close quarters with the Spahis, whom they threatened to overthrow, led his five thousand Slavs upon the Christian troops and won the day for his Moslem master. Bajazet, who had sworn to stable his horse at the high altar of St. Peter's in Rome, as he rode among the heaps of slain, is related to have wept tears of rage to see how many of his bravest warriors had fallen before the furious onslaught of the French and the steady desperation of Sigismund's attack.<sup>7</sup>

True to the sanguinary traditions of his race, who revel in scenes of slaughter, he pitilessly butchered the majority of the ten thousand

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<sup>7</sup> Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

prisoners of war, the remainder being sold as slaves. But when the power of this scourge of Christendom was at its zenith; when he had extended his sway over the Greek Empire as far as the Danube and over Asia to the banks of the Euphrates; when he dreamed, like Xerxes, of conquering a world and was about to realize his arrogant and impious threat of stabling his charger at the high altar of St. Peter's; when he had established his authority over the Peloponnesus and planted the Crescent upon the Acropolis of Athens; when his all but vanquished vassal, the Greek Emperor, consented to the building of a Mohammedan mosque and a Mohammedan college in the metropolis of schismatic Catholicity; when he had demanded the surrender of the Eastern City of the Cæsars, and, after a six years' siege, was on the point of capturing it, another and greater scourge, the terrible Tamerlane,<sup>8</sup> Timur the Tartar, called "The Wrath of God," swooped down upon the Ottoman Empire with his Asiatic hordes and shattered to pieces the proud power it had taken long years of hard fighting and oceans of blood to build up. Bajazet, taken prisoner on the fateful field of Angora (1402), became a part of his victor's pageant, condemned in fetters to follow his captor about in his pomps and campaigns, carried in a barred litter, which gave rise to the well-known legend that he was kept in an iron cage.<sup>9</sup> When, eight months later, Bajazet died in his chains and Tamerlane followed him to the grave two years afterwards, having overrun the Turkish Empire in Asia, occupied Nicæa, Brusa and the other chief cities on the coast, wrested Smyrna from the Knights of St. John and restored the various petty Princes of Asia to their former possessions, to all human seeming the days of the Turks as empire-builders had come and gone. Swept out of Asia, and with their European provinces menaced by Hungarians, Poles, Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs and other races, they seemed fallen, never to rise again. But, as a certain British statesman once said, the unexpected always happens. "The most astonishing characteristic of the rule of the Turks," observes Lane-Poole,<sup>10</sup> and the observation is just now very apposite and suggestive, "is its vitality. Again and again its doom has been pronounced by wise prophets, and still it survives. Province after province has been cut off the empire, yet still the Sultan sits supreme over wide dominions, and is revered or feared by subjects of many races. Considering how little of the great qualities of the ruler the Turk has often possessed, how little trouble he has taken to conciliate the subjects whom his sword has subdued, it is amazing how firm has

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<sup>8</sup> Of Turkish race, born near Samarakand in 1333.

<sup>9</sup> Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

been his authority, how unshaken his power. At the moment when Timur's armies were ravaging the southern shores of the Bosphorus and the Greek Empire was almost rousing from its long sleep and retaking its lost provinces in Europe, the Turkish power might well be said to be annihilated; yet within a dozen years the lost provinces were reunited under the strong and able rule of Mohammed I. and the Ottoman Empire, far from being weakened by the apparently crushing blow it had received in 1402, rose stronger and more vigorous after its fall, and, like a giant refreshed, prepared for new and bolder feats of conquest."

Its boldest feat was the capture of Constantinople, bolder, because achievable and achieved, than Orkhan's insane idea of exterminating Christianity by educating Christian children—a policy which has found servile copyists in the present rulers of France. It took three sieges to accomplish the conquest. Bajazet first laid siege to it. Musa, an elder brother of Mohammed I., whose right to the Sultanate he contested after waging war on the Servians, during which he feasted his officers upon tables constructed of the corpses of three Serb garrisons, besieged the imperial city for the second time (1413), being killed in flight when routed by Stephen, King of Servia. It was reserved to Mahomet or Mohammed II. to capture it after a siege, ever memorable in history, Mohammed I. having precluded it by transferring the capital of the Ottoman Empire from Asia to Europe, from Brusa to Adrianople. The Greek Emperors precipitated it by their folly, first by permitting the erection of a Turkish mosque within its walls—giving the followers of Mahomet a foothold in the metropolis of Greek Christianity, adding constructive semi-apostasy to the sin of schism—and secondly, by espousing the cause of rival claimants to the Sultan's throne. The Greeks had degenerated in mind as well as in morals. They had lost that subtlety with which as a race they are commonly credited, and were outwitted by the Turks, who have shown themselves as astute in diplomacy as they are brave in action. The Christian powers might easily have expelled them from Europe when Timur broke up their empire, but they let the opportunity slip and allowed them time to reform their procedure, recover lost ground and prepare for fresh conquests. The Emperor Constantine Palaeologus, destined to be the last of his line, made the last stand behind the beleaguered walls of Constantinople against the resuscitated power of the Osmanli. But it was too late—too late to repair a fatal mistake, to save the last remnant of his empire from a typical Oriental despot, a monster whose first act in his accession was to murder his baby brother, and whose cruelty, perfidy and sensuality could not be concealed or condoned by the purchased praises of



hired panegyrists who extolled him as "the Father of Good Works" and "the Sire of Victory."

Mohammed II. commenced operations by the erection of a fortress outside the gates of Constantinople. Mohammed I. had already erected one called "the Castle of Annatolia" on the Asiatic shore, a menace to the Emperor Manuel; Mohammed II. built the "Castle of Roumelia" on the opposite side, and both still stand, guarding the Bosphorus.

Gibbon in his "*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*"<sup>11</sup> has told the story of the conquest of Constantinople, one of the great turning points of history, an epoch-making event, as its re-conquest will doubtless be some day or other. The siege began on April 6, 1453. Of the triangle which composes the figure of the imperial city, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy—the Propontis by nature, and the harbor by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack, and the Emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defense of the external wall. In the first days of the siege the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that in the proportion of their numbers one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and after these bold preludes they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. "Nor," comments Gibbon, "should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base, but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue, and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honor of the Western chivalry." Gibbon goes on to narrate how the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins; how inadequate was the Christians' stock of gunpowder and how weak their ordnance, while the great cannon of Mahomet—an important and visible object in the history of the times—was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude; how fourteen Turkish batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places, and how the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees were heaped on each other, and such was the impetuosity of the throng that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice or instantly

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<sup>11</sup> Dean Milman's edition, VIII, 159 *et seq.*

buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and after a long and bloody conflict the web that had been woven in the day was again unraveled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was mining, but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers. Nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air.

A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, the historian notes, is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering ram were directed against the walls. Nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and inextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loopholes; in front three doors were converted for the sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform a scaling ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By this means the tower of St. Romanus was overturned. After a severe struggle the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they would be able to renew the attack with fresh vigor and decisive success. The Emperor and Justiniani, availing of this pause in the action, passed the night on the spot, urging on the labors upon which depended the safety of the Church and the city. At dawn the Sultan saw with astonishment and chagrin that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes, the ditch cleared and restored and the tower of St. Germanus repaired and strengthened. At this point five Genoese ships forced the Turkish blockade and brought provisions and relief to the garrison. "The situation of the imperial city," observes Gibbon, "was strong against her enemies and accessible to her friends, and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime States might have saved the relics of the Roman name and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman Empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople."

The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless unless a double attack could be made from the harbor as well as from the land; but the harbor was inaccessible, an impenetrable chain of eight large

and twenty smaller vessels with several galleys and sloops interposing a barrier. The Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open seas. In this perplexity Mahomet, by a bold stroke, transported by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbor, a distance of ten miles. A road had to be opened behind the suburb of Galata; this free passage or total destruction depended on the option of the Genoese. A level way over the uneven ground was made by covering it with a broad platform of strong and solid planks, and to render them more slippery and smooth they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore eight galleys or large boats and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore, arranged successively on rollers and drawn forward by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and the prow of each vessel, the sails were unfurled to the winds, and the labor, as is the wont of sailors in all ages ever since "men went down to the sea in ships," was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night the little Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbor, far above the molestations of the Greek vessels of deeper draught. As soon as the Ottomans occupied the upper harbor with a fleet and army they constructed, in the narrowest part, a pontoon or bridge formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters linked with iron and covered with planks. On this floating battery was planted one of the largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling ladders, approached the most accessible side. In vain the Greeks tried at night to set fire to the vessels and the bridge. Turkish vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred, and in retaliation the Greek Emperor exposed from the city walls the heads of 260 Mussulman prisoners.

After a siege of forty days the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; fortifications which had stood for ages against hostile violence were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon. Many breaches were made, and near the gate of St. Romanus four towers were leveled to the ground. For the payment of his troops Constantine despoiled the churches under promise of fourfold restitution. A spirit of discord reigned in his camp. The Emperor was upbraided for refusing a timely surrender, and, like the Israelites who sighed for the fleshpots of Egypt, the faint-hearted sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude in face of impending

famine, while the more religious minded carried in solemn procession the statue of Our Lady, whom they invoked in their dire distress. The noblest of the Greeks and the bravest of their allies were summoned to the palace to prepare them for the last general assault. "The last speech of Palaeologus," says Gibbon, "was the funeral oration of the Roman Empire; he promised, he conjured and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind." The pathetic scene is described by the historian Phranza, who was present at this mournful meeting. They wept, they embraced each other; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives, and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The Emperor and some faithful companions entered St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque, and devoutly, with tears and fervent prayers, received Holy Communion. After some brief moments of repose in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations, and having solicited the forgiveness of all whom he might have injured, he mounted on horseback to visit the guards and reconnoitre the movements of the enemy. "The distress and fall of the last Constantine," says the English historian, "are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars."

The momentous and decisive general attack took place on the morning of May 29, 1453. The Turkish galleys almost touched with their prows and scaling ladders the less defensible walls of the harbor. Under pain of death silence was enjoined. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land. The most audacious of the motley crowd, the refuse of the ranks, who first climbed the walls were instantly precipitated. Not an arrow or a bullet of the Christians was wasted. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in the last laborious effort to repulse the besiegers. The ditch was quickly filled with the bodies of the slain and made a foothold for their companions who followed. The troops of Anatolia and Roumelia were successively led to the charge. Their progress was various and doubtful, and after a two-hours' conflict the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantages, while the office of the Emperor was raised, rallying and encouraging his soldiers to achieve by a final effort the deliverance of their country. At that critical moment the janissaries rushed forward. The Sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator of their prowess. Surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for decisive occasions, he directed the order of battle. His numerous Ministers of Justice were posted

behind the line to urge, to restrain and to punish, and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear of fugitives. The cries of fear and pain were drowned in martial music. From the lines, the galleys and the bridge the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides, and camp and city, Greek and Turks were involved in a cloud of smoke. The immediate loss of Constantinople, Gibbon assumes, may be ascribed to the bullet or arrow which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood and the acute pain appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsel were the firmest ramparts of the city.

The Turks far outnumbered the Christians.<sup>12</sup> The double walls were reduced by their cannon to a heap of ruins, and if the besiegers could penetrate at a single point the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first to enter it was the Janissary Hassan, a man of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outer fortifications. Of the thirteen janissaries who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the ramparts; he rose on one knee and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible; the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks, and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes the Emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person sustained till their last breath the honorable names of Palaeologus and Cantazucene. His mournful exclamation was heard: "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. He had cast aside the purple. Amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a monument of the slain. After his death resistance and order were no more. The Greeks fled towards the city, and many were pressed or stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner walls, and as they advanced into the streets they were soon joined by their brethren, who had fought and forced the gate of Phenar on the side of the harbor. In the first heat of the pursuit about two thousand Christians were put to the sword. The victors acknowledged that they should immediately have given quarter if the valor of the Emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar

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<sup>12</sup> The investing army comprised three hundred thousand men, and the Turkish fleet consisted of three hundred galleys.

opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chakan and the Caliphs, was subdued by the arms of Mahomet II. Her empire had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by her Moslem conquerors.

The houses and convents were at once deserted; the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets like a herd of timid animals. From every part of the capital people poured into the Church of St. Sophia. In the space of an hour sanctuary, choir, nave and galleries were filled with a multitude of men, women and children, priests, monks and nuns; the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought safety and protection within its sacred precincts. But the doors were speedily broken with axes from without, and as the Turks on entering encountered no armed resistance, they promptly took them all prisoners. Youth, beauty and the appearance of wealth attracted their choice, and the right of property was decided among them by a prior seizure, by personal strength and by the authority of command in the space of an hour. Male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles; the Senators were linked with their slaves, prelates with the porters of the church and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity the ranks of society were confounded, the ties of nature were cut asunder and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands and disheveled hair. Whole strings of unfortunate Greeks were driven through the streets, and as their captors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. Simultaneously a similar rapine took place in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and dwellings in the city. No place, however sacred or sequestered, could protect the persons or property of the Greeks. About sixty thousand were transported to the camp or the fleet, exchanged or sold, according to the interest or caprice of their masters and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

From the first hour of the memorable 29th of May disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople till the eighth hour of the same day, when the Sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus, attended by his vezirs, pashas and guards, gazing with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Ottoman architecture. At the principal door of St. Sophia he alighted

from his horse and entered the dome, and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his triumph that, on observing a Moslem in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scimitar that if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings were reserved for the Prince. By his command the magnificent metropolitan church of the East was transformed into a Mohammedan mosque; the rich altar requisites were removed, the crosses pulled down and the walls, adorned with sacred images and mosaics, restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the muezzin ascended the highest turret and proclaimed the azan or call to prayer, the Imam preached and Mahomet II. performed the *namaz* thanksgiving at the high altar, where Mass had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the deserted palace of one hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself upon his mind, as he repeated a distich of Persian poetry:

Now the spider draws the curtain in the Cæsar's palace hall,  
And the owl proclaims the watch beneath Afrasiab's vaulted dome.<sup>18</sup>

Over five centuries and a half have elapsed since the great imperial city, the Queen of the East, the rival of ancient Rome, founded by Constantine the Great in A. D. 326, passed from the possession of a Christian to a Mohammedan power, which still retains it, though on sufferance, and with it the beautiful basilica upon which Constantine and his son and successor lavished so much wealth. It was almost completely destroyed by fire during the disturbances fomented by the heretics against St. John Chrysostom when that great Doctor occupied the Patriarchal See of Constantinople; was repaired by Arcadius and Theodosius, and reconstructed by Justinian, who, when his ten thousand workmen had finished their labor of love and he beheld the stupendous central dome crowning the sacred edifice, adorned with spoils from the proudest pagan temples of Greece and Italy and radiant with arabesques, mosaics, marbles of various hues, gold and silver ornaments and precious stones, exclaimed in a transport of religious enthusiasm: "Thanks be to God, who has deemed me worthy to accomplish such a work!"

Although the Crescent has long replaced the Cross on the summit of the superb temple erected to "Holy Wisdom"—Hagia Sophia—one of the grandest achievements of Christian architecture, the inextinguishable hope is cherished that some day—may it be not far distant—it will be restored to Catholic worship and resound once more with pealing anthems. A tradition exists that at the moment

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<sup>18</sup> Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," c. lxxviii.

the infidels penetrated into it a priest, bearing the consecrated Host from the sanctuary, was endeavoring to escape. Perceived by the janissaries and pursued, he fled towards a door leading to one of the galleries. The instant he had crossed the threshold the aperture was closed by a solid wall of masonry—

But through the countries round about, the faithful people say,  
In better times, in future years, there yet shall come a day  
When, held once more by Christian men, through Saint Sophia's fane,  
The glories of the ancient faith shall shine and sound again.  
Then shall the walls once more uncloze, a sight for joy and fear,  
And, with the Host between his hands, the priest shall reappear.<sup>14</sup>

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## PRAGMATISM.

### I.—ITS CONCEPT OF TRUTH.

**O**F LATE the world has heard much of Pragmatism. Two years ago the name was hardly known; then it was heralded abroad by Professor James, of Harvard, in his popular lectures on philosophy, and now Pragmatism is on philosophical lips, Pragmatism is in philosophic halls, and philosophic heads are puzzling over pragmatic doctrines. Who are the Pragmatists? What is Pragmatism? What new doctrines does Pragmatism offer? To number the Pragmatists is an easy task; to define Pragmatism is not so easy, and still less easy is it to follow pragmatic doctrines. Pragmatism ought to be a good thing; it is the new philosophy, and newness and goodness are nowadays almost synonymous. Then it takes its name from the Greek word *pragma*, which, according to James, means practical. Pragmatism looks to the practical and insists on practical results. This looks well, for the world to-day is essentially practical and demands even a practical philosophy. But, then, the new philosophy forms a basis for the new theology, and this, at least for Catholics, marks it as an object of suspicion. What is more, Pragmatism, its supporters declare, is grossly misunderstood. That looks bad, for a practical philosophy ought to be clear and easily intelligible to all.

Despite this difficulty, however, perhaps because of it, Pragmatism has spread rapidly. It has taken root in France, Italy, England and in our own country. In France the movement is identified with

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<sup>14</sup> "Capture of Byzantium," by T. D. Sullivan.



Modernism in theology, and its leaders are Le Roy, Bergson and Poincaré. In Italy a young band of avowed Pragmatists is led by Signor Giovanni Papini, who is editor of their militant organ, the *Leonardo*. The English exponent of the new doctrines is F. C. S. Schiller, whose "Studies in Humanism," a comparatively recent work, is a strong plea for Pragmatism. In America James, of Harvard, and Dewey, of Columbia, are leaders of the movement. A list of other eminent scientists, more or less sympathetic with Pragmatism, may be found in the preface to "Studies in Humanism."

Here are Pragmatists enough, but, strange to say, from the mass of their writings it is difficult to gather a clear idea of just what Pragmatism is. "For the Pragmatist," says Bakewell, of Yale, "is an illusive person. Just when you think you have caught his meaning you find him saying something that takes it all back." He brings back through the window what he has previously turned out of the door. The eminent Papini accepts the difficulty and denies the possibility of its solution, for he declares: "Whoever should define Pragmatism in a few words would be doing the most anti-pragmatic thing imaginable. In fact, he who would try to include in a single phrase all the tendencies that make up Pragmatism would surely be doing something generic and incomplete, and Pragmatists despise nothing so much as a vagueness and indefiniteness."<sup>1</sup>

The utter hopelessness of any clearness in the matter is, perhaps, best proved by a writer in the *Journal of Philosophy*, who claims to have solved the difficulty. His solution consists of thirteen Pragmatisms, with a definition for each.<sup>2</sup> Such a solution, if solution it can be called, is clearly the only possible one, if we consider the broad field which Pragmatism aims at covering, for, according to James, "it is evident that the name applies itself to a number of tendencies that have hitherto lacked a collective name."<sup>3</sup> "It harmonizes with many ancient philosophic tendencies. It agrees with nominalism, for instance, in always appealing to particulars; with utilitarianism in emphasizing practical aspects; with positivism in its disdain of verbal solutions, useless questions and metaphysical abstractions."<sup>4</sup>

Pragmatism, however, is more than a mere synthesis of many old errors; it advances a few new ones of its own, or at least old ones in a new dress. One of these, and a fundamental part of the system, for they must stand or fall together, is its theory of truth. Professor James exposes this theory in the sixth of his popular lectures,

<sup>1</sup> *Popular Science Monthly*, October, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Journal of Philosophy and Psychology*, January 2 and 16, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> "Pragmatism," Longmans, Green & Co., 1907, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 53.

"Pragmatism's Conception of Truth." Before we let him state his position we must note emphatically that we are not here considering the meaning which Professor James, following Schiller's lead, attaches to the word "reality," nor are we considering just how far our intellect may advance in its search for truth, nor what kind of certainty that truth may have. What we wish to discover is whether or not James has rendered any service to philosophy when he rejects the old-time notion of truth and substitutes in its place a truth which is no longer immutable, no longer consists in an equality between the intellect and reality, but in something which leads towards or approximates reality, in something which is perpetually changing, which is useful in getting along mentally, but which, nevertheless, may be false to-morrow as out of harmony with to-morrow's new experiences. In other words, has James helped matters along when he tells us that the assertion, I know that a thing is so, *i. e.*, I am in possession of truth about it, besides its ordinary meaning, may and at times does signify, I don't know that the thing is false, or, I know approximately that it is so, or, I know that it may be so or may not be so. Such a twisting of a clear assertion sounds rather shocking in an intellectual sense, yet this is what James' new definition of truth brings us to when it is reduced to practice, and a practical view certainly a Pragmatist ought to be willing to take of it.

In developing this idea of truth James started with the following fact: We are told that the idea has grown amongst experimental scientists of late that the laws they deduce are only approximations. No one of them, then, is absolutely a transcript of reality, yet any one may, from some point of view, prove helpful. Their great use is to summarize old facts and to lead to new ones. They are only a conceptual shorthand in which we write our reports of nature. The atomic theory of the chemists will serve as an illustration. No chemist accepts this theory as absolutely true, but in it is conveniently summed up all that the chemists have in the past discovered. Pragmatism, then, applies this view of the laws of science to our ideas themselves.<sup>5</sup> "Any idea that will carry us prosperously from any part of our experience to any other part, linking things satisfactorily, working securely, simplifying, saving labor, is true for just so much, true in so far, true instrumentally."<sup>6</sup> "The individual has a stock of old opinions already, but he meets a new experience that puts them to a strain."<sup>7</sup> "The result is an inward trouble, to which his mind had till then been a stranger, and from which he seeks to escape by modifying his previous mass of opinions. He

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<sup>5</sup> *Of. opus cit.*, p. 57 *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 581.

<sup>7</sup> P. 59.

saves as much of it as he can. . . . So he tries to change first this opinion, and then that, until at last some new idea comes up which he can graft upon the ancient stock with a minimum of disturbance of the latter, some idea that mediates between the stock and the new experience and runs them into one another most felicitously and expediently."<sup>8</sup> "New truth is always a go between, a smoother over of transitions. It marries old opinion to new fact, so as ever to show a minimum of jolt, a maximum of continuity. We hold a theory true just in proportion to its success in solving this 'problem of maxima and minima.'<sup>9</sup> But success in solving it is a matter of approximation and depends entirely upon the individual. Day after day the new contents are only added. The new details themselves are not true; "truth is what we say about them, and when we say that they have come, truth is satisfied with the plain additive formula."<sup>10</sup> "Further, true ideas are those we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify."<sup>11</sup> "Truth happens to an idea. It becomes true, is made true by events. Its verity is in fact an event, a process, the process, viz., of its verifying itself, its verification."<sup>12</sup> According to all this, as one of the critics of French Pragmatism puts it, "truth is said to be wholly in us and from us, not a matter of contemplation, but of action; not unchangeable and eternal, but changeable and partial."<sup>13</sup> "The true," to put it very briefly, "is only the expedient in our way of thinking; just as 'the right' is only the expedient in our way of behaving."<sup>14</sup> Truth is that which is useful, that which works. It may be remarked here that when Pragmatism speaks of utility and workableness as the norm of truth, or asks for the cash value of ideas, it speaks primarily of usefulness in the intellectual sense of what will lead us on to other fruitful ideas or to make prosperous connection with experience.

In this system, then, truth is in mutation, for that which is expedient and useful to-day may prove to be inexpedient and useless to-morrow; that idea which coördinates and marries the experiences of the past may be set in contradiction by the experience of the following year, just as the discovery of new scientific facts is the death of old scientific hypotheses. There can be no doubt that the mutability of truth is exactly what James maintains. Here are his words: "Meanwhile we have to live to-day by what truth we can get to-day and be ready to call it falsehood to-morrow. Ptolemaic

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<sup>8</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>9</sup> P. 61.

<sup>10</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>13</sup> *Messenger*, July, 1908, book review, "La Notion de Vérité."

<sup>14</sup> James, *opus cit.*, p. 222.

astronomy, Euclidean space, Aristotelian logic, scholastic metaphysics were expedient for centuries, but human experience has boiled over those limits, and we now call those things only relatively true, or true within those borders of experience."<sup>15</sup>

Nor can there be any doubt but that James is predicting mutability of truth taken in an unrestricted sense and looked at in itself and not with regard to our grasp of it. For if he merely meant that provisional truth is mutable, *i. e.*, that theories are mutable, or that our grasp of truth may become broader and deeper as days go on, his doctrine on this point would be as old as the hills, would be easily understood and would raise no quarrel with the intellectualists. Yet he tells us that his theory of truth is something very new in philosophy, is "abominably misunderstood," and is a scandal to all intellectualists. "The most fateful point of difference," he says, "between being a rationalist and being a pragmatist is now fully in sight. Experience is in mutation, and our psychological attainments of truth are in mutation—so much rationalism will allow, but never that reality itself or truth itself is mutable."<sup>16</sup>

One would imagine, then, that in this system there is no room for immutable truth, but this is not so; for "relations among purely mental ideas form another sphere where true and false beliefs maintain, and here the beliefs are absolute or unconditional." "Truth here has an eternal character."<sup>17</sup> It is just at this point that the vagueness and indefiniteness of the system manifests itself. We put a fair question: Is immutability, then, only an *accident of some truth*, or are there *two kinds* of truth, *specifically different*—truth as hitherto known, *i. e.*, immutable truth, and mutable truth? With the statement that some truth is immutable, absolute, we have no fault to find; we admit it, we maintain it; nay, more, we say all truth, if only it be truth, is immutable, absolute. Mutability, however, as applied to truth, falls strangely on philosophic ears. It recalls the days of Protagoras and the sophists. For, suppose truth is mutable, then the truth of this new idea of truth is also mutable and can fail us. How far shall we trust it, then, how far shall we follow it, how far shall we allow ourselves to be guided by it? As far as it is useful? But many find it useless, for if the truth of this new concept of truth is mutable, we shall ever be finding a new idea of truth, and who does not see that this is worse than mental anarchy? Or do Pragmatists claim immutability for the truth of this new concept of truth? Again we ask, is truth mutable, and if it is mutable, can it be called truth?

<sup>15</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>16</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>17</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 209.

Here an investigation of the analogy on which is founded the pragmatic concept of truth will be of great service. The scientist in advancing a theory to explain discovered facts seeks to find out the absolute solution of his riddle. He wishes to know the objective reasons for certain phenomena, *i. e.*, how things are really and objectively, not how they may be *conceived* by him. The scientist, then, works on the supposition that there is an absolute solution of his difficulties, one and only one; in other words, that there is one true solution, one truth with regard to the point in question. He also starts out in his quest from certain fixed and fundamental principles, which he holds as true and certain, principles true in the past, true now, and which will be true forever. But the scientist makes a clear-cut distinction between the word "*true*" as applied to his *fundamental principles* and "*true*" as applied to his theories. The first he calls true *strictly* and without qualification; the second he calls true *analogically* and qualified by a restrictive epithet, *viz.*, true provisionally. Hence in the scientific field we find a well-marked distinction between "*truth*" and "*provisional truth*." Now when James applies the analogy of *truth* in experimental science to *truth* in philosophy, though he admits certain truths as absolutely and immutably true, still he denies that immutability is an essential attribute or quality of *truth*, even when that word is used in its strictest and most unqualified sense. This denial, however, is certainly not founded on the analogy of truth in experimental science.

In thus insisting upon the mutable nature of truth and claiming that it is "only the expedient in our way of thinking" and the "expedient in almost any fashion,"<sup>18</sup> James evidently rejects the old view that when there is truth there is an agreement of the mind with the object, that the mind copies the object, that there is an equation between the mind and the object. Now an equation is a static relation, and once true is always true; likewise truth founded on such a static relation is always and immutably true.

James, however, while he repudiates the old notion of truth, does not deny to his truth all agreement with reality. He says: "Our true ideas of sensible things do indeed copy them;" and again: "To copy a reality is one very important way of agreeing with it."<sup>19</sup> Still James admits that such agreement with reality "is far from being essential;" what is essential is agreement with reality in a broad sense. "To agree in the widest sense with reality," he says, "can only mean to be guided straight up to it or into its surroundings, or to be put into such working touch with it as to handle it or something connected with it better than if we disagreed. And often

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<sup>18</sup> P. 222.

<sup>19</sup> Pp. 199 and 213.

agreement will mean only the negative fact that nothing contradictory comes from the quarter of reality to interfere in the way in which our ideas guide us elsewhere."<sup>20</sup> "Such, then, is the large, loose way in which the Pragmatist interprets the word agreement. He lets it cover any process of conduction from a present idea to a future terminus, provided only it run prosperously."<sup>21</sup>

Now it is just in this large, loose way that we refuse to interpret the phrase "agreement with reality." To treat anything in a large, loose way is a journeyman's treatment of it, not a master's, and a master's treatment of the definition of truth is required of the philosopher under pain of hopelessly confusing the world of intellect. James in this point contradicts a principle laid down by himself. He says: "We must talk consistently, just as we think consistently. Names are arbitrary, but once understood they must be kept. We must not now call Abel Cain or Cain Abel. If we do, we ungear ourselves from the whole book of Genesis."<sup>22</sup> And yet, with an arbitrariness all his own, James twists the word "agreement" from the sense in which it has always been understood and makes it cover his large, loose, shadowy, negative agreement with reality. Thus it is evident that with James the phrase "agreement with reality" stands for two things specifically different. First, it may mean what the intellectualists mean by it, viz., an agreement by which the mind is a copy of the reality. This is what one might call *absolute* agreement with reality, absolute in the sense that there is a static relation. The second meaning which James attaches to the phrase is that loose, shadowy agreement, often meaning "only the *negative* fact that nothing comes from the quarter of reality to interfere in the way our ideas lead us elsewhere."<sup>23</sup> This we might fitly characterize as *negative* or *provisional* agreement with reality—provisional in the sense that there is no static relation. Now it is evident that these two agreements, though covered by the same word, have very different meanings. A copy of reality is certainly quite another thing from a large, loose agreement with reality or conduction up into the quarter of reality.<sup>24</sup> Now James agrees with the intellectualist on the generic definition of truth as being "an agreement of the mind with reality." Where we differ, he says, is in interpreting the word agreement.<sup>25</sup> If, then, truth is the agreement of the mind with reality and there are two kinds of such agreement possible, two kinds of agreement specifically different, viz.,

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<sup>20</sup> P. 213.

<sup>21</sup> P. 215.

<sup>22</sup> P. 214.

<sup>23</sup> P. 213.

<sup>24</sup> P. 215 *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> P. 198 *passim*.

absolute and provisional, it follows that the truths founded on two such specifically different agreements must themselves be specifically different. Ideas founded on absolute agreement with reality, which therefore represent the object as it is, would always work, would always be true from the impossibility of anything harmful coming to them from future experience. Ideas founded on provisional agreement with reality might be contradicted by future experience, and thus losing their usefulness become inexpedient. Such ideas would correspond to the *theories* of the scientists. Ideas founded on absolute agreement would correspond to their fundamental principles.

Thus it is clear that with James all truth cannot be the same, but that he is logically forced to admit two specifically different classes of ideas, one of absolutely true ideas, one of those only provisionally true. And yet, such being the case, James applies to two such radically different sets of ideas the single unqualified name of truth. Hence it happens that he speaks of truth as mutable, for *some* of his truth is mutable, being founded only on provisional agreement with reality and amounting at most to a theory. Now theories are mutable. But, in the light of what has been said, how can James assert without qualification *truth is mutable*? For, as we have seen, according to him *truth* may mean two things—*absolute truth* and *provisional truth*. Such a statement, then—*truth is mutable*—cannot as it stands be logically admitted by James, nor can it be denied; it must be distinguished thus: Truth is mutable—*absolute truth* is mutable—this is false; *provisional truth* is mutable—this is true. If James, then, gives both these classes of truth the single unqualified name "*truth*," he may not be calling Cain Abel, but he is engendering as much confusion as if he did; he is calling Cain and Abel by the single name Abel. Either he must show that the name "*truth*" is applied to both these classes of ideas in the same sense—and this he cannot do—or grant that, being specifically different, they should have different names—immutable ideas being called without qualification simply "*true*," as they have ever been called; mutable ideas being called provisionally, conditionally "*true*." For if this be not done, and I am to speak of a mere chemical hypothesis as "*true*" because it works, and apply the same term "*true*" without any qualification to such a proposition as  $2+2=4$ , it is evident that I am throwing my intellectual life into hopeless confusion. Thus far at least Pragmatism does not make for clearness, practicability and action, and as a Pragmatist James has no right to call his provisional ideas, or ideas in process of verification, "*true*," whether they work or not. If he insists on calling them true—and true in the strict sense they are not—let them be called "*provisionally true*." For we do not

deny the existence of such ideas or their usefulness. They are the laborious results of patient research, praiseworthy attempts to explain various parts of our experience, ideas working to-day, expedient to-morrow, probably becoming falsified the day after, restated again in the future, and, it may be, establishing themselves finally as absolutely true. And yet, admitting all this, we hold fast to the principle that alongside of such ideas there is a parallel growth of absolutely and eternally true ideas—ideas always expedient, always working, never true to-day and false to-morrow. Such ideas are the only ideas that merit the unrestricted name of truth.

In the light of what has been said, Pragmatists would do well to meditate on the utterance of George Stewart Fullerton in his recent essay on "The New Realism."<sup>26</sup> "I think it worth while," he says, "to dwell upon the truth that it is not well to emphasize excessively the uncertainty or unreality of human knowledge and the ignorance of man. . . . We are told that science is all very well in its own sphere, but that it cannot give us the real truth about things; or we are warned that the concepts of science are self-contradictory and will not bear careful scrutiny. . . . Molecules, atoms, the ether and what not may conceivably be swept into the shadowy realms of exploded beliefs. Nevertheless, our common experience of the worlds of matter and of mind would remain unshaken, and with it a *vast number of truths* which men have *never doubted* and which men do not doubt. . . . Men have known for a very long time that it is easier to lift a heavy stone on the end of a lever than it is to raise it in the hands. . . . And it does not sound sensible in such cases to say that our statement regarding the raising of the stone is not *really true*, but is only a *convenient way of expressing something*."

The great flaw we have noticed in the pragmatic conception of truth is its failure to distinguish clearly between the two parallel growths of ideas—absolutely true ideas and provisionally true ideas. It will not be fruitless to examine the reasons that have led Pragmatists to reject the copy-of-reality definition of truth, and to substitute in its place the broad, loose agreement mentioned above. Two seem most probable. First, the Pragmatist does not understand in what sense the intellectualists use the term "copy of reality." "I have honestly tried to stretch my imagination," says James, "and to read the best possible meaning into the rationalist view, but I have to confess that it still completely baffles me."<sup>27</sup> "The popular notion is that a true idea must copy its reality. Shut your eyes and think

<sup>26</sup> "Essays, Philosophical and Psychological," Longmans, Green & Co., 1908.

<sup>27</sup> P. 234.



of yonder clock on the wall, and you get just such a true picture or copy of its dial. But your idea of its works is much less a copy, yet it passes muster and in no way clashes with the reality."<sup>28</sup> "Where our ideas cannot copy definitely their object, what does agreement with that object mean?"<sup>29</sup>

Now, when intellectualists say that the mind must copy reality, they do not maintain, as James seems to insinuate, that there is a quasi photographic, line for line copy of the object in the intellect. That never takes place, and finding it just as hard as Professor James to conceive such an agreement, with him we repudiate it. What, then, does "copy of reality" mean for us? James certainly admits that our ideas represent reality in some way. Now what does that phrase "to represent reality" mean? It means merely this—that we *know* the object *as it is*. Let us apply this to an idea which James would find it hard to conceive as copying an object—heroism. What is heroism? Certainly heroism is not a thing my eye can picture, though I have seen many a brave man. Just as certainly it is something which my imagination can fashion no image of, though in imagination I may clothe my hero with a wealth of brave deeds no living hero has possessed. And yet just as certain and evident it is to me that I *know* what a hero is. And I know what a hero is because I know what *heroism* is. And just as certainly as there is a hero, so, too, there is something in him which makes him what he is, just as in the coward that something is lacking. Heroism is not the heroic act, nor is want of heroism the lack of the act, else when not in action the hero and the coward would be the same. Therefore, there is something in the hero, a quality, the source of his heroic actions, which waits but for the opportunity to show itself—that something is *heroism*, and it is just as real in him and just as much a motive power as the mysterious electricity that courses through the wires and moves with ceaseless motion the wheels of a mighty engine. What, then, is heroism? Perhaps I may not be able to realize it or express it in all its fullness, but certainly I can express some of its essential attributes. It is that quality which moves a man to suffer unflinchingly, uncomplainingly in a worthy cause trials that would break a coward; it is that quality which makes a man, when his country has need of him, leave home and friend and fortune and sacrifice his life that his fellow-men may live. So when my idea represents such a quality I *know* what heroism is—my idea has *copied reality*—the object is as I *know* it to be. Let it be remembered we are not now going into particulars as to the distinction that exists between different ideas.

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<sup>28</sup> P. 199.

<sup>29</sup> P. 199.

There are some that represent sensible objects, there are some that represent immaterial qualities, there are some that touch the world of spirit, and, rising above the finite order, there are some that represent God Himself. Varying as they do in many other respects, this they have in common—in all the intellect knows what the object is.

This knowledge may not be exhaustive, adequate, complete, but that is not the point at issue. To agree with an object my idea must not represent all that is in the object—that is impossible to the human idea—but if it be true it does represent the object according to some of its phases, some of its attributes, and so far it is in agreement with the object; nor will any further knowledge destroy this agreement. And this is so true that, to return to our idea of heroism, once having known what heroism is, having derived this idea from reality, I may use it as a norm or rule with which to measure future heroes—if they agree with it, then I know that they *are* heroes; if not, then I know that they are *not* heroes. Now, an idea which is so in agreement with reality that it may be used to test future reality to find if *it* be in agreement with past reality experienced, may in a very true and clear sense be said to copy reality, though in no sense of the word is it a quasi photographic line for line representation of it. This is what we understand by copying reality, by copying it so that there is an immutable agreement with it; for my idea of heroism, if it be true, will never change. This is the intellectualist's position, and we find it just as easy to understand what such a "copy" means as to understand what the broad, loose agreement of the Pragmatists means.

The second reason for the difficulty of the Pragmatists is seemingly apparent. Pragmatism observes that our knowledge is in constant mutation; we learn some fact, and with our idea of it plunge again into the stream of experience to learn other facts, all this subsequent knowledge being grafted on previous knowledge, modifying it and changing its aspect. If, however, truth is a mere copy of reality, a mere static relation between mind and object, how can knowledge be in mutation? An object once known is known forever; the idea is a copy of reality, an eternally unchangeable copy. How, then, can truth and knowledge grow? James says: "The great assumption of the Intellectualists is that truth means essentially an inert, static relation. When you've got your true idea of anything, there's an end of the matter. You're in possession, you know; you have fulfilled your thinking destiny." Since experience teaches us that knowledge does grow, it follows that our ideas are constantly growing, and changing, and modifying. Truth, then, changes, hence cannot stand in absolute agreement with reality.

But since there must be some agreement, truth consists in provisional agreement, and thus we have a probable hypothesis why Pragmatism calls those provisional ideas true to which we would not deign to apply the name of truth. James admits he does not understand the intellectualist view of truth. For him, on this point, the old school is in intellectual bankruptcy; hence he arraigns and rejects its dogmas.

Let us for a moment examine the Intellectualist's position on this point. Let us see what their "static relation" of mind to the object means, and whether or not truth, according to their position, may not also be *dynamic* or *plastic*. And here we are speaking of truth in the strictest sense of the word, "*absolute truth*," of truth according to the *intellectualist* definition. Is truth, then, static or at rest, as James says? First of all, we define truth as an equation of the mind with reality—that is, that the mind is the same in representation as the object is in being. To make itself like to an object the mind does not have to be similar to the object it represents in all the qualities that the object possesses in itself; *i. e.*, it does not have to be an all perfect copy of the object. It is sufficient if it be similar to the object in that quality or those qualities which it intends to express, and with regard to them its condition is static or at rest. For, given this relation, given this copy of reality, that truth remains eternally and absolutely the same. But in saying this one says nothing in contradiction to the *growth* and *plasticity* of truth; for *truth can grow* and *truth is plastic*. Truth *cannot* grow with regard to the precise aspect first apprehended in an object; there it is static. But with an idea of the object thus conceived as a guide, one can dive again into experience and learn new aspects of the same object. For example, an apple may be apprehended as a *colored thing*. This static relation of the mind to the apple as a colored thing does not change. But, knowing this much about an apple, one can enter experience again and gather other facts, apprehend the apple under other aspects of taste, form, etc. Hence one's knowledge of the apple grows to fullness not by a change in the knowledge of any of its parts, but by summing up into a whole the results of these partial cognitions.

Again, if one looks at the objects of one's knowledge, not *absolutely*, but according to the relations which they bear to other objects known or to be known, it is evident that truth with regard to a reality may grow indefinitely. For as daily experience adds its quota of facts and brings before one's mind other objects not known before, the first known object may assume relations with regard to these new objects. This is also an explanation of that phenomenon which troubles James so much. Why are we constantly turning

back on previous knowledge to readjust and modify it under the inrush of new and daily facts? Why does truth seem to change? Because the old knowledge appears to change, and does so not *formally, i. e.*, as regards its equation with its objects under the aspects already known, but because of the new relations which the objects, under those known aspects, assume to other objects. To illustrate, let us take again our apple. My first knowledge of an apple may be merely that of a "colored thing." This always remains true; an apple is always a "colored thing," and the equation between my mind and the "colored thing," once made, is true forever. I can now begin to learn other qualities of the apple. It may be apprehended under the quality of sweetness and roundness, etc. Again, one has a knowledge of other fruits, and so the apple assumes various relations to these. It is either like them or unlike them. Then one learns of the essence of the apple and its mode of propagation. Finally, one's last full knowledge appears very different from the knowledge first begun with. It has changed. The stock of truth and consequently my knowledge has grown. And yet the first knowledge of the apple as a "colored thing" has not become false, but still remains true. It is plain, then, how truth can and does grow, while it still holds the attribute of eternal. Thus we maintain firmly that the *absolute correspondence with reality view* of truth is not in contradiction with the growth of knowledge. Truth is *static* and truth is *plastic* while it remains *eternal*.

Enough has been advanced, I think, to show that the pragmatic concept of truth is wanting in actual cash value. It is advanced to save philosophy from the intellectual bankruptcy in which it is *supposed* to have fallen because of the intellectualist's doctrine on truth. The bankruptcy, however, is not on the side of the intellectualists. Pragmatism begins by founding its truth on a misconception, and ends by making it subjective and altogether mutable. Thus we have subjectivism, and following upon it skepticism. There will be as many truths as individuals, even though each individual's truth openly contradicts that of his neighbor. Each individual, then, will be his own law, with moral ruin as the result. Truly, then, right philosophy. It is substantially the old fallacy of Protagoras, from newness for its idea of truth. It is, however, almost as old as philosophy. It is substantially the old fallacy of Protagoras, from which came the era of sophistry in Greek philosophy. It is a fallacy exploded long ago by the intellectual keenness of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Now we are asked to accept this exploded belief under a modern dress and put back the progress of the intellectual world two thousand years by returning to the days of Grecian sophistry and skepticism. But against this danger stands, as a

strong wall, the common belief of men, founded on fact, which holds as tenaciously now as it has ever done in the past, to the idea of an immutable and eternal truth.

## II.—ITS CONCEPT OF REALITY.

From the dawn of man's intellectual life one psychological fact common to all stands out in bold relief, in importance towering above and overshadowing all others; it is the consciousness of a sum of realities which seem to exist outside of and apart from us. This constant psychological experience must be taken into account and interpreted by every system of philosophy which aims at solving the "riddle of life;" it is the question of explaining our sensations, or, as modern parlance has it, the question of the resisting factor in our experience. Professor James puts it this way: "Reality in general is what our truths have to take account of, and the first part of reality from this point of view is the flux of our sensations. Sensations are forced upon us, coming we know not whence. Over their nature, order and quantity we have as good as no control."<sup>80</sup>

The problem of philosophy, then, is to explain the meaning of man's consciousness of a great universe, the cosmos as it is called, the sum of realities amongst which he moves and has his being, which confront him at every step and challenge recognition and which are closely interwoven with his very existence. What is this reality of which man has so vivid a consciousness? Is it really something outside of and apart from him or is this consciousness but the unfolding of his mind in idle dreams or perhaps the result of God's operations on the human intellect?

The themes that attempt to solve our problem, as far as they touch us, may be reduced to three—the idealistic theory, the realistic theory and the pragmatic theory as endeavoring to mediate between the two. Idealism has taken many shapes and has hung about the skirts of philosophy ever since the days of Plato. In general idealists are those philosophers who deny or call in question the existence of bodies outside of us, *i. e.*, they challenge the objectivity of our perceptions and deny that our sensations represent anything objectively real, existing independent of us. There are two kinds of such idealism—subjective and objective. Both kinds agree in declaring our sensations to be mere subjective modifications, devoid of all objective reality. Both admit the principle of causality and are thus bound to offer a sufficient explanation of these phenomena. This the subjective idealists do by asserting that sensations are the mere product of our psychic activity. Objective idealists, however, assign

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<sup>80</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 244.

an external cause to them and declare that it is God that produces them in our minds. Idealism, at least modern idealism, took its rise in the errors of Descartes, and culminated in its greatest absurdity the egoism of Hegel. With it are identified in one way or another such names as Berkeley, Malebranche, Geoberti, Kant, Fichte and Schelling.

Directly opposed and contradicting this view of the universe and the nature of our sensations is the realistic and scholastic theory. It tells us that the universe is a sum of realities apart and separate from our knowledge of them, and hence that even if never known, such objects would be truly existent and real. Our minds are mirrors that reflect the realities outside of us and bring us into close connection with them. "Since all knowledge comes to us by way of the senses, we must perforce take the reports of our senses as true so far as they go, not merely as regards the fact of sensation, which is, of course, unquestionable, but also as regards the external objects of which our senses appear to give evidence. . . . But it should be carefully noted that in this view the external world does not and can never appeal only to the senses. Along with every sense impression and set of impressions there arises inevitably an intellectual process. In all our experience of the external world we are conscious not merely of sensible qualities perceived in objects, but also of the substance or underlying and permanent reality which is naturally and spontaneously conceived by the mind as distinguishable from the qualities or accidents which are more or less valuable."<sup>81</sup>

We also abstract from the individuating notes and perceive the nature of the object which can be multiplied in many individuals of the same class. Thus substance and nature, rationality and animality are intellectual conceptions. "Though indicated by sensation they are not themselves sensible, and thus the reality of existence has what may be called an ideal side."<sup>82</sup>

"The mind, working upon, arranging and rearranging the details of the pictures presented to it, not only apprehends truly the essence of external objects, but also infers correctly the laws or principles which govern their existence and determine their mutual relations. It follows that even the most abstract notions have a real foundation in sensible objects, and discovery and invention are but the *perception* of the true nature and relations of those objects."<sup>83</sup>

According to this view, then, the sum of realities outside of us is absolute, complete and independent. Realities are mirrored in our intellectual life, but the mere fact of our knowing them induces no

<sup>81</sup> "Spectrum of Truth," pp. 14 and 15.

<sup>82</sup> "Spectrum," p. 15.

<sup>83</sup> "Spectrum," p. 16.

intrinsic change in them. They do not need to be known, and our knowing them leaves them as they were before. In other words, there is, what Schiller denies, "an objective world given independently of us and constraining us to recognize it."<sup>84</sup> Attempting to mediate between these opposing theories comes the pragmatic explanation. Pragmatism admits that there is some objectivity to our cognitions, some reality outside of them, but what that reality is and how far our ideas represent it is irrelevant. As Schiller says in his essay on "Personal Idealism:" "The world is essentially what we make it. It is fruitless to define it by what it originally was or by what it is apart from us; it is what is made of it. Hence . . . the world is plastic."<sup>85</sup> Pragmatism, then, admits the resisting factor in experience, but in order to explain it revives the Aristotelian and scholastic concept of prime matter as material that that is to be determined by a specific form, mere potentiality really to receive this or that determination as the case may be. In other words, our sensations offer us the raw material, out of which we construct the universe. "A sensation," says James, "is rather like a client who has given his case to a lawyer and then has passively to listen in the court room to whatever account of his affairs, pleasant or unpleasant, the lawyer finds it most expedient to give."<sup>86</sup> Again: "We receive, in short, the block of marble; we carve the statue ourselves."<sup>87</sup>

Sensations, according to the Pragmatists, flow on uninterruptedly, and from them we choose out one fact here, another there, shift them, rearrange them in the light of our previous knowledge, adapt them to please ourselves and thus form what Schiller calls true or secondary reality. "Hence," says James, "even in the field of sensation our minds exert a certain arbitrary choice. By our inclusions and omissions we trace the field's extent; by an emphasis we mark its foreground and its background; by our order we read it in this direction or in that."<sup>88</sup>

What Mr. Schiller calls primary reality, out of which secondary or real reality is to be made, is the mere flux of our sensations, meaningless in themselves, until we have begun subjectively to operate upon them, to discriminate and rearrange them, to put on them subjective forms. The mere flux of sensation or primary reality is, then, mere potentiality waiting for its determinations, crude marble expectant of the sculptor's hands, the passive client waiting for "whatever account of his affairs, pleasant or un-

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<sup>84</sup> "Axioms and Postulates," p. 59.

<sup>85</sup> "Personal Idealism," p. 60.

<sup>86</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 246.

<sup>87</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 247.

<sup>88</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 247.

pleasant, the lawyer finds it most expedient to give." "In short," says Schiller, "at the level of primary reality, conceived as purely cognitive, everything would be and remain in an undiscriminated flow. . . . A merely intellectual spectator would have no reason for selecting some things as more real and important than others. . . . But the mind is not of such a nature as to put up with this . . . situation. It is interested, and purposive, and desirous of operating on and controlling its primary reality. And so it proceeds to discriminate, to distinguish between 'appearance' and 'reality,' between 'primary' and 'real reality,' to accept what appears with mental reservations and provisionally to operate upon it, and to alter it."<sup>39</sup>

The *real reality*, then, of the Pragmatists is an end to be achieved; it is not something already given which is to be copied by our minds; it is that which is the result of subjective operations on the sensations we experience. That which affects us through the instrumentality of these sensations is called by Schiller primary reality, but it scarcely merits that name, since it is the mere potentiality of the secondary and real reality to be built up by our cognitive efforts. James says: "When we talk of reality independent of human thinking, then it seems a thing very hard to find. It reduces to the notion of what is just entering into experience and yet to be named or else to serve aboriginal presence in experience before any belief about the *mensense* had arisen, before any human conception had been applied. It is what is absolutely dumb and evanescent, the merely ideal limit of our mind. We may glimpse it, but we never grasp it; what we grasp is always some substitute for it which previous human thinking has peptonized and cooked for our consumption."<sup>40</sup>

In other words, sensations or the facts of experience do not speak for themselves; they are unmeaning until we interpret them. This we do by our ideas. Our ideas, however, do not represent the facts or realities of experience as they may be in themselves. About this point we know nothing; our ideas merely attach a predicate to this fact of sensation, which predicate does not necessarily represent a quality in the fact, but my subjective thought about it. One interprets the facts of experience in the light of his past experiences; he looks upon them in the way most expedient to him and makes them fit in with all his past ideas. James says: "Only the recentest fraction of reality . . . comes to us without the human touch, and that fraction has to become humanized in the sense of being squared with the mass already there."<sup>41</sup> "In all these cases we

<sup>39</sup> "Studies," p. 221.

<sup>40</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 249.

<sup>41</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 248.



humanly make an addition to some sensible reality, and that reality tolerates the addition."<sup>42</sup>

The pragmatic concept, then, is that the universe is a human work; the sum of realities as we know them is man made. It is true that the senses have offered us the facts, but we have shuffled and arranged them at our will; experience is shot through and through with the human element. Therefore the flow of experience, the external appearance does not make a thing real, but its acceptance by me. Whether there is a reality apart and independent from us which in itself is as it is represented by our sensations we do not know, and it is a question irrelevant to ask. As Professor Bawden, of the University of Cincinnati, put it, writing in the *Popular Science Monthly* for July, 1908: "We find ourselves in mid-stream of the Niagara of experience and may define what it is only by working back and forth within the current. 'We don't know where we're going, but we're on the way.' If it be asked, where does this 'concrete' experience come from? the question, as Professor Dewey replies, is irrelevant. Experience does not 'come from' anywhere. It is here. We begin with it as reality here and now. To pursue the question of the origin of experience in an absolute sense is to seek to run out on an abstraction as if it were a tight-rope, when it has no support at the other end. 'How experience became we shall never find out,' writes Professor Dewey, 'for the reason that experience always is. We shall never account for it by referring it to something else, for 'something else' is only for and in experience.'"<sup>43</sup>

Our intellectual processes, therefore, according to Pragmatists, are no longer mirrors held up to nature to represent that which has existence apart from us. It is true they are in a certain way mirrors; all the elements of the image have been given by sensations, but the image that is formed is not a copy of a previous existing reality, but a distorted or, as Pragmatists would say, a bettered rearrangement of the elements furnished by experience. No longer is there an independent reality and universe calling upon human intellects to copy it. Absolute reality has no existence save as the ideal goal of our cognitive acts; it is that towards which we tend by all this forming and unforming and counter-forming of our ideas about the universe. Absolute reality is a term to be produced; that reality will be absolute with which all men will be satisfied and no one will be tempted to change by further intellectual efforts.

Thus is utterly overthrown the wall between the two great orders, the ontological and the logical. Realists demand *these* two orders, viz., the ontological order, the order of existences, separate and dis-

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<sup>42</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>43</sup> *Popular Science Monthly*, July, 1908, p. 70.

tinct from the thinking mind and the logical order, or that of the thinking mind which is to represent the realities of the ontological order and give them ideal existence. There is no room for these two orders in the pragmatic theory. There is one order, the ontological or the logical as you choose to call it, according as it is looked at under different aspects. As Professor Bawden says in the article already cited: "This empirical point of view has several important implications. It implies, for one thing, that the distinction between experience and reality is not an absolute one, not an ontological distinction, as the metaphysicians say, but only a methodological or functional one. . . . Experience regarded from the point of view of what it is, its content, its filling of objects and events, we call reality. Reality, regarded from the point of view of how it goes on, or the way in which it occurs in consciousness, that is, viewed as a process of evolution here and now, we call experience."<sup>44</sup> Thus reality is what it is known or experienced to be. There is no independent reality as far as we are concerned. The facts of experience offered by sensations and our ideas formed to explain them are but elements of the one reality. *Fact* is not reality, *idea* is not reality, but *idea* explaining *fact* is reality. Our present knowledge representing a universe of this or that mould is the only reality Pragmatists know or care to speak about. As James says: "The import of the difference between Pragmatism and rationalism is now in sight throughout its whole extent. The essential contrast is that for rationalism reality is ready made and complete from all eternity, while for Pragmatism it is still in the making and awaits part of its complexion from the future."<sup>45</sup>

The Pragmatists by confounding the ontological and logical orders have fallen into that subjectivism and idealism which they were so anxious to avoid. In vain Pragmatists seek to extricate themselves from this position. Only recently in the *Journal of Philosophy* for December 3, 1908, Professor James, in behalf of himself and Schiller, sought to reject the imputation of subjectivism of which he has been convicted by M. Hebert, the French philosopher. He says: "Anticipating the results of the general truth processes of mankind, I begin with the abstract notion of a reality." But what do these words show except that by this utterance Professor James has openly contradicted a position which we have demonstrated to be his and Schiller's, and which is proven by the obvious meaning of their words and the interpretations of honest critics? What do these words mean except that Pragmatists are beginning to realize the untenableness of their position? These words do not prove our

<sup>44</sup> *Popular Science Monthly*, July, 1908, p. 65.

<sup>45</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 257.

analysis wrong, but only what is patent to the most superficial student—the contradictions of Pragmatism. If we are to take these last words of James as indicative of the pragmatic position, then wherein lies the boasted difference on the question of reality between Realism and Pragmatism?

According to Pragmatists, then, reality is made by cognitive processes, and since our knowledge is constantly on the increase, so is our reality. Since, as the Pragmatists conceive it, one can manipulate his knowledge and make some things true and other things false, so he can manipulate reality, making some realities and unmaking others. Pragmatists grow positively exultant over the added dignity this power gives to man; no longer is he a mere idle spectator of a grand universe; he becomes an active operator in it and assumes the rôle and dignity of a *quasi* creator. This is especially inspiring to Signor Papini, an Italian Pragmatist, who with true Italian fervor, in the words of James, "grows fairly dithyrambic over the view that it opens of man's divinely creative functions."<sup>46</sup> The thought, too, is a stimulating one for Schiller. He says: "Our actual experience contains literally infinite possibilities of alternate universes, which struggle for existence in the minds of every agent who is capable of choosing between alternatives. Thus it is our duty and our privilege to coöperate in the shaping of the world; among infinite possibilities to select and realize the best."<sup>47</sup>

Two things will at first sight strike you as inconsistent in the pragmatic explanation. First, if it is each man's work to construct his own universe out of the raw material furnished by sensations, how is it that for all of us, in some respects, the universe has a certain rigid sameness? Why do we all think the same way about certain facts of experience, especially with regard to the most ordinary features of the sensible, external world? I suppose a Pragmatist would answer this difficulty by pointing to his doctrine on objective truth. All truths, according to him, are in the beginning subjective. If now I can get other men to believe as I believe with regard to some point, my subjective truth begins to assume objectivity as existing in the minds of others. As Schiller says: "The power of constituting objective truth is not granted so easily. Society exercises almost as severe a control over the intellectual as over the moral eccentricities of its members; indeed, it often so organizes itself as to render the recognition of new truth nearly impossible."<sup>48</sup> Let us apply this to the question, how is it that all men look upon certain things in the same way? This consistency

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<sup>46</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 257.

<sup>47</sup> "Studies," p. 219.

<sup>48</sup> "Studies," p. 153.

and sameness of thought which we observe is merely the acceptance by all men of our ancestors' subjective beliefs. Some one of our remote ancestors thinks this way about the facts of experience, thus making reality for himself; he wins others to his point of view, and thus his reality becomes a reality also for his neighbor. When many or all men have accepted this subjective belief of one man, we have objective truth, and the attitude of all men's minds towards certain experiences becomes the same. As James puts it: "Our fundamental ways of thinking about things are discoveries of exceedingly remote ancestors which have been able to preserve themselves throughout the experience of all subsequent time. They form one great stage of equilibrium in the human mind's development—the stage of common sense. Other stages have grafted themselves upon this stage, but have never succeeded in displacing it."<sup>49</sup>

A second objection that comes spontaneously from the first insight into the pragmatic position is this: After all, you Pragmatists are making all this stir about nothing. Where is any newness or originality in your concept? Are you not offering us mere Kantianism, with, perhaps, a slight modification here and there? Kant, too, admitted some objectivity to our ideas, *i. e.*, he granted that the senses supplied the phenomena, the external appearance which was to be operated upon by the thinking subject, or, better, coöordinated according to certain a priori subjective forms or categories. Thus space and time and quality and quantity, and so with the rest are not objectively in the realities presented by the senses, but are only additions of our minds; hence, in a true sense, following Kant's view, we build up and make our own universe.

This so patent objection, however, has not escaped the Pragmatists, and they answer in the words of James: "Superficially this sounds like Kant's view, but between categories fulminated before nature began and categories gradually forming themselves in nature's presence, the whole chasm between rationalism and empiricism yawns. To the genuine 'Kantianer' Schiller will always be to Kant as a Satyr to Hyperion."<sup>50</sup> To translate, Kant's forms were a priori a very part of our nature, an inborn necessity of arranging all our perceptions according to prescribed categories; the pragmatic forms are not a priori, not a necessity of nature; they could have been otherwise if we and our ancestors had chosen it to be so; the universe is as we know it not because of any constraining influence necessarily leading men thus to know it, but because to-day's knowledge of the universe freely took its present shape.

And now for our refutation of all this. First, then, what have

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<sup>49</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 170.

<sup>50</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 249.



we to refute? We deny the statement of the Pragmatists that there is not a complete and absolute sum of realities apart and distinct from us, whose existence is altogether independent of our cognitive processes, to represent which is the object of our intellectual operations and in which no mere knowing on the part of the subject thinking induces any intrinsic change. We say that the order of such realities is the ontological, distinct from the logical order or that of the subject thinking; that the thinking subject, by representing the objects of the ontological order, does not make reality, but finds it, discovers only what was already preëxistent. We assert that predicates, applied by us to objects of the ontological order, are not mere subjective ways of thinking about them, but represent a corresponding quality in the objects; that these predicates are not applied according to a subjective whim, but because of a quality in the object calling upon us for and demanding such a predicate. As a confirmation we affirm that objects of experience to which have been applied predicates falsely, that is, which have no objective qualities corresponding to these predicates, will by their subsequent actions resist such a predicate. Finally, we hold that absolute substantial reality is not a term to be produced by intellectual processes, but exists separate and independent of them, and that our knowledge rather depends on the existence of such realities than their existence on our knowledge.

If we applied the pragmatic test of that which works to our position on reality, we should find it proved without a doubt. For men in general spontaneously fall into our way of looking at things, and scientists are forced to embrace it as a fundamental necessity for getting to work at all. Professor James himself says: "It may be that the truest of all beliefs shall be that in trans-subjective realities. It certainly *seems* truest, for no rival belief is as voluminously satisfactory."<sup>51</sup>

However, we do not admit as final nor care to use the pragmatic norm. Besides our aim is rather to prove the falsity of the pragmatic concept than the truth of our own. The first, most obvious and easiest refutation, then, of our adversaries' assumption is that which comes from disproving the pragmatic doctrine on the nature of truth and the idea. It is by true ideas that we assimilate to ourselves and acquire knowledge of reality. If, then, one wholly misconceives the nature and function of an idea he will hopelessly confuse his notion of reality. A right idea of reality without a right idea of truth is a contradiction in terms. Let us briefly examine how their false notions with regard to truth and the nature of the idea are responsible for the position which Pragmatists hold con-

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<sup>51</sup> *Journal of Philosophy*, December 3, 1908.

cerning reality. Pragmatists claim that the only value of an idea is a functional or instrumental one. Of course, we are not speaking of ideas in the sense of mere simple apprehensions, but in the broader sense which includes concepts formed from judgments. Pragmatically, then, the office of an idea is not primarily to copy reality; it is only an instrument for combining various portions of experience to make them run smoothly. To be concrete, suppose that one has for a long time been convinced that the theory of matter and form explains the ultimate condition of matter. In the course of time one learns, by chemical investigations, the laws of definite and multiple proportions and sees that from these is consistently deduced the atomic theory of matter. Our philosopher finds himself in a dilemma. Two rival theories, both founded on fact, are struggling in his mind for acceptance. As a Pragmatist he will first try to make these two theories agree or at least not to contradict one another. So he first tries to explain the laws of multiple and definite proportions so as to make them fit in with the hylomorphis theory. If this cannot be, he will try so to moderate his first theory that while retaining its essential features he may be able to admit as much as is necessary of the atomic theory. This he might do by accepting the Neo-Scholastic theory of matter and form, saying that the atom is the lost particle of complete matter in the physical world, but then this atom is composed of prime or indeterminate matter and a substantial form. Thus our philosopher has hit upon an idea that reconciles two different and at first sight apparently contradictory portions of his experience. In this illustration we see the nature of the idea as explained by Pragmatists; it is an instrument for uniting different portions of experience; it is a smoother over of transitions, wedding old experience to new fact with a minimum of jolt and a maximum of continuity. To be true it isn't necessary that this idea represent objective reality as it is in itself, that *de facto*, outside of me, the last portion of matter be an atom and that this be made up of matter and form. The only requisite to make this idea true is that it should work in explaining experience; that it should be helpful mentally, and that in explaining facts through it one should not be led into any intellectual inconsistency. "It is," as James says, "*as if* reality were made of ether, atoms or elections, but we mustn't think so literally."

This, then, is an explanation of the famous functional or instrumental nature of the idea—an idea is true as long as it works in explaining experience; in its failure to make good in this office it becomes false. If this position is correct, then, if an idea is not primarily a copy of reality, if an idea is only an hypothesis by which we seek to make all our diverse experiences so agree that the experi-

ence of to-day will not contradict yesterday's content of experience, it is plain that we know nothing about the objects outside of us, which were the causes of those experiences. Our idea about reality is all the reality we have, or, in other words, reality is as it is known to be. This subjective hypothesis about sensations received is our only reality; any other reality is neither known nor is a subject relevant to us.

This is not the place to refute the pragmatic concept on truth and the idea. This we have done elsewhere. Their position has been attacked and disproved by able philosophers within and without the Church. Indeed, in the recent philosophical conference at Heidelberg the German philosophers were especially wroth that such a doctrine could prevail. With regard to these instrumental ideas we find no difficulty in admitting them; we do not, however, call them true ideas because they work, but hypotheses, whose usefulness is proportioned to their workableness. The name "true ideas" we reserve for such as copy reality, which therefore when they are once true, remain so forever. It is evident that from the falsity of the pragmatic position on truth we must reject their explanation of reality.

But leaving aside this strongest argument, must not the Pragmatists logically admit a reality apart from us and very relevant to us, which is not the result of any mere knowing on the part of the subject thinking? Pragmatists admit the stubborn flux of our sensations, over whose order and number we have no control. Rejecting idealism, as they do, they must admit that these sensations come from objects outside of us necessarily affecting us in a certain way. If these objects necessarily affect us in a certain way, it must needs be because they possess certain qualities which act upon our organs in different ways and produce different sensations—sensations of blueness and greenness, of extension, sweetness, hardness, etc. Thus far, I think, the Pragmatists would agree. But they would add in reply: "Yes, but these qualities expressed in sensations do not determine what we think about objects which contain them." They would point to their distinction of primary and secondary reality, primary reality being the mere flux of our sensations, secondary reality what we say about such sensations. "Even though the objects have such qualities," a Pragmatist would say, "what I think about those objects depends upon myself." James says pertinent to this point: "Take our sensations. *That* they are is undoubtedly beyond our control, but *which* we attend to, note and make emphatic in our conclusions, depends on our own interests; and according as we lay emphasis here or there quite different formulations of truth result. We reach the same facts differently. Waterloo with

the same fixed details spells a victory for an Englishman; for a Frenchman it spells defeat."<sup>52</sup> Again he says: "We break the flux of sensible reality into things at our will. We create the subjects of our true as well as of our false propositions. We create the predicates also. . . . Cæsar crossed the Rubicon and was a menace to Rome's freedom. He is also an American school room pest, made into one by the reaction of our schoolboys on his writings. . . . You see how naturally one comes to the humanistic principle. You can't weed out the human contribution. Our nouns and adjectives are all humanized heirlooms, and in the theories we build them into, the inner order and arrangement is wholly dictated by human contributions, intellectual consistency being one of them."<sup>53</sup> "We add both to the subject and predicate part of reality. The world stands really malleable, waiting to receive its final touches at our hands. Like the kingdom of heaven, it suffers human violence willingly. Man engenders truths upon it."<sup>54</sup>

Schiller says on this point: "We supplement the inadequacies of our actual experience by assumed realities whose reality is assured to us by their value." But it would be useless to multiply quotations further. The idea is plain. Pragmatism claims for man full fling over his sensations; man impresses on sensations whatever form he wishes. This we flatly deny. No predicate is rightly applied by us to an object which has not a corresponding quality in that object, and that quality is antecedent is the reason why we apply such a predicate. Surely a man of James' intellectual perception can see that the reason why Waterloo spells victory to an Englishman and to a Frenchman defeat is not altogether due to a subjective way of thinking, but because of a quality in the object. Waterloo objectively was both a victory and a defeat. Objectively, too, Cæsar is both a menace to Rome's freedom and an American boy's school room pest. It is true we interpret facts in the light of past experience and present conditions, but always such interpretations are founded on the presence of corresponding qualities in the object. Hence the Pragmatists are convicted out of their own mouths, taking what they admit they can be logically constrained to concede a sum of realities apart and distinct from us, which is merely represented by our sensations. Or, if they wish to be impaled on the other horn of the dilemma, they are forced back upon idealism.

It is plain, then, that we do not make our universe; we only represent by our sensations and ideas realities already existing; we do not attach predicates at will to the objects of experience, or make

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<sup>52</sup> "Pragmatism," p. 246.

<sup>53</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>54</sup> *Opus cit.*, p. 257.



Finally, it is true within certain limits that we can work on the world of physical reality and make it more suitable to our needs. Since the world's perfection is a relative one, relative to its power of aiding man, we can make it more perfect, more suited to meet the demands made upon it. We can combine elemental substances to make them more serviceable to us; we can draw oxygen and hydrogen from water; we can produce gas and oils and numerous by-products from the destructive distillation of coal. We do not create one particle of matter or one quality or force in matter; we juxtapose, we combine, we separate what is offered us, and the results that follow are according to certain laws inherent in matter. We cannot create a single grain of dust or annihilate it; we cannot create the

smallest fraction of energy or destroy it. 'Tis true we can change and order the elements which nature bounteously offers us, yet even here we cannot do with nature absolutely what we will. Our makings and unmakings of reality are according to fixed laws which we discover, but do not decree. Some elements we are powerless to unite; some unite, but only in fixed proportions or under certain rigid conditions; over some we have as good as no control. What does all this show, except that outside of us there exists a wondrous universe of realities subject to our control, but at the same time resisting it, allowing us to manipulate them, but always along certain lines, the laws of which are within their own natures and independent of us?

It is pleasant for lovers of Catholic philosophy to contemplate in her doctrine on reality another victory over those who do not own her sway. In her concept of reality she has all the advantages of the rival teachings and none of their flaws. By her teaching on universals she admits a certain idealism without becoming subjective and unreal; by her admission of a reality plastic along certain lines she contains the so-called inspiring tenets of pragmatism without falling into its absurd contradictions and logical impossibilities. Always moderate, always offering the most rational and common-sense explanation of the great problems that agitate the minds of men, Catholic philosophy is beautiful because she is true, and may we not say she is true because the Divine Hand of Eternal Truth is guiding her, that she may the better defend the sublime revelations nestling in the bosom of Catholic theology?

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## Book Reviews

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- ▲ **THESAURUS DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.** Designed to suggest immediately any desired word needed to express exactly a given idea. A dictionary, synonyms, antonyms, idioms, foreign phrases, pronunciations. A copious correlation of words. Prepared under the supervision of Francis Andrew March, LL. D., L. H. D., D. C. L., Litt. D., and Francis Andrew March, Jr., A. M., Ph. D. Quarto, pp. about 1,300, with marginal index. Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company.

Our use of a "Thesaurus of the English Language" is comparatively modern. In London in 1852 appeared a volume entitled "Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases, Classified and Arranged so as to Facilitate the Expression of Ideas and Assist in Literary Composition," by Peter Mark Roget, M. D., F. R. S. It was intended to supply a collection of words and idiomatic combinations of the English language, "arranged not in alphabetical order as they are in a dictionary, but according to the ideas which they express," so that any one who has an idea may here find the word or words by which it may be most fitly and aptly expressed. This book has been for half a century a familiar part of the machinery used by authors, preachers, lecturers and professional men generally.

It was an excellent book, but it has gone out of date. The reading public, and especially the student body, has increased so enormously, and the English language has changed so extensively, that a new thesaurus is an urgent necessity. The first shortcoming in Roget is that there are no definitions of the words or explanations of the phrases. The book is really an index of words to be looked up in dictionaries and cyclopedias, unless one comes to it with his mind thoroughly stored with words and meanings.

Roget's arrangement is primarily one of nameable objects "It is impossible we should thoroughly understand the nature of the signs unless we first properly consider and arrange the *things* signified," is his motto, taken from Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley." He classifies nameables, after the manner of the English psychologists, into matter, mind (intellect, volition, affections), space and abstract relations, and divides and sub-divides these until he makes out an even thousand divisions, and into these he puts all the words. In order to find any word it was necessary to think out in which sub-division its idea belongs. This is worse than Etymüller. It was necessary to add a verbal index, alphabetically arranged, with references to the groups by number. It is not easy, indeed, to find a word after you know the number of its group, for the group may contain a hundred words in no manageable order.

The machinery of a serviceable dictionary is found in the alphabet. The invention of alphabetic writing has been often pronounced the

most important ever made. It is not the least of its benefits to mankind that it affords the means of making knowledge accessible. Every one knows the letters of the alphabet. If all thoughts are arranged under their words, and the words arranged in alphabetic order, any one can find off-hand any of the million facts and thoughts which are stored in the dictionary. The use of simple alphabetic order is almost as important an invention as the representation of words by single signs of the elementary sounds.

The material of this thesaurus has been brought to alphabetic order. The publisher suggested that it be called a "Thesaurus Dictionary," believing that the word "thesaurus" will easily assume the meaning of *groups* and "dictionary" that of *alphabetic arrangement*. An example of its use brings out most clearly its usefulness. In using the Thesaurus Dictionary, look up any word connected with your subject in its alphabetic place in the vocabulary list in larger black type, exactly as in a common dictionary. Anger, for example, is found thus on page 45. It is there briefly defined as a violent passion, and two groups to which it belongs are then mentioned in small capitals—Excitability-Inexcitability and Favorite-Anger. To study the first group turn to Excitability-Inexcitability in its alphabetical place in the general vocabulary, page 372. There, under this heading, are two parallel columns, the left hand for Excitability, the right for Inexcitability, each running for a couple of pages and bringing together some one hundred and fifty words and phrases. They are divided into nouns, verbs, verbal phrases, adjectives, etc., arranged in alphabetic order. The first column contains all words and phrases naturally associated according to the laws of similarity, contiguity and comprehension, synonyms and the like; the second column contains a similar group related to the first column according to the law of contrast, antonyms, polar opposites and the like. By means of cross-references other groups of associated meaning are brought to the attention.

This illustration shows that the book is really a combination of dictionary and thesaurus, and its value can hardly be exaggerated. It contributes wonderfully to accuracy, nicety and clarity of expression, and it is indispensable for one who values these qualities in speaking and writing. In the appendix we find a study of our English speech, embracing its origin, history, roots and derivations, forms and relations, spellings and spelling reforms, etc.

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SOME ASPECTS OF RABBINIC THEOLOGY. By A. Schechter, M. A., Litt. D. (Cantab.) 12mo., pp. 384. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909. All rights reserved.

The contents of this book have grown out of a course of lectures

delivered at various learned centres and a series of essays published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. These essays began to appear in the year 1894. They attracted some notice and were utilized by several writers on theological subjects, both with and without due acknowledgment. They are now presented to the public in an expanded form, revised and corrected and increased by new chapters and other additional matter, amounting to about half the bulk of this volume.

It is not the author's purpose to write the history of Rabbinic theology, but rather to give some comprehensive view of a group of theological subjects as thought out and taught by the synagogue. Not a history of doctrine, but rather of the development of doctrine; a comparatively new field. The author says:

"This volume represents no philosophical exposition of the body of doctrine in the synagogue, nor does it offer a description of its system of ethics. Both the philosophy of the synagogue and its ethics have been treated in various works by competent scholars belonging to different schools of thought. The main aim of such works is, however, as it would seem, interpretation, more often re-interpretation. The object of the following pages is a different one. The task I set myself was to give a presentation of Rabbinic opinion on a number of theological topics as offered by Rabbinic literature, and forming an integral part of the religious consciousness of the bulk of the nation or 'Catholic Israel.'

"Keeping this end in view, I have considered it advisable not to intrude too much interpretation or paraphrase upon the rabbis. I let them have their own say in their own words, and even their own phraseology so far as the English idiom allowed. My work consisted in gathering the materials distributed all over the wide domain of Rabbinic literature, classifying, sifting and arranging them, and also in ascertaining clearly and stating in simple direct terms the doctrines and theological concepts that they involved, in such a manner as to convey to the student a clear notion of Rabbinic opinion of the doctrine under discussion."

The author tells us candidly that his attitude is a Jewish one, but not intentionally antagonistic to Christianity. He has a comprehensive grasp of his subject, and he writes clearly, confidently and convincingly, except for the man whose attitude is Christian.

A glance at the contents of the volume will show its scope. After the introduction, which is quite comprehensive, it treats of "God and the World," "God and Israel," "Election of Israel," "The Kingdom of God (Invisible)," "The Visible Kingdom (Universal)," "The Kingdom of God (National)," "The 'Law,'" "The Law as Personified in the Literature," "The Torah in Its Aspect of Law

(Mizwoth)," "The Joy of the Law," "The Zachuth of the Fathers: Imputed Righteousness and Imputed Sin," "The Law of Holiness and the Law of Goodness," "Sin as Rebellion," "The Evil Yezer: The Source of Rebellion," "Man's Victory by the Grace of God Over the Evil Yezer Created by God," "Forgiveness and Reconciliation With God," "Repentance: Means of Reconciliation."

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**VIRTUES AND SPIRITUAL COUNSEL OF FATHER NOAILLES**, Founder of the Congregation of the Holy Family of Bordeaux. Translated from the French of Father Eugene Baffle, Oblate of Mary Immaculate, by Father John Fitzpatrick, of the same Congregation. 12mo., pp. 485. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1908.

The priest whose virtues we are about to study, of whose apostolate we would tell, was one of those good laborers of the Gospel who claim but one reward for their labors—that their names should be written in the Book of Life. Since his day, beyond the religious family of which he was the founder, the law-giver, the model and the father, few people have known of his existence and benefited by the treasures of his mind and heart. Too humble to think anything of himself, too much taken up with God's interests to think about his own in regard to the opinions of men, too deeply smitten with eternal things not to disdain even to excess the things that pass away, his life was useful rather than conspicuous, holy rather than brilliant.

Forty-four years have passed since his blessed death, and what a mountain of oblivion so long a lapse of time heaps up over a dead man's grave! And so, except within his spiritual family, how many are there who remember his apostolate or even his name?

Surely the life of such a man is worth the telling. Daily the lives of the wicked are written and spread out before the world in the newspapers. Their crimes are exaggerated, and multiplied, and painted in all their appalling details, until the whole world is scandalized, and the young especially become indifferent, cynical, sinful. How seldom do we read of the good deeds of men! How often do we not attribute bad motives to those who do good things. We should welcome a biography like the one before us because it is edifying, refreshing and fruitful. The author has followed the best rule by letting the subject speak for himself in his correspondence. He says:

"An author of our day has said: 'I look upon letters as the most vital part of biography. . . . If the secrets of our daily lives and of the depths of our souls can instruct others that survive us, let these be, in the future days, revealed to men as they are to-day

to God. Let dust return to dust and the secrets of the soul unto our kind, for mankind is natural heir to them.'

"The volume we now publish is, then, almost entirely Abbé Noailles' own, since it is made up of the most part of fragments of his vast correspondence, which we have fitted together in logical order, without, however, ever allowing ourselves to make any addition or any abridgement that would alter the man of God as he himself set it down."

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WILLIAM CARDINAL ALLEN, Founder of the Seminaries. By *Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B.*, of Erdington Abbey. Foolscape, 8vo., pp. 194, illustrated. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1908.

This is another volume of the very neat and well chosen St. Nicholas Series, which already embraces such important subjects as Jeanne d'Arc, Blessed Thomas More, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Cardinal Pole and others. They contain much historical information, well chosen and skillfully edited. They will be popular and useful.

This short life of William Cardinal Allen does not pretend to be exhaustive. The writer has aimed at giving a picture of the man and of his great spiritual work for the faith in England, but the scope of this series has prevented him from going deeply into the political activities which had so great a share in Allen's closing years. The whole history of this aspect of the Cardinal's career will be found, together with the documents, in Father Knox's magnificent edition of "The Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen."

Nevertheless, the writer has not been able to pass over the political side of the Cardinal's life wholly in silence. He has written of it with all frankness and sincerity, not hesitating to put his finger on points in which he believes that this great man was misled. But in spite of his political mistakes, the life seems to become greater the more closely it is studied. Allen was a man of one idea; that idea was the conversion of England. For that he labored unceasingly; for that he endured voluntary exile, poverty, trials, calumnies, persecution; for that he undertook the great work with which his name will be forever associated; for that he lived, and with that hope in his heart he died. It is easy for us nowadays to point out his mistakes; it is not so easy to follow his glorious example.

The writer has often found, to his astonishment and sorrow, how little is known among English Catholics of this great man. He trusts that this short and inadequate biography will at least serve to interest them in his life and work. It may also, perhaps, be of service to some who are still outside the visible unity of the Church for which Allen worked and suffered so much.

- LA QUESTION SOCIALE AU XVIII SIECLE.** Par *A. Lecoq*. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, Paris.
- LE TRAVAIL SOCIOLOGIQUE. LA METHODE.** Par *P. Meline*. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, Paris.

These two small volumes form part of the well-known series of works on sociology which are being issued by Messrs Bloud et Cie. The work of M. Meline may be considered an introduction to the science of sociology. It is less ambitious but more exact and methodical than the work of the late Herbert Spencer on the same subject. M. Meline insists on the objective study of sociology, without, however, neglecting the psychological or more spiritual aspects of the subject. He claims that in this respect French sociologists are superior to others. Indeed, he claims that sociology in its best sense is a French science. He condemns both the materialist and the idealist exponents of economic science, and he claims with much force that the true study of man in his social relations must lead to the conclusion that there is behind and above all an infinite design and a world superior to this (p. 117).

The work of M. A. Lecoq is a valuable contribution to the history of the social question. He deals with the eighteenth century, which was so prolific of social movements. He shows that the social question before and during the Revolution was not, as it is to-day, a question of capital and labor so much as a question of property. The aim of the great thinkers who occupied themselves with the social question in the eighteenth century was to discover some solution for the feudal burdens that lay heavy on all real estate. The grievances of the cultivators of the soil were many and grievous, and the theories of such men as Montesquieu, Morelly, J. J. Rousseau, Mably and the hosts of encyclopædists and physiocrats undoubtedly precipitated the overthrow of landlordism in France. Students of sociology who feel interested in its history cannot dispense with a knowledge of its history in the eighteenth century, and they can gather the main facts of that period from the excellent little work of M. Lecoq.

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- LES MODERNISTES.** Par le *P. Vincent Maumus*. One vol. in 16. Double couronne, 2 fr. 50; franco, 2 fr. 75. Librairie Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, éditeurs, rue de Rennes, 117, Paris.

This new book of P. Maumus is destined, we believe, to exercise a powerful and widely spread influence. It treats with unanswerable clearness and force of logic the momentous questions to which the Holy Father has drawn the world's attention in the encyclical *Pascendi*.

Amidst the numerous works which have treated of the con-



demned errors, this new publication has the distinctive merit of placing within reach of all readers not deeply versed in theological speculations those religious problems concerning which the modernists have made shipwreck of their faith. This popularization, if we may so call it, of the teaching of the Holy Father is all the more necessary in so far as the encyclical *Pascendi* has in certain circles been very much misunderstood, in France especially. There has been in some a tendency to look upon the encyclical as an attempt on the part of the Church to put a check or hindrance on intellectual culture and progress of science, and the modernists were regarded as the advanced pioneers of thought who fell victims to a gloomy obscurantism. Now the simple truth is that the modernists are nothing more than foolishly proud and self-conceited men, who in the name of false science pretend to change and, worse still, to destroy the ancient belief of the Church. Hence the necessity of bringing the debate between truth and error before the public, who without being theologians *ex professo* are deeply interested in religious questions. P. Maumus has supplied this much-felt want by writing his book with a clearness and vigor which render its perusal both attractive and instructive.

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HISTOIRE DE L'INQUISITION EN FRANCE. I. Les Origines de l'Inquisition. Par T. de Cauzons. I vol., 1-8. Pr., 7 francs. Bloud et Cie, éditeurs, 7, rue Saint Sulpice, Paris.

For the last thirty years literature treating of the Inquisition has grown rich and broad. Numerous documents have been given forth to the world. Special studies have served to clear up doubtful questions. Some historians have attempted, with real success and genuine talent, to present a comprehensive and unified view of the problem. Thus, to name only the most recent, M. Ch. Lea in America and M. Vacandord in France may be mentioned. It is well known, however, that the impartiality of the former is not above all criticism, and that the luminous and high-toned essay of the latter has no pretention to be considered as an exhaustive treatment of the question.

M. de Cauzons' work is the first synthetic elaboration of the data furnished both by the direct study of the sources and by the investigation of modern erudition. It will comprise three volumes. The first of these has appeared and is occupied with the origins of the Inquisition. The book is written in a strikingly calm and unimpassioned tone, without any show of either bitterness or enthusiasm, and putting aside every thought of apology or criticism, places the testimonials and proofs of the controversy before the eyes of all.

Due praise must be bestowed upon the conscientious efforts of the writer, who gives us the hard-earned fruit of more than twenty years of minute research and profound reflection. Thanks to his labors, every reader can henceforth feel assured that what he reads in this work presents to him the Inquisition as it really was.

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PHILOSOPHIA MORALIS AD MENTEM S. THOMAE AQUINATIS. Auctore J. De Bie. Pars I.: Philosophia Mor. Generalis. Lovanii, Typis F. et R. Centerick, 1908. Pr., 5 francs.

Cardinal Mercier, the Archbishop of Mechlin, in his letter prefixed to the present volume expresses his appreciation *de la clarté, la méthode, la sûreté* of the work, and unquestionably these are the characteristics that strike the reader at once and impress themselves with ever deepening potency on his mind proportionately as he peruses the pages. The book embodies a summary of the author's lectures before the students of the Mechlin Seminary, and the characteristics just indicated are precisely those that reflect the experience gained by the practical professor respecting the pupil's needs. The doctrine is "sure," since it is that of St. Thomas developed and adjusted to present requirements; "the method" could hardly be surpassed in its formal orderliness—a quality to which the material setting of the book lends not a little, while the style is "clearness" itself. For the rest, though the body of the doctrine is, of course, that to be found in the average manual of scholastic ethics, the work contains two special features: 1. A *conspectus generalis historiae philosophiae moralis*—an exceedingly brief historical survey of ethics, it is true (pp. 7-18), still it is good for the student to have at least some such orientation at the start. 2. In connection with the influence of habits on conduct the author has appended a study of the abnormalities of consciousness, diseases and alterations of personality as they are usually called. The sketch, though also short, is serviceable in view of the recent discussion of the influence on morality of these pathological conditions. It should be noted in conclusion that the present volume is confined to general ethics only. A subsequent volume will treat of the application of the principles here developed to special rights and duties.

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LE LIVRE D'AMOS. Par J. Touzard, professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Bloud et Cie, Paris, 1909. Pr., 3 francs.

The present is the initial volume in the Old Testament portion of the "Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement Scripturaire"—a series of commentaries on the individual books of the Bible. In the section

of the series devoted to the New Testament the volumes relating to the Synoptic Gospels and to the Acts of the Apostles have previously appeared. Students who are familiar with the Cambridge series of commentaries will recognize almost their counterpart at least in respect to method and general appearance, and will probably echo the wish that the present collection might be rendered into English for the benefit of readers not conversant with French. At any rate, those who have command of the latter language are now being supplied by the present series with commentaries which, while they safeguard Catholic teaching, utilize the best results of recent Biblical research. As regards the commentary at hand on the prophecy of Amos, the aim of the author has been to provide as exact as possible a translation of the Hebrew text with notes summarizing the interpretation found in the best recent works on the subject. The introduction is a scholarly essay, in which the historical environment of the prophet is well portrayed and the burden of his message clearly outlined. The volume will be a great help to teachers of the Bible as well as to the advanced student.

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SCIENCE ET RELIGION. ETUDES POUR LES TEMPS PRESENT: "Les Livres de St. Patrice" par Georges Dottin; "Les Croisades" par Adrien Tortin; "Pensées de F. de la Mennais" par Christian Marechal; "Les Idées Morales de F. de la Mennais" par Jean des Cognets; "Le Pallium" par Jules Baudot; "L. Floretti" par Arnold Goffin; "Nicole" par Henri Bremond; "Le Sens Catholique" par Henri Couget; "Les Idées Morales de Chateaubriand" par Maurice Souriau; "Le Védisme" par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Bloud et Cie, Paris, 1909.

Beside the encyclopædia in which "universal knowledge" is compacted within a score or more of quartos and domesticated only on the library shelf or desk, there is a demand in these days for a more liberal and fluent method of bringing "the circle of the sciences" within the convenient reach of busy readers and students. The enterprising house of Bloud & Co., Paris, have done much to meet this demand by the series of monographs which they publish under the above heading. The general title is comprehensive enough to take in a very large miscellaneous number of subjects. The collection embraces almost a score of departments, some of which have multiplied sub-divisions, the organization of the aggregate being as elastic as is compatible with the exigency of system. Under the general title above we have mentioned the most recent issues in the series. They refer to the departments of hagiography, history, philosophy, apologetics, liturgy. We cannot, of course, here describe the individual booklets. Though they are not all of equal merit or importance, the majority are excellent opuscles within their limits, solid and scholarly productions. Being the work for the most part

of specialists in their respective subjects, they are at once informing, interesting and suggestive of ways and instruments which the student can employ for more extended research. Not the least noteworthy feature of the collection is that while the booklets are generally neatly made brochures, their average price is but half a franc in Paris.

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**HISTOIRE DE LA FONDATION DE L'EGLISE:** "La Revolution religieuse," one volume (pr. 3¼ francs); "Le Christianisme primitif," one volume (Pr. 3½ francs). Par *Albert Dufourcq*, professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. Bloud et Cie, 7 Place Saint Sulpice, Paris.

These two volumes together constitute the second section of a larger work entitled "l'Avenir du Christianisme," some account of which was given in the last issue of the REVIEW. The author's dominant purpose is, while maintaining the transcendency of Christianity, to illustrate its relationship to antecedent Judaism and paganism. The present part surveys what he calls the *syncretist period*—the formative stage of Christianity—extending from the beginning down to Severus. The former of the two volumes at hand treats of the religious revolution, the personality and work of Christ and of St. Peter and his associates. The second volume treats of St. Paul, St. John and St. Ireneus. The central idea of the work here finds its fullest illumination—the Christianization of the world is seen in its emergence and strongest activity—its emanation, namely, from its Author, Christ, and its continuation through the immediate series of His vicegerents. The author has succeeded in holding a happy mean between wide generalities and vague philosophizings on the one hand and excessive accumulation of details on the other. Historical exposition of facts has thus been secured by no sacrifice of the interest of the narrative. The work has now reached the second half of its entirety. It should be noted, however, that each volume has a certain completeness and may be purchased independently of the rest.

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**HISTOIRE DU CATHOLICISME EN ANGLETERRE.** Par *G. Planque*. One vol. in 16 de 128 pages. Pr., 1 fr. 20. Bloud et Cie, éditeurs, 7, rue Saint Sulpice, Paris.

The aim of the writer is not to give a history of Catholic revival in England, so brilliantly treated of by eminent writers during these last few years. He seeks rather to furnish a prologue to the history of these latter events. Though Catholicity in England has been the subject of so many recent works of note, still it is remarkable that they deal as a rule only with the nineteenth century Catholicity, and

refer but little or not at all to the Catholicity of former periods. Now M. Planque offers a complete and conscientious resume of religious history in England from its origin up to the Reformation, and from the Reformation until the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829. To retrace the sufferings of the English Catholics since the reign of Henry VIII. and to recall the glories of the ancient Church in England, in order that by the contrast on the one hand and by the analogy on the other we may the better feel and understand the present situation, such has been the view intended by the writer. The work is most timely, appearing as it does on the morrow of the Eucharistic Congress, which has manifested so remarkably the deep and earnest life of Catholic England. By a happy coincidence there appears at the same moment the new volume from the learned pen of M. Thureau-Dangin, "*Le Catholicisme en Angleterre au XIX. Siècle*" ("*Catholicism in England in the Nineteenth Century*"). Herein the public will be enabled to benefit by the results of the great labors of research and the profound erudition of the illustrious Academician, to whose work M. Planque's excellent volume will serve as a fitting introduction. We cheerfully recommend it as such to all readers.

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LETRES SUR LES ETUDES, ECCLESIASTIQUES. Par S. G. Mgr. Mignot, Archevêque d'Albi. One vol. in 12. Pr., 3 fr. 50. Paris, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gubalda et Cie, 90, rue Bonaparte.

The Archbishop of Albi, Mgr. Mignot, has yielded to many urgent requests by editing in one volume his "*Letters on Ecclesiastical Studies*" and the lecture delivered by him at Toulouse on the method of theology, some pertinent notes being appended to the work. In a very fine and masterly preface he resumes the chief ideas developed in the course of the treatise, in which simplicity of style enhances the beauty and charm which adorn its every page. The perusal of this volume has the advantage of engaging the student's interest and attention in branches of learning most fitted to maintain that high intellectual level to which the mind of ecclesiastics should be raised in order to be able to diffuse around them the light of truth.

Faithfully adhering to the directions of the Sovereign Pontiff, Mgr. Mignot shows how, in the unchanging and unchangeable Church, it is possible to institute a complete system of free theological research, of critical verification and of doctrinal development. These letters have for aim neither to exhaust the questions at issue nor to offer new solutions for their settlement. Their object is to inspire the reader with love of study, to awaken in his mind a lawful curiosity, a usefully inquisitive mode of thought, to indicate the

manner in which nowadays religious problems present themselves, to point out certain shoals and sandbanks, to call for due reflection—in a word, to furnish to the catechist and apologist a prudent and at the same time, progressive method of study and instruction.

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LE JANSENISME. ETUDE DOCTRINALE. Par J. Paquier. Bloud et Cie, Paris, 1909. Pr., 5 francs.

There is no dearth of books dealing with Jansenism from an historical point of view—dealing especially with the long controversies and fierce quarrels between the Jansenists and their opponents. Works, however, that treat of the sadly famous heresy on its doctrinal side are not so abundant, and what there are, are for the most part antiquated or, being written in Latin and having a professionally theological character and aim, lie outside the purview of the general reader. There is room and doubtless also a demand, at least in France, for a work such as the one here introduced, which treats of Jansenism in its relation to the central Catholic doctrine, that, namely of grace, to which it is directly opposed; treats it philosophically and theologically, yet quite within the capacity and interest of the average intelligent reader. The fact that the book embodies a course of lectures delivered by the author at the Catholic Institute in Paris—lectures numerously attended and largely by the laity, women as well as men, may be cited as attesting to the unusual interest of the matter, or rather, we should say, of the manner, method, style, for the author possesses the happy art of making an abstruse and a seemingly technical subject plain and simple and even attractive. Those to whom the subject appeals may be assured of being amply repaid by reading the book, especially the closing chapter, which throws some vivid light on the “miracles” of Jansenism.

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BIBLIOPHOBOS DECURRENTIS LITERATURAE SCIENTIAE CATHOLICAE. Praecipuo in hoc genere libros exhibens quos omnis natio in dies affert una cum operibus iudicis ex clarioribus periodicis excerptis vel a peculiaris disciplinae. Professoribus prolati Doct. E. Schmitt et Prof. Doct. I. Sestili studio conlato compilationem recensentibus. Vol. I, Fasc. II. Januarius, Romae, 1909. M. Bretschneider, Leibr. Editor.

The ample title here delineated is sufficiently descriptive of the undertaking inaugurated—viz., a quarterly review of current Catholic literature appearing in every country. The undertaking is as to its scope original, and if it receive adequate support cannot but do a distinct service to scholars by keeping them—as it bids fair to do—*au courant* with at least the broad lines of Catholic biblio-

graphy. There are some thirteen branches of knowledge represented, and many leading works that have recently appeared in Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German and even in English are briefly described. Obviously the Latin language alone lends itself to such a vehicle. The book notices, while necessarily brief, are on the whole sufficiently descriptive to guide the reader to what he may want. We welcome the *Bibliophoros* and wish it success. The price is sixty-five cents per annum—surely modest enough.

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**ART ET APOLOGETIQUE.** Par A. D. Sertillanges, professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. One vol. in 16 de la collection Etudes de philosophie et de critique religieuse. Pr., 3 fr. 50. Bloud et Cie, ed., 7, rue Saint Sulpice, Paris.

The problem which M. Sertillanges proposes to study and elaborate in this recent work is the relation subsisting between apologetics, whose necessity is evident at the present time, and art, which claims universal sympathy and exercises universal power. In developing his theme the author allows a wide range to the terms of the problem. In several chapters, combining strength of thought with elegance of style, he shows successively how art evokes religious feeling, how it expresses religious feeling and religious events, what is the artistic value of religious feeling in general and in particular of Catholic Christianity. He then answers the objections raised in the name of complete art and of life against Christianity. In a final chapter he treats of modern religious art. We find then that the book deals exhaustively with the set of questions which confront the æsthetic as well as the religious mind. The eminent professor of the Catholic Institute at Paris has furnished a book of such a kind as had hitherto no existence and which will be welcomed by all those readers who cherish a sincere love for religious truth as well as for artistic beauty.

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**HELLADIAN VISTAS.** By Don Daniel Quinn, Ph. D., successively student of American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece; professor of Greek at Mount St. Mary's College, Maryland; professor of Greek at the Catholic University, Washington, and rector of the Leontelon, Athens, Greece; now pastor of St. Paul's, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and professor at Antioch College. Second edition, 12mo., pp. 407. Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1909.

"The following chapters have already appeared in print as magazine articles. They are republished with the kind permission of the editors of *Harper's Magazine*, the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY*, the *Catholic World*, *Donahoe's Magazine* and the *Catholic Uni-*

*versity Bulletin*. Frequent repetitions of thought and expression have been allowed to remain, although almost inexcusable."

These essays were written by the reverend author generally, if not always, during a residence of several years in Greece. They embrace a wide range of subjects, including customs, beliefs, localities, ruins, etc., and all have that special value which must attach to the writings of a specialist who is an enthusiastic student and who labors in a remote field, not easily accessible, and rather hard in the tilling. Dr. Quinn writes in a charming manner, bringing an enthusiasm to his work which vivifies it. His standing as a Greek scholar places his accuracy beyond question.

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LES ASSEMBLÉES DU CLERGE ET LE PROTESTANTISME. Par I. Bourlon. One vol. in 16 de 128 pp. Pr., 1 fr. 20. Librairie Bloud et Cie.

The assemblies of the clergy, which had become periodical towards the end of the sixteenth century, were intended above all to adopt measures for the material interests of the Church in France. But in course of time and from the very nature of things they took in hands all its interests, both spiritual and temporal. What was their line of conduct towards the Protestants? This is a question about which much controversy has been carried on in former times and much prejudice still prevails at the present day. No writer could have been more fittingly chosen to treat this important problem in history than M. Bourlon, the author of the well-known work "Assemblées du Clergé Sous l'ancien Régime" and also of the important and scholarly volume entitled "Assemblées du Clergé et le Jansénisme."

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LA DEDICACE DES EGLISES. Par J. Baudot, O. S. B. One vol. in 12. Pr., 0 fr. 60. Bloud et Cie, éditeurs, 7, rue Saint Sulpice, Paris.

The consecration or dedication of churches is defined as a sacred act, or rather a combination of sacred and solemn acts, appointed and determined by the Church, and whose effect is to render an edifice sacred, and for evermore dedicated to God and to His worship, this act or these acts being performed by a lawful minister of the Church, so that the edifice, hitherto profane, but now and forever holy and sacred, may serve as a sanctuary for celebration of the divine and ecclesiastical offices. It is this liturgical rite, of great importance and interest to all ecclesiastics which forms the subject of the opusculum published by the learned Benedictine, J. Boudot. It comprises two parts: First, the historical development of the ceremony



of dedication; second, the canonical and liturgical regulations of the rite of dedication and its symbolism.

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**DIARY AND NOTEBOOK FOR 1909.** Designed for the Special Use of the Reverend Clergy. 16mo., cloth, net, 75 cents. Benziger Brothers, Cincinnati, New York, Chicago.

The third issue of the "Diary and Notebook" is slightly different from the two previous editions, the most striking feature being the omission of the Ordo and the addition of a few thoughts for meditation each day. Although there may be some difference of opinion as to the wisdom of the omission, no one can question the value of the addition, and all will acknowledge the excellence of the book in general as to the matter, the plan, the presentation and the correctness. Indeed, Father Schulte's name is a guarantee of all this, and we expect nothing less from him. We doubt if any one could gather a greater amount of useful, necessary information into so small a space and state it so clearly.

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**HENRY CHARLES LEA'S HISTORICAL WRITINGS.** A Critical Inquiry into their Method and Merit. By *Paul Maria Baumgarten*. 12mo., pp. 200. New York: Joseph Wagner, 1909.

A review of Henry C. Lea's work translated from the German seems odd at first, especially to Mr. Lea's fellow citizens of Philadelphia, but an examination of the book will prove that it is worth going so far to get so good a thing.

It has always been a matter of surprise to observers in this country, as it was to the German author of this book, that a layman like Mr. Lea should choose for his life work a field of historical research which requires a philological, philosophical and historical training which very few men ever acquire, and which Mr. Lea has never acquired; which requires, moreover, a mental balance and a calm, cool, fair judgment, free from bias and prejudice, which is partly inherited and partly acquired, and which Mr. Lea has not gotten in either way, and which, finally, calls for an indifference as to the final result of the search after truth which leads the student invariably to the right conclusion, and indicates in its possessor a bigness almost superhuman, and Mr. Lea is very human. If Mr. Lea had devoted the same amount of time and labor and money to some undertaking, to some work for which he was better equipped, he would have accomplished more good and earned more merit. Now, as his long life draws to a close, he sees before him, as the result of his life work, several large volumes treating of subjects which he never understood, and which, while they may draw applause from the multitude, make the judicious few grieve. We have sufficient respect for Mr. Lea to think that he would prefer the approval of the latter.

Mr. Lea's profuseness, as well as his method, makes a systematic and free review of his works impossible. Hence, Monsignor Baumgarten follows the lead of Dr. Bouquillon and Father Casey, S. J., in this country by discrediting him. In this spirit he takes up in turn Auricular Confession, Indulgences. The Inquisition of the Middle Ages, The Spanish Inquisition and The Sacred Penitentiary. We freely subscribe to what the publishers claim for the book, namely: that it is a notable review of Mr. Lea's volumes on the history of Auricular Confession and other institutions of the Church. The author, himself an historian of repute, views Mr. Lea's work in the light of modern historical research, and offers much proof, in the shape of quotations from other eminent historians and from original records, in support of his charge that Mr. Lea's data are not always correct, that he made errors in the use of his material, and that he was prejudiced in his deductions.

The following quotations from Monsignor Baumgarten's introduction are good specimens of his method:

"A peculiarity of Lea's method, observed in all his volumes, and one which renders the tracing of his deductions at times difficult, is his habit to quote sources in more or less slipshod fashion. His authorities for various matters, dealt with on two or more pages, are frequently lumped together in one common annotation; the books quoted from are enumerated in the informal fashion of the old French and Italian schools, various editions of quoted books are hardly ever distinguished; bibliographical exactness is lacking, folios of quoted passages are omitted oftener than is to the liking of the critical reader, and not infrequently are the sources of quoted documents only suggested. Thus the critical reader has his troubles, due to this supreme disregard for the requirements of modern scientific writing. It may be suggested in passing that this indifference does not seem to manifest any great amount of respect, on part of the author, for the readers to whom he addresses himself. Whenever there is a lack of documentary proof, Lea chooses to present his matter in a form which a careful and conscientious historian would endeavor to avoid. The words 'doubtless' and 'evidently' play a conspicuous part in his writings, and as a significant fact, chiefly there, where the matter allows of most diverse conjectures. And Lea's conclusions, in a great many instances, are not so 'doubtless' as he would fain have them believed to be. 'We can readily conceive;' 'we may easily imagine;' 'it can be readily understood;' such and similar expressions, often occurring, will warn the reader to look sharp unless he is willing to accept Lea's hypothesis as a proved fact, proved by one of Lea's phrases. Lea's use of many quotations, from sources in print or manuscript, admits, with the most generous allowance, of no other characterization but that of a misrepresentation of their meaning, the meaning they will convey in connection with their context. The earmarks of the card index product are here plainly and painfully apparent.

"But this is not the worst. There are quotations in Lea's books which can only be described as falsifications of their sense

in the full meaning of the term. Until proof to the contrary is at hand, let us suppose that we have before us objective falsifications. The knowledge of medieval theology and of the Canon Law prevailing at that time, with which Lea obviously equipped himself, affords the basis of this severe reproach, for which I shall furnish proof in the course of this review. It is difficult to understand why Lea should have resorted to such questionable means, when he had ample opportunity to give, in other ways, expression to his aversion for the Church and her representatives. He actually availed himself, to a great extent, of such opportunities, and frequently uses expressions of such coarseness that the reader asks himself in astonishment whether they are warranted by the facts described according to Lea's method. These are phenomena whose psychological and scientific explanation is not apparent to me; I simply record the fact, therefore, and leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions."

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**ALCUIN CLUB COLLECTIONS:**

VIII. The "Interpretations" of the Bishops, and their Influence on Elizabethan Episcopal Policy. With an Appendix of the Original Documents. By *W. M. Kennedy*.

IX. The Edwardian Inventories for Buckinghamshire. Edited by *F. C. Feles, F. R. Hist. S., F. S. A. Scot.*, from transcripts by the Rev. *J. E. Brown, B. A., Vicar of Studham*. 8vo., boards, pp. 42+156. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

This book is not a new work on first aid to the injured, nor instructions for those who save the body, but it is the soul-saver's guide for those who labor in a field that is very ripe and that needs many reapers.

"The author has written with the aim of furthering religion in those whose loyalty to the holy cause will do the most toward stemming the rising tide of unbelief, anarchy and immorality; for assuredly spiritual advancement is of its very highest efficacy in the directions just named when secured in our boys, destined to be heads of families and leaders in all departments of life.

"And yet these arbiters of the future carry the seed of pretty much all the evil that is to be. Bless their innocent sisters, who stand so little in need of preservative care! Indeed, in godliness of life, the gentle half of our race could easily hold its own if only the sterner partner would cease playing the role of tempter. Take care of the boys, then, and the girls will take care of themselves. Nay, more; could but half of the obstreperous scamlings be made into anything like perfect men, feminine virtue, thereby obtaining fuller play, would almost repair the primeval lapse and restore the world to a paradise anew."

This declaration has the ring of experience, earnestness and confidence. The experience has had that best of all effects, toleration. Hence the author does humbly say that he does not dictate, but suggests.

"However, warm interest in youth does not burden these pages

with a dictatorial tone. They are written for the purpose of simply suggesting divers measures, all of them tested during years of personal experience, which it is hoped may be found helpful to practical friends of city boys."

"And while a special form of first communion preparation, operative apart from fraternities, is presented at the close of this volume, the expedients to be offered are mainly in favor of societies; they, consequently, are proposed for use on our young friends as on an evasive, rather disorderly, and more or less wayward element to be gathered into organizations, and, through the organizations, to be controlled and improved."

Those who have charge of boys often make the mistake of trying to care for them without discrimination as to age. Persons of experience never make this mistake. One soon learns, also, that in all parishes, boys, between school age and young manhood, need most care.

"The devotion of the present undertaking solely to subjects in their teens appears in the undertaking's very title. On the one hand, a conspicuous presentment of this limitation seems called for as emphasizing the writer's earnest objection to the admission of youngsters (apparently) twelve years of age, or younger.

"There is, furthermore, a second and still more important reason for making the limitation unmistakably clear; it is that in discussions on our subject, the word 'boys' is very frequently used to signify juveniles and adolescents of all ages, including even persons who have passed their majority. Now this ambiguous and hopelessly confusing acceptance of an all-important term is justly obviated by the permanent declaration that the 'boys' of the present pages are really such, and are to be provided for according to the demands and facilities of their special time of life.

"For, considered as material for pious societies, young fellows, between thirteen and eighteen, form a well-defined category of their own.

"Meanwhile, I suggest no particular kind of society; only measures which, it is hoped, will be found applicable here and there to religious bodies in general. In fact, any idea of securing absolute unity of formation in juvenile associations must be replaced with a welcome to diversity of formation, when we note that secondary, but important, aims should vary with local circumstances, and that even fraternities, the same in name and general purpose, ought to show differences resulting from the fact that each worker wisely manages by ways and means chosen to suit his own individual disposition and taste."

It is clear from these quotations that the author has passed the experimental stage, and that he speaks confidently and definitely. Indeed, priests who have to care for boys in parishes, and it may be safely said, that all have this duty pressing on them, could take this book as a guide, and follow it safely and profitably from beginning to end. We do not say that it might not be modified in some respects to meet special needs, or to fit into special conditions; but it is a sound foundation for work of this kind.

One claim of the author is especially noteworthy, namely, that specialists are not required for this work, but every priest can do

it. The best recommendation of all is that the author has proven everything that he recommends.

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**THE GREEK VERSIONS OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.**  
 Edited from Nine MSS. Together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and some Hebrew Fragments. By *R. H. Charles, D. Litt., D. D.*, Grinfield lecturer on the Septuagint, Oxford fellow of the British Academy. 8vo., pp. 324. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1908.

Here is a book which required the work of a scholar and an enthusiast to produce it. A full knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin were prerequisites, and tireless, earnest study were necessary accompaniments. The author says:

"A new text of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has long been needed. It is now nearly forty years since Dr. Sinker published a reproduction of the Cambridge MS., with the variants of the Oxford MS. Ten years later he edited collations of the Vatican and Patmos MSS. Dr. Sinker's own work was very accurate as far as it went, but he made no attempt to deal with the relations of the MSS. to each other, and to the archetypes from which they were derived. The MSS. evidence was, indeed, hardly adequate for such a task, and, moreover, the pre-suppositions under which he worked—as also all other students of the Testaments till within the last few years, *i.e.*, that the Testaments were written originally in Greek and by a Christian author—precluded the possibility of ever attaining to a satisfactory text."

He gives a short account of the book in these words:

"The Testaments were originally written in Hebrew by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean priest kings in the closing years of the second century, B. C. In the course of the next century the Hebrew text was interpolated with additions emanating from bitter opponents of the Maccabean dynasty. In the early decades of the Christian era the text was current in two forms, which are denoted by the Ha and Hb in this edition. The former of these was translated not later than A. D. 50, into Greek, and this translation was used by the scholar who rendered the second Hebrew recension into Greek. The first Greek translation was used by our Lord, by St. Paul, and by other New Testament writers. In the second and following centuries it was interloped by Christian scribes, and finally condemned indiscriminately along with other apocryphs. For several centuries it was wholly lost sight of, and it was not until the thirteenth century that it was rediscovered through the agency of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who translated it into Latin, under the misconception that it was a genuine work of the twelve sons of Jacob, and that the Christian interpolations were a genuine product of Jewish prophecy. The advent of the Reformation brought in critical methods, and the book was unethical side, to come into its own, and the text, with all the docu-justly disparaged as a mere Christian forgery for nearly four centuries. The time has at last arrived for this book, so noble in its mentary authorities, is now laid before the student."

It is not our purpose to take up the question of the merits of

the work in detail, because that it is a serious matter that cannot be done in a few moments and a few words. It is rather our desire to bear witness to the painstaking, thorough manner in which the author has labored to cover the field chosen, and to do justice to the subject. It is a work which requires a more than ordinary equipment, with much patience, and we doubt not both have borne good fruit in this instance.

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**THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT. A Study of Contemporary Documents.** By *Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B.*, priest of Downside Abbey. 8vo., pp. 595. George Bell & Sons, London, 1907.

Here is a splendid example of historical writing of the best kind covering a period in history rich in matter, and richer still in documents. It has a lasting value which will give it place in permanent collections. The following quotation is well worthy of reproduction in full:

"A few words only of personal explanation seem to be called for to inform the reader how this book came into being, and for what purpose. It has grown imperceptibly out of a series of circumstances. Some ten or eleven years ago I undertook to index a mass of loose papers, extracts from various manuscript sources made by the late Richard Simpson, Esq., during his 'Edmund Campion.' This directed my attention to the value of these papers; but as Mr. Simpson's work extended mostly from 1580 onward, I determined, under Abbot Gasquet's advice, to make a similar collection for the earlier half of Elizabeth's reign up to 1580. This task of mere transcription from original documents resulted in some four or five years of assiduous work, which taught me much of the actualities of things, of which I had previously but a dim conception, formed from the usual printed sources of information. Then there came into my hands, amongst others, two books in particular, recently published: Dr. Mandell Creighton's 'Elizabeth' and Rev. H. Gee's 'Elizabethan Clergy,' 1558-1564, which ran counter so completely to my own growing convictions, that I determined to set forth the facts as the original documents had presented them to me. It was only when a huge mass of papers, gathered from widely scattered sources, came to be dovetailed together, that the true conclusion from the facts grew on my mind, and at last took a definite shape. I started to write with no preconceived notion of proving a thesis already held. But the very fitness of things seemed to require an explanation wholly wanting in books of the nature referred to, yet which was adequately supplied in the papers here presented in substance or in outline to the reader.

"I do not suppose for one instant that I shall be fortunate enough to produce material hitherto unknown to serious students of Elizabethan history; this book is not meant so much for persons accustomed to study original sources for themselves as it is intended to help the ordinary reader with no opportunities of diving below the surface, and who must, therefore,

be content to accept conclusions of others. And in the domain of history, especially, it is so often the case that a judgment is pronounced and a student is constrained to follow it without the possibility being open to him in most cases of verification or control. Moreover, in general histories, isolated events or phases must be treated broadly, and the happenings of months or years are dismissed in a few words or sentences. But when a particular series of events or a special period is singled out for separate treatment, details can be set out more fully, and judgments can in consequence be more matured through the full presentment of contemporary documentary evidence. This has been the purpose actuating the following pages. The student is enabled to read for himself the very words and sentiments of the people whose actions have had such momentous influence on the religious life of England, and can form his own judgment. To render the task as easy as possible, while the diction has been left untouched, the orthography has been modernized throughout.

"In conclusion, I have to express my deep obligations to Abbot Gasquet for valuable advice at every stage of my long task; what that advice has meant to me, his reputation as a historical student testifies."

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**THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.** The Renaissance and Protestantism. Lectures given at the Catholic Institute of Paris, January to March, 1904. By *Alfred Baudrillart*, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. With a prefatory letter from His Eminence Cardinal Perraud, of the French Academy. Authorized translation by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. Benziger Brothers, New York.

This is Volume IV of the *International Catholic Library*, edited by Rev. J. Wilhelm, D. D. This series is making an excellent class of accessibles to English readers. The present volume deals with a fascinating subject, or subjects, the "Renaissance" and the "Reformation." The author is especially well-fitted for the work, having made a close study of the subject for many years and having taught it three times in ten years. Cardinal Perraud speaks of it in the highest terms. He says:

"A brief acquaintance with your work is sufficient to convince your readers or audience of your scrupulous care in making it your duty to go always to original sources of information, and that you condemn those careless methods of research which consists in borrowing conclusions ready made, save for slight modification of form, from second-hand authors.

"Another merit of your work is that you have known how to acknowledge certain faults with absolute sincerity in those with whom we, as Catholics, claim fellowship, and to accord due justice to our adversaries.

"You have just put into practice the brave and noble advice given by Leo XIII. to those, who like you, have the honor of teaching ecclesiastical history. Having reminded them of this saying in the book of Job: 'Hath God any need of your lie?' the great Pope adds these lines, and it gives me pleasure to apply them to you.

"The historian of the Church will be strong in proportion as he insists upon her Divine origin, which is superior to every concept of a merely worldly and natural institution, and the more loyal he is in dissembling none of those trials to which the faults of her children, and sometimes even her ministers, have subjected the Spouse of Christ in the course of centuries. When studied thus, the history of the Church constitutes itself a splendid and conclusive demonstration of the truth and divinity of Christianity.

"The impartiality, of which you give such convincing proofs, especially in your treatment of the delicate and difficult question of the Inquisition, has equipped you well for the study and appreciation of the causes, developments and results of that great religious crisis of modern times known as the Protestant Reformation.

"How will your lectures justify the exalted and almost prophetic views of the immortal author of '*L'Histoire des Variations*' and the '*Avertissements aux Protestants*?' How pleased Bossuet would have been to read your works and to know how thoroughly you bear him out in showing 'how the general foundation laid by the Reformation—namely, contempt for the authority of the Church, the denial of the Apostolic succession, the indictment of the preceding centuries, and even the contempt of the Fathers, the bursting of every barrier, and the complete abandonment of human curiosity to its own devices—must inevitably produce what we have seen—namely unbridled license in all religious matters.'"

THE BOY-SAVERS' GUIDE. Society Work for Lads in their Teens. By Rev. George E. Quin, S. J. 12mo., pp. 389. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1908.

These new numbers are valuable additions to the list of publications of the Alcuin Club, founded for the purpose of promoting the study of the history and use of the Book of Common Prayer.

The importance of number eight may be judged from this introductory note by the author:

"This document has been much discussed of late years. It has, therefore, been thought well to print the three manuscript copies. There can be no doubt that it shaped the policy of Parker and his brethren in more respects than one, and represents a sort of mutual basis for the Episcopal policy."

Publication number nine is still more interesting. We read in the introduction: "The political exigencies of Henry VIII's breach with the Pope caused him to suppress the English monastic houses, with the twofold end of crushing that part of the body spiritual which was the strongest bulwark of the papal power in England, and of obtaining lands to grant to the nobility, so that he might secure their favor and support. Begun in 1535, under the pretext of suppressing some of the lesser houses on account of their corruption, this policy of sacrilege went on until every religious house was gone, and in 1545 it was extended to colleges, chantries and



free chapels, although it seems that the seizure of the plate and ornaments of these latter did not take place until early in the reign of Edward VI. It is easy to see that this work of sacrilege and confiscation was not likely to stop short of parish churches, and it began to be extended to them at the very beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Enquiries as to the goods of parish churches were made of the bishops in 1547, and early in 1549 a commission for making inventories was issued to sheriffs and justices of the peace."

These inventories were made, and the actual seizure of all valuables followed, only the barest necessities being left for the use of each church. The plate was sent to the Jewel House in the Tower of London and melted down; the vestments and the inferior metal work were sold locally; the linen given to the poor. Thus the sacrilege was complete.

This great series of sixteenth century inventories, despite its shameful origin, is of the highest legal, historical and liturgical value. The editor very well says:

"Until all such inventories are printed accurately and published in an accessible way, it is impossible to form a just estimate of their contents, or to write a detailed history of the spoliation of our churches by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., or, indeed, to deal properly with the subject of church furniture and ornaments in the sixteenth century in England as a whole."

The Alcuin Club intends to do this as soon as possible. It has already brought out two such publications, and we have the third before us.

**THE CATECHISM IN EXAMPLES.** By *Rev. D. Chisholm*, priest of the Diocese of Aberdeen. Second edition. In five volumes. Vol. I. Faith: The Creed. Vol. II. Hope: Prayer. 12mo., pp. 438. Benziger Brothers, New York.

This book will be universally commended. Without one dissenting voice, all will agree that suitable stories to illustrate the catechism, are very important and most desirable. It is not easy to find them. The author succeeded.

The unprecedented success which attended the publication of the First Edition of "The Catechism in Examples," and the demand which is now being constantly made for the book, has induced the author to undertake the publication of an entirely new edition, in which, while adhering to the original plan, he has not only thoroughly revised, but also considerably developed, the contents of the work.

The book in its first form found its way literally into every part of the world, and demands for a re-issue have recently reached the author from almost every country in the continent of Europe, as well as from America, Australia, Africa, North and South; Ireland especially has been most zealous in its propagation in the past, and in present demands for its re-appearance.

St. Gregory the Great tells us that more men are drawn towards heaven by the force of example than by the effects of argument. If this be true in reference to mankind in general, it is especially so with regard to the child. The child is formed on example. The

truths of faith learned in catechism are for the most part unintelligible to him. He requires to have them sketched out as in a picture before he can take in their meaning. Children delight in stories, and they are not slow to catch the moral sense these are intended to convey. If these stories are life-like, and within the reach of their own practice, they try to imitate what is told in them. Long experience and the example of great and holy men, who have in this, as in other things, followed the example of Our Blessed Lord Himself, have convinced the author of this book of the necessity of bringing out in bold relief, by means of examples, the truths contained in catechism.

It was this that induced him to undertake this work. Each example has been carefully chosen to bring home to the mind of the child some one of the great truths of our holy Faith, and fix it there.

This new edition consists of five volumes, corresponding to the five parts of the catechism; each volume containing about four hundred examples, interspersed with moral reflections, so that each part of the catechism is gradually set before the mind of the child in such a way as to captivate his attention in a practical and pleasing manner, and enable him to understand more easily and more clearly the explanations given by his pastor and parents.

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**DANGERS OF THE DAY.** By *Mgr. John S. Vaughan*. With an Introduction by *Mgr. Canon Moyes*. 12mo., pp. 239. The Ave Maria Press, Notre Dame, Ind.

Monsignor Vaughan does not need an introduction to American readers. He is already well known through his several books, and especially "Thoughts for All Times," "Faith and Folly," and "Concerning the Holy Bible."

In the eight sermons or essays, which make up his book, the author treats of "Our Environment," "The Enchantments of the World," "Calling Good Evil, and Evil Good," "The Inordinate Love of Money," "Indiscriminate Reading," "Knowledge That Puffeth Up," "Intemperance," "Impurity, the Sovereign Seduction." Pregnant subjects—all. As Canon Moyes says in the introduction: "The eight chapters of this book are as so many danger signals, pointing to the perils which surround us in the life of to-day."

The first chapter, on "Environment," is a fair sample, and it is a clear, startling statement of the effect of the atmosphere in which we live, no less, detrimental in the moral order than in the physical, but rather more so. He says, and it applies to America as well as England:

"Our lot is cast in a non-Catholic country; we are constantly moving among Protestants, Jews, agnostics, unbelievers. We frequent their assemblies; we share in their amusements; we visit their houses; we correspond and transact business with them; we interchange courtesies,—in fact, we live on terms of familiarity with all sorts and conditions of men, and are glad to number them among our friends, associates and companions."

The press, the magazines, the books of the present day, are, for the most part, Protestant and heretical, non-Catholic or anti-Catholic, immoral or immoral. And thus we find the whole moral and intellectual atmosphere in which we live heavily charged with the

poisonous exhalations and noxious vapors of every variety of heresy and infidelity, and erroneous opinion, both old and new.

The danger we have especially to guard against is that of adapting ourselves too readily to our present vitiated and irreligious environment.

The author develops his subject along these lines very logically and very convincingly. The other chapters are not less important and interesting, and the book will do much good.

FOUR-SQUARE, or, The Cardinal Virtues. Addresses to Young Men. By Joseph Rickaby, S. J. 12mo., pp. 93. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

The Preface is characteristic of the author; it says:

"These addresses have appeared in the *Homiletic Monthly*. They are written rather with an eye to scientific accuracy than to unctious, eloquence and rhetoric; for surely conduct is a matter of science."

Those who have known Father Rickaby by his philosophical writings only, and who recall the subtlety of his reasoning requiring the training of a philosopher to follow him, will be surprised to learn that in these addresses he speaks to young men who have no philosophical training, but who are equipped with an ordinary education and common sense. They appeal to the intellect rather than the heart, or rather, they appeal to the heart through the intellect, which is a method well adapted to this intellectual (?) age. It has almost become fashionable in the smart set to deny or ignore fundamental moral truths, and, sad to relate, children of the Church of Jesus Christ are sometimes tainted with this smartness. Father Rickaby's addresses are for just such persons. This book should be part of the curriculum of every educational institution in this country. But that is too much to hope for. If it could be placed in the hands of all the Catholic students of non-Catholic educational institutions throughout the country the result would be splendid.

As the review in the *Month* says, "the book is a model of luminous exposition, both convincing and stimulating." And again: "The apt example, the crisp phrase, the shrewd qualification, the sane outlook, the lucidity and moderation of the whole make these discourses delightful reading."

Finally, they are not intended for men only, but are equally applicable to both sexes and all ages.

ANSELM'S THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT. The Bohlen Lectures, 1908. By George Cadwalader Foley, D. D., Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Care in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. 12mo., pp. 327. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

As to the occasion:

"John Bohlen, who died in this city on the 26th day of April, 1874, bequeathed to trustees a fund of one hundred thousand dollars to be distributed to religious and charitable objects in accordance with the well-known wishes of the testator.

"By a deed of trust, executed June 2, 1875, the trustees, under the will of Mr. Bohlen, transferred and paid over to 'The Rector,

Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia,' in trust, a sum of money for certain designated purposes, out of which fund the sum of ten thousand dollars was set apart for the endowment of THE JOHN BOHLEN LECTURESHIP, upon the following terms and conditions:

"According to the conditions, the income from this fund is to be given each year to some qualified person, clergyman or layman, for the delivery and publication of two or more lecture sermons on such subjects as are chosen for the 'Bampton Lectures,' at Oxford, or any other subject distinctly connected with or relating to the Christian religion. The appointing board consists of the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of which is the Church of the Holy Trinity; the Rector of said church; and three professors of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia."

As to the book: we must confess we feel like asking, "*cui bono?*" For the Catholic, Anselm's theory of the atonement is the Catholic theory of the atonement, and we fear that the author has wandered afar for an explanation which was quite near. The Catholic doctrine of the atonement has been the same from the beginning; will be the same until the end. The development of doctrine is quite different from change of doctrine or difference of doctrine. This is a truth which should be easy to learn, and yet it seems to present insurmountable obstacles to many.

We are quite sure this book will not be of any use to Catholics, and we are not quite sure it will be of use to anyone else.

LE COMITE DE SALUT PUBLIC. Par *Marcel Navarre*. One vol. in 12. Bloud et Cie, editeurs, 7, rue Saint Sulpice, Paris.

M. Marcel Navarre retraces in this book the history of a revolutionary institution which was particularly active and flourishing in its kind. Its first formation, its work under the preponderating activity of Danton, and afterwards under Robespierre's dictatorship, the circumstances that brought about the loss of its influence and its final extinction after the 9 Thermidor—all these successive events are detailed by M. Navarre with exactitude and impartiality. Although he recognizes the incontestable grandeur, as he considers it, of the French Revolution, he cannot refrain from expressing his horror and execration of this reign of hatred and tyranny at the conclusion of his sketch, thereby recalling the view of Joseph de Maistre, who stigmatized it as "satanical."

A COMPENDIUM OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION. Edited by *Rev. John Hagan*, Vice Rector of the Irish College, Rome. The Sacraments, Parts I. and II. 8vo., pp. 244 and 292. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"To each chapter, or part of chapter, of the 'Catechismus Romanus,' is appended the corresponding portion of the 'Compendium of Christian Doctrine,' prescribed by Pius X, in 1905, for use in the various dioceses of the Province of Rome, and, accompanied

by the earnestly expressed desire to see it adopted by at least all Italy." Then follows one or more instructions or sermons on the Sacraments in general, or on some particular Sacrament. So that we have the Catechism of the Council of Trent, the Catechism of Pius X., and the Instruction or Sermon by Raineri, we presume, although there is nothing to indicate what part of the work Father Hagan has done, except the announcement that he has edited it.

The instructions are the only new feature of the work, and they are very good. An objection might be made to twenty-two pages of catechism and eleven pages of instruction, which is the proportion of space devoted to the Sacraments in general, but such objection would probably come with most force from priests, who have the Roman Catechism, and others, in their libraries.

The objection might be made with more force since the Roman Catechism is so very full, and since the author of the Instructions repeats it to a great extent.

The book is excellently made, and presents an attractive appearance.

**THE SUNDAY SCHOOL DIRECTOR'S GUIDE TO SUCCESS.** By *Rev. Patrick J. Sloan*, author of "The Sunday School Teacher's Guide to Success." 12mo., pp. 271. Benziger Brothers, New York.

To afford some assistance to those who are laboring in the work of teaching Christian doctrine, is the sole purpose of this volume. The principles and methods of catechetical instruction found therein have been carefully and deliberately gleaned from the various sources. The best of experience has pronounced them to be most practical and efficacious. They are expressed in a form as clear, direct, concise, and yet comprehensive, as was found possible, and are submitted to the serious and prayerful consideration of pastors and Sunday-school directors. These methods may be old, but they are of vital and supreme importance, and adapted by wise usage to new needs and conditions. They have brought great success to many; if rightly followed, under like circumstances, they will bring a similar success to all, by pointing out and lighting up the way along which the little ones of Christ may be led nearer unto His sacred Heart, and more surely and safely into heaven.

**THE CASUIST.** A Collection of Cases in Moral and Pastoral Theology. Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 317. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

This second volume of cases in moral and pastoral theology is an improvement on the first volume, because about one-half of the cases have the author's names attached. It could be still further improved if the name of the author appeared on the title-page, or if it were attached to the other cases. The subjects are well chosen, the cases are all practical, and they are all skilfully handled. The author or editor quotes approved authorities in a clear definite manner, but he ought to go a step further and sign his work. It is not always convenient to verify quotations, and many priests have not the books quoted. The name of the author would be a guarantee of faithfulness, and beget a confidence which is very important in matters of this kind.

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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## WHAT HAPPENED AT THE REFORMATION?

**M**R. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL in one of his piquant essays discussed the question, "What Happened at the Reformation?" What did actually happen is not nearly so clear as many people have imagined, and the estimate of what was accomplished by the movement that is now coming to be rather generally known by the much less ambitious, but better descriptive title of "The Religious Revolt in Germany at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century" has changed very much in recent years. This is true even for those who still cling to the thought that the movement in religious matters initiated by Luther gave rise to new possibilities at least of great human progress. History in the last generation as the result of the introduction of scientific methods has become much more of an exact science than while it was so largely the personal review of events and their causes that the classic historians gave us. As a consequence, a great change has come over the face of history. The reason for this change has been the consultation of original documents, which has led to a definite remaking of history.

A hundred years ago the Comte de Maistre in his *Soirées de St. Petersburg* declared that "History for the last three centuries has been a conspiracy against the truth." Talking at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he meant to say that since the early fifteen hundreds, which saw the rise of the Reformation, there had been a concerted effort to write a particular viewpoint into history. De Maistre's expression was set down as a personal opinion by most

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people at the time, but at the beginning of the twentieth century the editors of the "Cambridge Modern History" repeated his phrase almost literally when they said in the preface to their first volume that "the long conspiracy against the revelation of truth has gradually given way." They added that "the honest student finds himself continually deserted, retarded, misled by the classics of historical literature, and has to hew his own way through multitudinous transaction periodicals and official publications in order to reach the truth." Their conclusion is that "ultimate history cannot be obtained in this generation, but so far as documentary evidence is at command conventional history can be discarded and the point can be shown that has been reached on the road from one to the other."

Professional historians generally, meaning by that term writers of history who take the whole field of human endeavor in a particular era for their study, or at least are supposed to, have not as yet apparently realized some of these advances in history due to the work of those who have been consulting original documents in certain limited departments. This is an age of specialism, and many writers have devoted themselves to one small portion of the field of history for a definite period and have, it is to be presumed, gotten as near to the actual truth of happenings in that particular time as it is possible to attain after the lapse of years. It so happens that for lecture purposes striking expressions of a number of these specialists which concern the influence of the Reformation in their own departments have collected in my note book. Most of the writers are not Catholics, and some of them, indeed, proclaim themselves followers of the movement of protest against the Catholic Church initiated at the Reformation, yet have found the effects of that movement in their own specialty to have been very different from what they had been taught or what they anticipated when they began their study. It has seemed to me that others might find use for these expressions, and that some idea of the striking change of view with regard to the Reformation which is coming over many serious students of special subjects may serve to illustrate how great is the modification of history in this matter that is setting in.

The most striking expressions that occur concern the five great modes of the expression of man's intellectual life, and may therefore be most readily arranged under art, education, philosophy, religion and humanitarian purpose. It happens that in my notes one or more concise illuminating passages occur with regard to each of these modalities of thought and life. The consideration of them may serve at least to make people who are confident that the Reformation stood for benefit to mankind in all or most of these departments of human effort realize that those who have studied the

subjects with most care have often come to quite other conclusions, and may suggest the need for further study of the important question as to what really did happen as a consequence of the Reformation.

Almost invariably, it would seem, the writers who in recent years have investigated but a single phase of human interest, in which they themselves are intensely occupied, find that, far from the Reformation, so-called, representing a beneficent influence, it always meant a serious setback for true progress. To take up art as the initial subject because of its many-sided appeal—there is no doubt at all in the mind of any one who knows anything about the history of art or has any proper data for forming a judgment in the matter, that decadence in art has been the rule since the Reformation time. The greatest influence in the art life of Europe was the Church, and with the Reformation that died in all the countries affected by the German religious movement. There was almost absolute sterility of great art in practically all the Protestant countries for the next two centuries.

This has, of course, often been said, but never more emphatically than since the revival of interest in Gothic art and architecture. Gerhardt Hauptmann, who shares with Sudermann the honor of being Germany's greatest living dramatist, and who is considered by many competent critics as probably the deepest thinker among the German literary men of the present generation, has recently given very forcible expression to his views in this matter. It is, of course, from the standpoint of the artist that he has looked into the question, and has found so much that is astonishing to him that he feels bound to deprecate, even though it may injure his prestige in Protestant Germany.

He said not long since: "I as a Protestant have often had to regret that we purchased our freedom of conscience, our individual liberty at entirely too high a price. In order to make room for small, mean little plants of personal life, we destroyed a whole garden of fancy and hewed down a virgin forest of æsthetic ideas. We went even so far in the insanity of our weakness as to throw out of the garden of our souls the fruitful soil that had been accumulating for thousands of years, or else we plowed it under sterile clay.

"We have to-day, then, an intellectual life that is well protected by a hedge of our personality, but within this hedge we have only delicate dwarf trees and unworthy plants, the progeny of great predecessors. We have telegraph lines, bridges and railroads, but there grow no churches and cathedrals, only sentry boxes and barracks. We need gardeners who will cause the present sterilizing process of the soil to stop, and will enrich the surface by working up into it the rich layers beneath. In my workroom there is ever



before me the photograph of Sebald's tomb. This rich German symbol arose from the invisible in the most luxurious developmental period of German art. As a formal product of that art it is very difficult to appreciate it as it deserves. It seems to me one of the most beautiful bits of work in the whole field of artistic accomplishment. The soul of all the great mediæval periods enwraps this silver coffin, giving to it a noble unity, and enthrones on the very summit, Death, Life as a growing child. Such a work could only have come to its perfection in the protected spaces of the Old Mother Church."

It is frequently said that we owe our modern education mainly to the "Reformation." Men who talk thus as a rule know nothing at all about what had been done before this time, and attribute all that came after to the influence of the movement initiated by Luther. They forget apparently that even whatever of education Luther himself had which enabled him to accomplish the work he did, was given him by the old Church. It is somewhat like proclaiming Luther as the first translator of the Bible into German, though there were fourteen editions of the Bible in German printed before his time. Those who have studied the "Reformation" period most closely harbor no such illusions with regard to its initiation of or even its encouragement of education. One of the best living authorities on education in Germany is Professor Paulsen, who holds the chair of philosophy at the University of Berlin. His book on the "History of German Education" was translated into English and is published with an introduction by President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia. One does not have to go very far in it before finding Paulsen's opinion with regard to the influence of the "Reformation" on education. He says: "After 1520, Humanism, an aristocratic and secular impulse, was overtaken and succeeded by a movement of vastly greater power and depth, the religious and popular movement of the Reformation. For a brief space the Reformation may well have seemed a reinforcement of Humanism, united as both these were in their hatred of scholastic philosophy and of Rome. Hutton and Luther are represented in pamphlets of the year 1520 as the two great champions of freedom. Inwardly, however, they were very different men, and very different were the goals to which they sought to lead the German people. Luther was a man of inward anti-rationalistic and anti-ecclesiastical religious feeling, and Hutton a man of rationalistic and libertinistic humanism. Hutton did not live to see the manifestation of this great contrast; but after 1522 or 1523, the eyes of the Humanists were open to the fact, and almost without exception they turned away from the Reformation as from something yet more hostile to learning than the

*Old Church herself.* (Italics ours.) In very truth it appeared for the time as if the Reformation would be in its effects essentially hostile to culture. In the fearful tumults between 1520 and 1530 the universities and schools came to an almost complete standstill, and with the Church fell the institutions of learning which she had brought forth, so that Erasmus might well say, 'Where Lutheranism reigns, there is an end of letters.'"

Those who hold a brief for the Reformation and its supposed benign influence on education may be tempted to retort that at least the German religious movement gave liberty of teaching to the German University. It is a constantly emphasized Protestant tradition that the incubus of the Church on teaching institutions before this time had been most serious in its consequences, and that developments in education had been prevented because of this. Those who assume that the reformers so-called introduced academic liberty into Germany will find very little support for any such claim in Professor Paulsen. Paulsen insists that exactly the opposite is true, and that far from bringing freedom of thought, the new religious movement still further shackled university and teaching freedom and the liberty of speech and writing, so that a sadly stilted period of educational development comes on the scene in Germany. He talks from the standpoint of his own department of philosophy, and evidently resents the shackles that were placed on freedom of speculation at this period.

"During this period also a more determined effort was made to control instruction than at any period before or since. The fear of heresy, the extra anxiety to keep instruction well within orthodox lines was not less intense at the Lutheran than at the Catholic institutions—perhaps it was even more so, because here doctrine was not so well established, apostasy was possible in either of two directions, Catholicity or Calvinism. Even the philosophic faculty felt the pressure of this demand for correctness of doctrines. Thus came about these restrictions within the petty States and their narrow-minded established churches which well nigh stifled the intellectual life of the German people."<sup>1</sup>

Since the expression of these views by the distinguished professor of philosophy of the University of Berlin most of those interested in education in English-speaking countries have adopted this manner of thinking, and as a consequence we have not only heard much less of the supposed beneficial effect of the Reformation on education, but have frequently encountered expressions of the

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<sup>1</sup> "The German Universities and University Study," by Fried Paulsen, professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin. Translated by Thilly, Scribner's, 1906.

opposite point of view. One is not surprised then to find in Mr. George Haven Putnam's "The Censorship of the Church of Rome" (New York, 1906) a paragraph like the following, which helps one to realize the reasons for the intellectual sterility of Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries better than anything else that we know. Mr. Putnam says (p. 45):

"While in this direction of controversy the Reformation had a stimulating effect on the intellectual interests of a number of European States, it may be admitted that in certain respects its influence upon literature was hampering and restricting rather than elevating. In the countries in which the Protestant opinions secured control there was for a considerable period at least a decided setback to the study of the classics and to all literary production outside of the domain of theology or religion. The interest in classical literature which had been initiated in Italy under the so-called Renaissance and in connection with the rediscovery of the great works of Greece was for a time lost sight of in the Protestant States of Germany and of the Netherlands and among the Calvinists of France and of England. Classic writers were classed as 'pagans' and their works were discouraged as likely to have a worldly influence on the minds of the faithful. The work in the universities in these States was, outside of the theological faculties, more and more restricted to what might be called utilitarian channels. The textbooks planned by Melancthon and his associates were of distinctive service for elementary education, and undoubtedly represented a material advance over the books of the same grade which had been utilized for the elementary Catholic school. For a considerable period, however, the educational advance stopped with this elementary work; *and in the universities there was a lack of higher grade teaching and a narrowing of the whole course of training.*" (Italics ours.)

With regard to religion itself, and the reformation that is supposed to have come in it, and the characters of those prominent in the reform movement as contrasted with those who remained in the Church, one recent opinion is quite as startling, when it is remembered that it comes from a prominent divine still outside of the Catholic Church, as any of those which I have already quoted. Rev. Dr. Charles Briggs in an article in the *Independent* (New York, 1904) bearing the title "How We May Become More Truly Catholic," expressed his views as to certain personages of the Reformation period who are recognized as the most prominent leaders on both sides of that great movement. He had no hesitation in saying that those who stayed in the Catholic Church were even better, more admirable men, greater geniuses intellectually, more profoundly

religious, more saintly in their piety, and that there can be no doubt at all of their perfect good faith and unselfish devotion to Christianity in their determination to remain in the Church at that time. The passage is one that deserves to be in the note book of all those who are interested in this period, with regard to which there are so many contrasting opinions, for it is a very wonderful compliment, coming from one who knows that period well, yet has not found himself compelled by the logic of the situation to enter the Catholic Church. Rev. Dr. Briggs said:

"There were other and in some respects greater reformers in the sixteenth century than the more popular heroes, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Sir Thomas More, the great jurist of his time, Lord Chancellor of England, a chief leader of reform before Cromwell, resigned his exalted position and went to the block rather than recognize the supreme authority of the King in ecclesiastical affairs, a true knight, a martyr to the separation of the sybil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Erasmus, the greatest scholar of his age, regarded by many as the real father of the Reformation, the teacher of the Swiss reformers, was unwilling to submerge learning and morals in an ocean of human blood. He urged reformation, not revolution. He has been crucified for centuries in popular Protestant opinion as a politic time server, but undoubtedly he was the most comprehensive reformer of them all. John Von Staupitz, doctor of theology, vicar general of the Augustinian Order, the teacher of Luther and his counsellor in the early stages of his reform, a man without stain and above reproach, a saint in the common estimation of Protestant and Catholic alike, the best exponent of the piety of his age, was an apostle of holy love and good works which he would not sacrifice in the interests of the Protestant dogma of justification by faith only.

"These three immortals, who did not separate themselves from the Roman Catholic Church, who remained in the Church to patiently carry on the work of reform therein—these three were the irenic spirits, the heroic representatives of all that is truly Catholic, the beacons of the Greater Reformation that is impending."

After the revival in art which has characterized the end of the nineteenth century, the most striking phase of our social progress in recent times has been the growth of humanitarian effort. The last generation woke up to the realization of its duty towards its fellow-men and also to the fact that organization was needed to care for the needy, the ailing and the halt and the blind. The consequence has been the building of magnificent hospitals, the organization of charity and the training of men and women who take up the special duties of helping all who deserve it. A direct result of this

new interest in things humanitarian has been a desire to know more about what was accomplished in these lines in the past. Histories of hospitals, of nursing organizations and of nursing itself as a great institution have multiplied in every language, and every step of progress in this kind of history has led these specialists to the truth that there had been a magnificent organization of charity and an adequate endowment of it in the best possible way before the Reformation. The three centuries since, down to our own time, are in these respects to a large extent a blank in Protestant countries, and only in Catholic countries does one find properly organized effort for the care of those who need help.

A "History of Nursing," recently published here in America, is written by Miss Nutting, the superintendent of nurses at Johns Hopkins Hospital and lecturer at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Miss Dock, secretary of the American Federation of Nurses and of the International Council of Nurses. These women began their history with the idea that organized nursing was a comparatively modern institution. They have found, however, that the nursing orders in the Catholic Church represent admirable organization of nursing, and so their first volume has many tributes to these nursing orders. The nursing Sisters in Canada did magnificent work in their hospitals here in America long before modern ideas of nursing came in, and there were Catholic institutes for every phase of physical need. All this, of course, is a commonplace to educated Catholics. It may come as a surprise to others, as it was apparently to these historians of nursing.

The most striking chapter in this "History of Nursing" is that one in which "The Dark Period of Nursing" is treated. Probably most people would expect that the dark period of nursing in modern history would come some time during the Middle Ages, or at least in some distant century. Most of us in the modern time are prone to harbor the notion, consciously or unconsciously, of progress in things human and to consider that as we are "the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time," we are, of course, in everything ever so much farther advanced than the preceding generations, and that each preceding generation was far ahead of its predecessors. In spite of the dissillusionments for any such notion that are ever at hand in literature and art, men still continue to cherish this as a sort of postulate. In nursing, as in art, progress cannot be traced from the earlier times down to our own, but there is a sad break for some two centuries. These centuries constitute the dark period in nursing. *They begin with the middle of the seventeenth century and end with the middle of the nineteenth.*

The authors of the "History of Nursing" declare, not on their

own opinion alone, but as the result of the consultation of all the authorities on this subject, that "it is commonly agreed that the darkest known period in the history of nursing was that from the latter part of the seventeenth up to the middle of the nineteenth century. During this time the condition of the nursing art, the well-being of the patient and the status of the nurse, all sank to an indescribable level of degradation."

Ten years ago a German writer on the history of nursing who with Teutonic thoroughness had looked into the question very profoundly came to the same conclusion and expressed it in words even more striking than those of Miss Nutting and Miss Dock just quoted. Jacobson in his "Essays on the History of Comforts for the Sick," which appeared in the *German Journal for the Care of the Ailing*,<sup>2</sup> says that "it is a remarkable fact that attention to the well-being of the sick, improvements in hospitals and institutions generally and to details of nursing care had a period of complete and lasting stagnation after the middle of the seventeenth century, or from the close of the Thirty Years' War. Neither physicians nor officials took any interest in the elevation of nursing or in improving the conditions of hospitals. During the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century," he proceeds to say, "nothing was done to bring either construction or nursing to a better state. Solely among the religious orders did nursing remain an interest, and some remnants of the technique survive. The result was that in this period the general level of nursing fell far below that of earlier periods. The hospitals of cities were like prisons, with bare, undecorated walls and little dark rooms, small windows where no sun could enter and dismal wards where fifty or one hundred patients were crowded together, deprived of all comforts and even of necessities. In the municipal and State institutions of this period the beautiful gardens, roomy halls and springs of water of the odd cloister hospital of the Middle Ages were not heard of, still less the comforts of their friendly interiors."

It is rather interesting to find the reason given by the American authors of the "History of Nursing" for this decadence in humanitarian efforts. They declare that it was not by chance, but that it was the result of the subjection of women which came into history at this time. There is no doubt at all that this is one of the foremost factors. It is itself, however, not a primary, but a secondary cause. The subjection of women was due directly to the ideas that came in at the time of the "Reformation." As the authors themselves show, this was not true in Catholic countries, and the conse-

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<sup>2</sup> "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Krankencomforts."—*Deutsche Krankenpflege Zeitung*, 1898.

quence was that many nursing orders were organized during these centuries in Catholic countries, some of which exist yet and all of which did and are doing excellent work. In the Protestant countries, however, women had no opportunities to express themselves. As they say: "In all of the hospital and nursing work of the Christian era, this was the period of the most complete and general masculine supremacy. At no time before or since have women been quite without voice in hospital management and organization; but during this degraded period they were all but silenced. The ultimate control of the nursing staff, of their duties, their discipline and conditions of living was everywhere taken definitely from the hands of women and lodged firmly in those of men. Even where a woman still apparently stood at the head of a nursing body she was only a figurehead, with no power to alter conditions, no province that she could call her own. The state of degeneration to which men reduced the art of nursing during this time of their unrestricted rule, the general contempt to which they brought the nurse, the misery which the patient thereby suffered, bring a scathing indictment against the ofttime reiterated assertion of man's superior effectiveness and teach in every branch of administration a lesson that for the sake of the poor, the weak and suffering members of society ought never to be forgotten—not in resentment, but in foresight, it should be remembered. Neither sex, no one group, no one person can ever safely be given supreme and undivided authority. Only when men and women work together as equals, dividing initiative, authority and responsibility, can there be any avoidance of the serfdom that in one form or another has always existed where arbitration domination has been present, and which acts as a depressant, effectually preventing the best results in work."

It would be at once said by most people that if this last sentence is to be taken seriously, and if we are to accept that only when men and women work together as equals, dividing initiative, authority and responsibility, can there be any real progress in liberty of spirit and accomplishment, then we must not look to Catholic conditions for such progress, since the spirit of the Church is to separate the sexes in the religious orders and let them work quite apart for whatever is to be accomplished. People who say this, however, either do not know or have forgotten the history of the beginnings of nearly every great movement for intellectual and humanitarian progress in the Catholic Church. Beside a great man in every one of those movements there stands a woman whose name is only less highly honored than his, and sometimes her reputation is even greater than his. For the foundation of the Irish schools St. Brigid is only less great than St. Patrick himself, and what she did for

education and civilization in Ireland counts for almost as much. Beside St. Benedict in the foundation of the West stands his sister, St. Scholastica; beside St. Francis stands St. Clare; beside St. Teresa in the great intellectual movement of the counter-formation of Spain, for here a woman is the greater of the two, stands St. John of the Cross; in the most important nursing movement in modern times beside St. Vincent de Paul stands Mme. Le Gras, the co-founders of the Sisters of Charity; beside St. Francis de Sales, as is noted in the "History of Nursing," stands St. Jane Frances de Chantal.

Nowhere in history is the coördination of masculine and feminine effort for the accomplishment of great works for mankind better illustrated than in the annals of nursing and nursing orders in the Catholic Church. Nothing is more true than that the individualism, which is such a prominent note of the Reformation period, at first manifests itself only in the men, and woman fails to occupy for several centuries as high a place as she did in the Christianity of the period before the Reformation. The real cause of the decadence in nursing and of the degeneration of hospitals and hospital appointments is to be found in quite another phase of history. What the reformers did principally was to destroy the religious orders and confiscate the money that had been left for the care of the poor and the ailing by preceding generations. This has been stated very strikingly by the Rev. Augustus Jessupp, who has made a very faithful study of parish life in England before the Reformation. The Rev. Mr. Jessupp, who is the rector of Scarning, in England, and who is an honorary fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and of Worcester College, Oxford, and an honorary canon in the Cathedral of Norwich, still remains a member of the Anglican Church, and therefore his opinion should have all the weight of a man who has been forced by the evidence of facts gathered by himself to see the amount of harm that was accomplished by the Reformation, so-called, in England. He does not call it the Reformation, but calls it *The Great Pillage*. His series of essays are grouped together under the name "Before the Great Pillage."<sup>a</sup> Indignation has made him write very bitterly about the supreme injustice that was done to the poor of England and the immense amount of suffering that occurred as a consequence. He says:

"Let me, however, at this point explain what I do not mean when I talk about the Great Pillage. I have little or nothing to say in these papers when I talk about the suppression of monasteries; I do not touch upon that; I am very little concerned with that. When I talk about the Great Pillage, I mean that horrible and outrageous

<sup>a</sup> London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901.



looting of our churches other than conventual, and the robbing of the people of this country of property and movables, which property had actually been inherited by them as members of those organized religious communities known as parishes. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that in the general scramble of the Terror under Henry VIII., and of the Anarchy in the days of Edward VI., there was only one class that was permitted to retain any large portion of its endowments. The monasteries were plundered, even to their very pots and pans. The almshouses, in which old men and women were fed and clothed, were robbed to the last pound, the poor almsfolk being turned out in the cold at an hour's warning to beg their bread. The splendid hospitals for the sick and needy, sometimes magnificently provided with nurses and chaplains, whose very *raison d'être* was that they were to look after and care for those who were past caring for themselves, these were stripped of all their belongings, the inmates sent out to hobble into some convenient dry ditch to lie down and die in, or to crawl into some barn or hovel, there to be tended, not without fear of consequences, by some kindly man or woman who could not bear to see a suffering fellow-creature drop down and die at their own doorposts."

He proceeds:

"We talk with a great deal of indignation of the Tweed ring. The day will come when some one will write the story of the two other rings; the ring of the miscreants who robbed the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. was the first, but the ring of the robbers who robbed the poor and helpless in the reign of Edward VI. was ten times worse than the first."

All of these expressions, which have been accumulating for many years now, culminate in what Dr. Gairdner has to say in many of his books and which reached the very acme of expression in his last volume on Lollardy. In this Dr. Gairdner rubs out nearly every reason that is usually advanced in justification of the so-called Reformation in England. All fair-minded Englishmen have in recent years recognized that the movement that led to the break from Rome in England in the first half of the sixteenth century was not essentially religious, but was really political, and the best excuse for it was that it was a national declaration of independence of Rome and Italian ecclesiasticism. The late Bishop Creighton, so fair-minded in many ways with regard to the history of the Church and, above all, of the Popes before the Reformation so-called, clung to this as the last spar from the shipwreck of the bark of religious reformation which the separators from Rome are supposed to have launched. For him the English Reformation, then, was a great national revolution. He was ready to confess that there was many

unfortunate circumstances connected with this revolution, but still the spirit of national independence with which it was undertaken justified it. It is this position which has since been occupied by many thinking Englishmen that is now utterly destroyed by Dr. Gairdner in his last book. He says:

"One whom we might well take as a guide considers the Reformation as 'a great national revolution which found expression in the resolute assertion on the part of England of its national independence.'<sup>4</sup> These are the words of the late Bishop Creighton, who further tells us in the same page that 'there never was a time in England when the Papal authority was not resented, and really the final act of repudiation of that authority followed quite naturally as the result of a long series of similar acts which had taken place from the earliest times.' I am sorry to differ from so able, conscientious and learned an historian, and my difficulty in contradicting him is increased by the consciousness that in these passages he expresses not his own opinion merely, but one to which Protestant writers have been generally predisposed. But can any such statements be justified? Was there anything like a general dislike of the Roman jurisdiction in Church matters before Roman jurisdiction was abolished by Parliament to please Henry VIII.? Or did the nation before that day believe that it would be more independent if the Pope's jurisdiction were replaced by that of the King? I fail, I must say, to see any evidence of such a feeling in the copious correspondence of the twenty years preceding; I fail to find it even in the prosecutions of heretics and the articles charged against them—from which, though a certain number may contain denunciations of the Pope as Antichrist, it would be difficult to infer anything like a general desire for the abolition of his authority in England. . . .

"That Rome exercised her spiritual power by the willing obedience of Englishmen in general, and that they regarded it as a really wholesome power, even for the control it exercised over secular tyranny, is a fact which it requires no very intimate knowledge of early English literature to bring home to us. . . . *It was only after an able and despotic King had proved himself stronger than the spiritual power of Rome that the people of England were divorced from their Roman allegiance; and there is abundant evidence that they were divorced from it at first against their will.*"

In spite of this startling conclusion, as it must surely be for Protestants generally, Dr. Gairdner himself remains outside the Church, so that his evidence must be allowed all the weight that the admissions of an opponent convinced against his wish ever carry.

According to these Protestant writers, each of them a specialist

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<sup>4</sup> "Historical Lectures and Addresses," p. 150.

and recognized authority in his own line of investigation, far from the Reformation having worked the manifold good that has been so often proclaimed, or having been the manifestation of popular dissatisfaction with Rome it is declared, it seriously hurt the best human effort so far as their special departments are concerned, and it was a backward, not a forward movement in every way. Each of them, I suppose, since they remain outside the Church, would hold that while the Reformation was distinctly a failure so far as their own investigations went, in other departments it must have been a great factor for good, because so many people still insist on thinking of it as a great source of benefit to humanity. It used to be said of Herbert Spencer that scientists all thought him a great thinker in all departments of science except their own. A composite picture of him, made from the estimation in which he was held by scientific specialists because of his wanderings into their departments, would be very far from favorable to him, however.

It would seem to be time for us to secure a composite picture of the Reformation, made not by historians who try to look at the whole subject, which is too large for any one man as yet, but derived from the carefully elaborated opinions formed by special students. Some of the material at least for such a composite picture, I think, may be obtained from these pages from my note book, though it is almost needless to say that it would be comparatively easy to add to these quotations others almost as striking couched in similar terms without going farther afield than the Protestant writers of history of the last ten years.

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### THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE FUTURE.

IS THE twentieth century to witness before its close the passing away of the religion of Christ? Prophetic whisperings would have it so. More than a year ago there appeared an article in one of our well-known reviews,<sup>1</sup> in which a venerable and noted scholar confessed his fears for the well-being of religion in the near future, and even for the existence of Christianity itself. Convinced that modern science is a sure enemy to anything supernatural, and realizing the rapid advance of all departments of science, he concludes that the end of Christianity cannot be very far off. And he

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<sup>1</sup> "The Religious Situation," by Goldwin Smith, *North American Review* for April, 1908.

gives practical demonstration of the validity of his argument in the increasing skeptical tendency of the Christian mind on all religious topics, and the increasing number of those whom this skepticism has led to throw off all semblance of religious belief. Fortified with these considerations he boldly intimates (though always in a tone of submissive inquiry) that the next generation will see this change, and that the Christianity of to-day will then be in its grave.

A year has now passed. Has it shown any further indications of the fulfillment of the prophesied change? The facts that present themselves tend to confirm us in the opinion that the prophetic conclusions of the writer have, like many other statements, something of truth in them, but something of error as well. No one would deny that the present age is abounding in skeptical theorism, and that the road to irreligion is wide and well traversed. But to conclude from this that Christianity in its entirety is to fall in ruins manifests an inaccuracy of observation or a defect in logical conclusion. This our view is founded on facts and not on theorized hypotheses. Facts and figures, indeed, seem to confirm the general statement of the writer, but facts and figures also prove that there is a remarkable exception to his general conclusions, and one that must not be overlooked. For there is among the Christian sects one which bears not the marks that betoken the prophesied dissolution and decay.

Outside the Catholic Church it is true the Christian mind is in an unsettled state of doubt and hesitation, and the result that has been predicted with fear is rapidly taking place. But the Church of Rome is bound together with saving bonds that show no sign of loosening their hold. Demonstration of former of these statements is hardly necessary after the convincing article of Goldwin Smith, and while the cries of the very leaders of Protestantism are heard on all sides foreboding the passing of their sects. This movement away from God is not a movement of yesterday. Its roots are laid even deeper than the words of Goldwin Smith seem to indicate. It is the natural product of the principles of the Reformation. We of America, who are further away from the source and influence of these principles, are proportionately more cautious in adopting their logical conclusions. Yet we are following slowly in the path traced out by European countries.

Protestant Germany, the original disseminator of these principles, has long since become the hotbed of atheism, materialism and infidelity. Even in the days of Newman a Scotch Presbyterian writer could say that "the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches in Germany and Switzerland are in reality extinct. The sense of religion, its influence on the habits, observances and life of the people, is alive

only in the Roman Catholic population."<sup>2</sup> And half a century later a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* could assert that "the land which was the cradle of the Reformation has become the grave of the Reformed Faith. Denial of every tenet of the Protestant faith among the thinking classes and indifference in the masses are the positive and negative agencies beneath which the Church of Luther and Melancthon has succumbed. In contiguous parishes of Catholic and Protestant populations one invariable distinction has long been potent to all eyes—the path to the Catholic Church is trodden bare; that to the Protestant Church is rank with grasses and weeds to the very door."<sup>3</sup>

The influence of this movement is now being felt in America. By nature we are a God-fearing people. We print on our coins that we "trust in God," and in the beginning at least this was the expression of our heart's inmost thought. But now belief in God is fast fading out of the hearts of many, and they are drifting away from the Christian fold. Had we no other example before our eyes, we would point to Goldwin Smith himself. Forty years ago, according to his own words delivered as an Oxford lecturer, he firmly believed in the God of Christians; now he confesses he can no longer cling to any such superstitious relics of the past. Nay, he is very active, considering his years, in making his changed views known to the world at large. He even tries to convince us that all men are following in his tracks, and that all religious dogma and supernatural creed are fast becoming myths of a former age. "Apparently," he says, "it (religious belief) is now departing. In some places it appears to have fled. Skepticism with social unrest comes in its room."<sup>4</sup>

This much is certain, if we are to judge from his article, that in Goldwin Smith's mind at least there is very little room for religious belief. He is a religious skeptic, and a professed religious skeptic in the bitterest sense of the term. Protestantism, the religion of his forefathers, no longer appeals to his reasoning mind. And he is not altogether illogical in his position. For he realizes the folly of trusting himself in the journey of life to a vessel whose hulk is already filled with holes, through which the angry waves are rushing, whose only propelling power is the breeze the sailors raise by puffing out their cheeks. But neither is he perfectly logical, or he would clamber up the side of the steady and safe vessel near at hand, which is bound for the haven and will infallibly arrive there. But no! he rather chooses to give up all hope of accomplishing the journey.

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<sup>2</sup> Lalng, "Notes on the German Catholic Church," p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> *North American Review*, April, 1908.

He even tries to convince himself that there is no journey to be made, and is content to remain behind on the barren shore. For this he is to be pitied rather than condemned. The best good we can do for men like this is to recommend them to the tender mercy and the long suffering patience of their God.

Fortunately for the world and for our stand in the present discussion, this is not the only outcome of that skepticism in which all thinking Protestants are wandering. Even among the Greeks there were two classes of skeptics. The one with Arcesilaus at the head not only confessed that they had not found the truth, but claimed it could not possibly be attained; the other, under Pyrrho, acknowledged, indeed, that they had not as yet come upon the truth, but they did not claim it to be out of the reach of man. In fact, their one object in life was to seek out this truth. It is the same among the religious skeptics of to-day, and there are many among them who are now hot on the trail of truth.

These are men whose minds are more sensitive to fact and doctrine, who may indeed be prejudiced, but who will recognize truth when met with face to face; who will not follow blindly in the footsteps of their ancestors without first being sure that their ancestors' footsteps lead aright. And yet many of these are still lost in skeptic doubt. Before the world they appear as devoted dogmatists, men who hold a definite system of religion and confide in it with all their heart, but secretly they admit that a detailed presentation of their beliefs is something beyond their power to give; that dogma is unstable and liable to change with the day, and thus within their hearts they are true religious skeptics. Newman's words of himself are peculiarly adapted to their state of mind: "How was I any more to have confidence in myself? How was I to have confidence in my present confidence? How was I to be sure that I would always think as I thought now? Nay, how could I with satisfaction to myself analyze my own mind and say what I held and what I did not, or say with what limitations, shades of difference or degrees of belief I held that body of opinions which I openly professed and taught?"<sup>5</sup>

Our most illustrious example of this class of skeptics is Cardinal Newman himself, who so minutely details in his "Apologia" the changings of his conscience during the years before his conversion. But for us Americans, a lengthened Apologia from the leader of the Oxford Movement would produce far less effect than a few simple words of explanation from the thirty or more Protestant ministers who have joined the Catholic Church in this country within the last twelve months, and especially from the seven noted converts to

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<sup>5</sup> "Apol.," pp. 132 and 168.

Catholicity in Philadelphia. Let us hope that we will hear in time from their own mouths whether or not our general proposition held true in their individual cases—that all along their minds were yearning for something they could not find, and that they can say with Newman, "I must have had something of an habitual notion, though it was latent and had never led me to distrust my own convictions, that my mind had not found its ultimate rest, and that in some sense or other I was on a journey."<sup>6</sup>

But while we wait we need not be idle. Theirs was a brave and daring act. It was the most important religious event of its kind for many years, and its consequences are left only for the future to tell. It has been called the "New Oxford Movement," and not without reason. But to our minds it should not be called the *New* Oxford Movement, but rather the regular continuation of the *Old*, and it is in this light rather than any other that we would view this unusual manifestation of the deep-rootedness of religious belief in the hearts of men. To call it a *new* movement would to our minds imply that there had been a lapse in the *old*; to say that Dr. McGarvey and his friends had started a new exodus from Protestantism to Catholicism would mean that the old exodus had come to an end. And this, we maintain, is far from the truth; nay, so far from the truth that during the year 1907, before Dr. McGarvey had been convinced, the conversions from Protestantism to Catholicity, within the boundaries of our own United States, numbered 25,000 souls.

If this late movement were an entirely new movement toward the Church, having its inception in the bold move of those Anglican ministers of Philadelphia, we would have to reconsider some of the statements we have made about the logical accuracy of Goldwin Smith's conclusions. We might even have to retract our words. For Goldwin Smith writing in March could not prophesy what would happen in May. He could not foresee the remarkably strong statistical disapprobation of his views about the general lapse of Christianity into materialism and atheism. Nor could he be blamed for not conjecturing a movement which threw into consternation the very friends and fellow-worshippers of these "Companions of the Holy Saviour."

So if Goldwin Smith or any of his friends would show that they, or any other person of ordinary or extraordinary introspective capabilities, looking out upon the religious situation in the United States during the year ending with the month of March, 1908, could affirm with perfect sincerity and logical consistency that all Christian religions were showing signs of coming dissolution; that all men were beginning to understand that our trust in the supernatural was

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<sup>6</sup> "Apol.," p. 144.

becoming weaker and weaker, and that the tide of religious belief was towards him and his skeptic disbelief without any notable exception, without one *Rock* standing in the midst of the waves and breasting the tides and tempests with an easy strength, then we will gladly make haste to recall our words and confess that we charged a fellow-man with logical inaccuracy when we should have applauded him for his far-sighted introspective ability.

However, though we cannot blame the venerable historian for not possessing the gift of prophecy, we can and do blame him for presuming to usurp it. In no ambiguous terms, but explicitly and authoritatively, he states that though everything else which he has predicted may be a long time in fulfillment, the "one great change in the ecclesiastical world which appears to be at hand" is the fall of the Papacy and the disintegration of the Roman Catholic Church. He states as a very probable truth that there is in general no Christian religion showing any signs but those of dissolution and decay; but he makes particular effort to declare that the Catholic Church in particular is fast following its Protestant companions, and is even leading the retreat from belief in the supernatural. It is the boldness and manifest falsity of this assertion that has drawn from us the present remonstrance.

When our esteemed essayist refers to the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic religion as the "poor, quaking Pope," and instances the "Encyclical on Modernism" as ample proof of the weakening position of Pius X., even over his own Catholic subjects, he merely bespeaks the utter incapability of his skeptically nurtured mind to grasp the least vestige of the supernatural structure of the Church. He does not seem aware that this very manifestation of vigilant authority, this insistent investigation into the views and philosophical tendencies of his subjects, and his most practical remedies prescribed and enforced for their regulation or extirpation, is a sign not of weakness, but of strength; not of decaying age, but of flourishing youth. However, we can perhaps pardon these views in Goldwin Smith and attribute them to the deep-rooted prejudice of his early days.

But we cannot always thus find an excuse for his illogical conclusions. Prejudice may distort truths. But prejudice, no matter how deep it be, if supplemented by true reasoning, will never contradict itself. If it admits a truth, it will admit the conclusions consequent upon that truth. Yet this Goldwin Smith refuses to do, as we shall endeavor to show.

Yet it must be understood before we proceed any farther that we are not attempting to refute the innumerable objections against anything and everything bordering on religion that Goldwin Smith has



massed together in this article of his. That would require volumes. For, true to his skeptical attitude, he calls into question every religious truth and brings up the old objections against each one. We shall prescind from the intrinsic merit of these objections. We shall look at them rather from a logical point of view, inquiring into their coherency with one another and with the professed attitude of their author.

Goldwin Smith is skeptical about anything that approaches the supernatural. He is not a downright atheist, for he is not sure his misgivings are well founded; indeed, he seems to hope that they are not. But he is on the road to a complete denial of God. "Reason," he says with Bishop Butler, "is the only faculty we have to judge concerning anything, even revelation itself." And this reason teaches him that all revelation is null and void. It teaches him that the Old Testament has fallen before the onslaughts of modern science; that the New Testament is a heap of contradictory reports about a fictitious event. Hence, away with all superstitious belief! Away with religion as it exists to-day! Away with Christ, the so-called Son of God! For we can know nothing certain of all these things.

Yet religion is not altogether useless. For with the incoming of religious skepticism, as he himself declares, there will come "social unrest"—the social fabric may be shaken to its very foundations. So, for the sake of the beneficial effects upon mankind, though at the expense of logical consistency, we will not cast out religion altogether. We will, however, change its present aspect. After the fall of the Papacy we will look forward to "a reunion of Christendom on the broad moral basis of the Christian Ideal!"

Goldwin Smith realizes and acknowledges that religious belief is necessary for the order and happiness of mankind, yet he is willing to confess that this belief is a belief in a mythical unreality. He points out the influence of the supernatural on the heart of man, yet his reason does not force him to admit the existence of that supernatural. He is looking forward to a religion without religious belief; to a Christianity without Christ; to a devoted submission to the laws of God without a belief in the existence of God.

Filled with this thought of a new religion, he sees signs of the decaying of the old at every turn. In the private misgivings of clergy and laity and their struggles to reconcile orthodoxy with free thought; in the fact that heresy is no longer considered a crime before the law; in the increased prominence to musical attraction at religious service; in the secular tendencies of the Sunday sermon; in the wonderful strides of physical science; in every department of social and religious life he sees signs of coming dissolution.

But for once he has been too hasty in his conclusions. He does not seem aware that there is *one* religion which does not fit under his general definition. Yet there is one religious body which is not only not disturbed by his arguments, but which these very arguments serve only to support. There is one Church whose clergy do not bend before the oncoming of free thought, where orthodoxy still holds sway, where musical art is displayed not to please the critic's ear, but to raise the worshiping heart, where sermons deal not with topics of worldly interests, but are wholly absorbed with thoughts of the life beyond the grave. And that Church is the Church of Rome. And there is one faith to which every nation's history bears witness, and which physical discoveries and inventions have only tended to confirm, and that faith is the faith in a supernatural Creator. Every new discovery and every new physical law serves only to bring out the more clearly the marvelous order of the universe and the wonderful hidden power of Him who made it.

But prejudice and bad logic will scarcely be sufficient to explain away some of Goldwin Smith's statements. There must be something else. We do not wish to call it downright insincerity or wilful blindness, but we know no other name for it.

For now he enters upon his own long-studied fields of history and comments on the records of past ages. There, too, he sees signs of the coming dissolution! Comparing the past with the situation of to-day, he deduces conclusions such as these: That a Church which, while yet only a few handfuls of men, could break down the world-wide empire of the Cæsars and place itself triumphant upon their throne; a Church which for century after century withstood the incessant encroachments of political and private, foreign and home-bred foes, not only with success, but with a success that brought them all in humble submission before its feet; that a Church which could override a rebellion of such magnitude and persevering activity as had never before been read of in the annals of man; that a Church like this, with a history like this, need fear the intimations of a few scattered prophets of evil such as himself. We cannot excuse this blunder of his. We cannot blame it on blindness alone. We feel forced to attribute it to wilful malevolence. That an historian and professor like Goldwin Smith should declare that the existence of a religion which embraces all nations and has within its fold a quarter of a billion of men, one-half of all Christianity, is endangered because a Godless government of a once Catholic country has appropriated its property and persecuted its clergy, is a statement that can be accounted for only because the writer wilfully closes his eyes to the truth. And yet this is the only argument deserving of attention which he brings forward to substantiate his claim.

We cannot resist the temptation of quoting a well-known passage and comparing the judgment of a bitterly Protestant historian with the assertion of Goldwin Smith: "She (the Catholic Church) saw the commencement of all governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world, and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon set foot on Britain; before the Frank had passed the Rhine; when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch; when idols were still worshiped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveler from New Zealand shall in the midst of a vast solitude take his stand on a broken arch of London bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."<sup>7</sup>

Macaulay in no friendly spirit studied the history of the Church and the varied conflicts she has sustained, and this is his judgment concerning her future: "Four times since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom has the human intellect risen up against her. Twice she remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her. When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish."<sup>8</sup>

It is to be pitied that Goldwin Smith did not wait till the next issue of the *Review* to publish his article, for then perhaps he would have had more reason to modify his assertions. He would in the meantime have beheld 50,000 men marching through the metropolis of this country with the determined purpose of showing their loyalty to that "poor, quaking Pope," for whom he seemed to have so much compassion. He would have heard an eminent member of our country's Congress speaking before countless thousands in the largest assembly hall of that metropolis and openly professing his love and reverence for that Church. He would have read letters from Major, Governor and President, praising that Church and wishing its well-being in the future. He would, in short, have witnessed one of the greatest religious demonstrations ever held in the country. Would he then dare to say that that Church was falling in ruins?

Nor is this sort of religious demonstration confined to one corner of our land. New York is by no means unique in its demonstration. Fifty thousand line the streets of Baltimore to welcome home a revered Prince of that same Church; 50,000 assemble in St. Louis to lay a corner-stone for a Cathedral of that same Church; 50,000

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<sup>7</sup> Ranke's "History of the Papacy"—Macaulay.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

fill the halls of England's metropolis to do honor to the solemn mysteries of that Church, and 50,000 march through New England's metropolis to show their reverence for the Name of the Founder of that Church. And all this in utter disregard of Goldwin Smith's careful calculations.

And yet Goldwin Smith was not altogether wrong. All that he said of the skeptical and materialistic tendencies of the age, and of the struggles of men to reconcile their consciences with their beliefs, is undoubtedly true of Christian religious sects outside the Catholic Church. And this explains the fact that during the past year so many thousands of their number have sought shelter within its fold. This makes it quite evident why so many leaders of Protestant sects are leaving their posts because they feel they were deceiving their flock. And it is this contrast between the skeptical unsettled attitude of the Protestant mind and the steadfast and unbending position of the Church of Rome which prompts us to assert that the "Christianity of the future" is to be identical with the Christianity of the far-off past, and that the time will come when the names "Christian" and "Catholic" will be used indiscriminately, as they were centuries ago before the rebellion of Luther.

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## THE PIONEER SCOTTISH SEMINARY.

MS. of Bishop John Geddes, 1777.

MS. of Rev. James Glennie, of Chapelton, Glenlivet, 1841-1873.

Memoir of Bishop Hay by Rev. J. A. Stothert (Gordon's "Scotchchronicon," Appendix), 1860.

THE early part of the eighteenth century was a period of severe trial for the Catholics of Scotland. The Church had been roused to new life by the appointment in 1696, after more than a century of destitution, of a Bishop for the whole country. Rev. Thomas Nicholson, a priest of Scottish birth, who had suffered prison and exile for the faith during the early years of his missionary life, was consecrated at Paris as Bishop of Peristachium and constituted Vicar Apostolic of Scotland. On his way thither he was again seized and imprisoned in London, and it was at least a year after his nomination that he was able to take up his charge.

Persecution, which had never wholly ceased, though it might languish for brief periods, awoke in renewed strength at the acces-

sion of Anne to the throne of Great Britain. Bishop Nicholson, in his report to Propaganda in 1702, stated that the government had at heart the total extermination of the Catholic religion in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> A letter written about the same time, and preserved in the archives of Propaganda, describes an impious procession through the streets of Edinburgh, in which the common hangman, arrayed in sacerdotal vestments and bearing in one hand a consecrated chalice and in the other a crucifix, was the principal figure. These objects, together with other sacred spoils taken from Catholic houses, were burned amid blasphemies and execrations, after having been thus exposed to the derision of the populace.<sup>2</sup>

In March, 1704, the Queen issued a solemn proclamation commanding the enforcing of the laws regarding "Jesuits, priests, sayers of Mass, reseters or harbourers of priests, or hearers of Mass." Rewards were offered for the apprehension of such offenders, and the ministers of the Kirk were exhorted to diligence in spying out all persons "suspected of Popery, or who have apostatized from the Protestant religion."<sup>3</sup>

Yet during a temporary lull the Vicar Apostolic was able to report to Rome in 1708 the conversion of many persons in the country.<sup>4</sup> So flourishing became the state of Catholicism that it was a matter of impossibility for one Bishop to attend to the needs of a whole kingdom, and it became necessary to petition for the appointment of a coadjutor less than ten years after the nomination of Bishop Nicholson. As an instance of the arduous labors of the Vicar Apostolic, that prelate, during his first visitation of the Highlands in 1700, confirmed as many as three thousand persons; for the absence of a Bishop had rendered it impossible to administer that sacrament previously.

The request for a coadjutor was answered by the consecration in Rome of Bishop James Gordon, who received the title of Nicopolis. He arrived in Scotland in the autumn of 1706. The manifest growth of the Church led the Bishops to turn their attention to the need of providing a supply of missionary priests. The first step towards the establishment of a seminary was the opening of a small school on an island in Loch Morar, Inverness-shire. A secluded spot in the remote western district, whose sparse population consisted of Catholics, was purposely chosen; circumstances called for the utmost caution in such an undertaking. A few boys who showed

<sup>1</sup> Hunter-Blair, "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," Vol. IV., p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," Vol. III., p. 392.

<sup>4</sup> Hunter-Blair, "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," Vol. IV., p. 164.

an aptitude for the priestly state were received here in 1713. Rev. George Innes, who later on became rector of the Scots College in Paris, was placed in charge. Among the few students who entered there was the son of the Laird of Morar. This youth, Hugh Macdonald, was destined to become the first Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District. The school had been but a short time opened when a renewal of persecution, following upon the Jacobite rising of 1715, seemed to threaten the destruction of Catholicism in Scotland, and compelled the Bishops to close the establishment until more peaceful days should dawn. An instance of the virulence of the persecuting party is to be seen in the arrest of Bishop Nicholson, together with a priest who resided with him, at a period when the agitation had already begun to cool down. Luckily, both were able to effect an escape.

It remained for Bishop Gordon, who in the failing health of the Vicar Apostolic had to take charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, to make a fresh attempt towards the foundation of a seminary. He wisely determined to make choice of a different locality, and fixed upon a farm known as Scalan, situated in Glenlivat, Banffshire, as a suitable spot.

Scalan was already the residence of a priest, for the Rev. John Gordon, missionary of Glenlivat, who had formerly dwelt at Castletown, had been compelled to fly from the Hanoverian troops under General Cadogan, after the rising of 1715, and had taken refuge at Scalan, where he lived in a disused barn. The hidden nature of the place, and the fact that it was situated on the estate of the Catholic Duke of Gordon, made it a safe retreat for the priest, who was able in course of time to build a rude habitation by the side of the little stream known as the Crombie, and thence minister to the many faithful Catholics scattered over that part of the country.

The spot upon which Father Gordon settled had been at one time a waste covered with juniper, and its name of Scalan is said to be derived from a Gaelic word signifying the screens of bushes erected by hunters of the game which frequented the lonely spot, rendered a complete solitude by the high hills which shut it off from civilized life.

About the year 1717 a few students were lodged in the poor little hut which Father Gordon had built for himself, and which for at least twenty years served as a seminary for candidates for the Scottish mission. The same Father Innes who had presided over the humble college in Loch Morar was appointed superior of Scalan.

Bishop Gordon took a keen interest in everything pertaining to the little seminary. It was his delight to visit it from time to time, and it became his custom to spend there some months in each sum-

mer. In 1722 he drew up a code of rules for the students, based upon those of the Pontifical colleges. In this way the seminarists became accustomed to the way of life which awaited many of their number in one or other of the continental colleges later on; for from the beginning it had been recognized that the majority would have to repair thither for the completion of their studies. Some few, indeed, were promoted to Holy Orders without leaving Scotland. These in the history of Scalán and its successors, Aquahorties and Blairs, have borne the designation of "Heather Priests."

It was a glad day for the zealous Bishop when on Ember Saturday, 1725, he reaped the first fruits of his labors, for he then conferred the priesthood on two seminarists, Hugh Macdonald and George Gordon. The former, as already mentioned, became in after years the first Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District. He was consecrated Bishop in 1731, after a year or two spent in the Scots College, Paris. It is worthy of note that the then superior of Scalán was the person chosen by Bishop Gordon for the episcopate. This was Rev. Alexander Grant, who possessed a good knowledge of Gaelic and was in other respects suitable for the dignity. But, being averse to the proposal, not only through true humility, but also from the knowledge of his unpopularity with the Highland clergy, Father Grant, though persuaded to set out for Rome for consecration, managed to disappear so completely before the function could take place that for many years his whereabouts was utterly unknown to his friends in Scotland. For some years it was thought that he had met with some mortal accident, but a Scottish priest who happened to be passing through the south of France at a later period recognized the missing priest among a band of Trappist monks returning from field work, though he failed to obtain from him any answering sign of salutation. This fact is recorded in a MS. note of a venerable Scottish priest well known to the present writer.

About the year 1738 Rev. Alexander Gordon, who held the post of rector, succeeded in raising a more substantial dwelling of stone at Scalán. He was compelled to provide in some way for the increased number of students; for the boys destined for the priesthood had been joined from time to time by many others whose Catholic parents were anxious to procure for them a Christian education under orthodox teachers. They were mostly sons of various Scottish noble families. The establishment of a Catholic school for such boys in Strathavon during the early years of the same century relieved the seminary of many such students and provided accommodation for a larger number of boys with a vocation to the priesthood. The Strathavon school was presided over by a Mr. Gregory Farquharson, a former tutor to Cosmo, third Duke of

Gordon. The Duke's mother, after the death of his Catholic father, caused her children to be educated in the Protestant religion, and thus it came about that a younger brother of Cosmo was the notorious Lord George Gordon, the fomenter of the no-Popery riots.

The good Bishop Gordon went to his reward in the year 1746. It would seem as though he had been called away from this life in order to spare him the sight of the bitter calamities that followed in the wake of the defeat of the Stuart cause at Culloden. He died at Thornhill, near Drummond Castle, and before his body had been carried to the grave the castle, which was a residence of the Jacobite Dukes of Perth, was raided by Hanoverian soldiers. Worse still, Scalan, the Bishop's darling charge, was to suffer grievously in the miseries which were to fall upon the unhappy Catholics of Scotland.

The Duke of Cumberland, to make sure that his late adversaries should be unable to rally after their crushing defeat, sent out bands of soldiers in all directions to extinguish, as the phrase ran, the remnants of rebellion. One such party entered Glenlivat and made straight for Scalan, a place particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterian clergy, who at the time had great influence with the government. Two or three times previously, in 1726 and 1728, Scalan had been closed for brief intervals through the persecuting zeal of the Kirk, but only to reopen its doors.

The visit was not altogether unexpected. Father Duthie, the superior, had already taken the precaution of dismissing the boys to their respective homes, and had hidden away all priestly vestments, chalices, sacred objects, books and such other movables as he could hastily gather together. So prudently was this accomplished that scarcely anything thus concealed was lost.

It was on a morning in early May that the soldiers surrounded the little house, now deserted by its inmates. Father Duthie from the security of a neighboring hill saw everything given to the flames and watched the progress of the fire until the roof had fallen in and the utter ruin of the seminary was completed. He did not lose courage, however, in spite of the wreck of his home and of the threats of the Protestant authorities to put an end once for all to the practice of Popery in Scotland. All through that summer and during the winter that followed he ventured to remain in seclusion near at hand, keeping watch over the small crop on the land belonging to the seminary. By the next summer he had managed to repair to some extent the damage done, and later on found means to build a new house. This, however, was far inferior to that which had been destroyed, since it occupied the site of the former kitchen only.

In 1749 there were some students in residence again. Yet extreme caution and prudence had to be observed in the manage-



ment of affairs, for persecution had not altogether ceased. In 1756 there were soldiers continually stationed in Glenlivat, with orders to seize any priests, should opportunity offer. Their zeal was stimulated by the promise of liberal rewards.

In 1752 a strict search was made for Father Duthie, but a hint was dropped by a sergeant or his wife, which enabled the priest to escape in time. Not only on that, but on other occasions also, the soldiers were not averse to a bribe to induce them to give timely warning of an impending search. Father Duthie became, in 1758, professor in the Scots College, Paris.

Mr. William Gray was the next superior of Scalan. He was a convert to the faith, and had gained much experience in teaching by acting as tutor in Protestant families of note. After becoming a Catholic he spent a year or two in the Scots College, Paris. Later on he became instructor to the children of Mr. Lundin, of Lundin, who afterwards received from the exiled Stuart sovereign the title of Earl of Perth.

The General Assembly of the Kirk in 1760 deputed two of their number to report upon the state of religion in Glenlivat. The ministers in question accordingly made their appearance on a certain day at the door of the seminary. Mr. Gray, who was expecting a visit from them, went out and courteously invited them to enter. But they would not take the trouble to alight from their horses, and rode off with expressions of surprise that a place of so mean an appearance should have aroused such undeserved interest. Nevertheless, they did not fail to describe Scalan, in the pages of the *Scots Magazine*, as the residence of three priests—a notable inaccuracy, since Mr. Gray was merely a deacon, and there was no other ecclesiastic living in the house at the time. They were probably misled by the exaggerated accounts of neighboring ministers with whom they came in contact. One such authority was bold enough to maintain publicly that there were as many as thirty students in residence, when as a matter of fact their number did not exceed five.

From 1762 to 1767 the seminary was under the direction of a superior destined at a later date to hold high office in the Scottish Church. This was Rev. John Geddes, who became eventually coadjutor to the illustrious Bishop Hay, with the title of Bishop of Morocco. With the advent of a period of comparative peace for Scottish Catholics, it seemed desirable that a superior should be given to Scalan who might be trusted to lift up the little seminary from the state of atrophy resulting from the troublous times of persecution. No more suitable priest could be wished for than Father Geddes. Under his care the house began to flourish exceed-

ingly; studies and discipline acquired new life and temporal affairs improved considerably. Promising students were fitted by careful training for the continental colleges, and the number at Scalan increased to an extent which required extra accommodation. Accordingly a new house was erected in 1767. In that year a new lease was obtained of the little farm. It was granted by a tenant of the Duke of Gordon for another seventeen years. The father of the tenant in question, a farmer named Grant, who had agreed to let the land in the first instance, had constantly turned a deaf ear to the persuasions of the Presbyterian clergy, who would have him drive out the Catholic priest from Scalan. It seemed a manifest reward for his generosity that when he came to die he asked to be received into the Catholic Church, having become convinced of its truth. His son, no less friendly to the Scalan community, often signified his intention of following his father's example; unfortunately, however, death came upon him so suddenly that he could not accomplish his desire.

It was under Father Geddes' rule that the seminary obtained an annual endowment of £12. As this was intended to defray the cost of the education of two boys, it may be easily seen that life at Scalan was the opposite of luxurious. The money was provided partly from a benefaction of Pope Clement XII. towards the education of Scottish students, and partly from certain funds provided by the Stuart Prince styled by Scotsmen James VIII.

In December, 1767, Father Geddes was removed from Scalan to fill an important post on the Scottish mission, the improved state of the seminary justifying the Bishops in entrusting it to a superior of less note. A year or two later he was sent to Spain to settle the delicate question of the removal of the Scots College from Madrid to Valladolid. He was appointed rector of the college when the business was completed, and continued to hold that post until his consecration as Bishop and subsequent return to Scotland.

Trinity Sunday, 1769, which fell upon May 19, was a memorable day, not only for Scalan, but for the whole Church in Scotland. For on that day took place in the little chapel the consecration of George Hay as Bishop of Daulis and coadjutor of the venerable Bishop Grant, who presided at the ceremony. Henceforth the seminary became one of Bishop Hay's prominent interests.

In the years that followed Scalan, under the rule of Rev. John Paterson, succeeded in sending many students to the colleges abroad. In 1774 there were twelve boys in the seminary.

The superior who had succeeded at the death of Father Paterson, Rev. John Farquharson, was transferred in 1784 to the Scots College, Douay, which he presided over until the Revolution of 1793,

when he and his students were compelled to fly for their lives. Returning secretly to Douay, he hoped to save some part of the college property, but without success. His own private effects, even his clothes, had been sold, and the library entirely burned. For a long time his friends in Scotland despaired of his safety, but he at length contrived to reach home towards the end of the year, after encountering numberless hardships and privations. Father Farquharson became a generous benefactor to the Church in Scotland. He founded the Farquharson fund for the aid of necessitous priests, and made considerable donations to Elgin and Strathavon, the latter being near his birthplace. He returned to Paris after the fall of Napoleon to look after the property of the Scottish Church there, and died in that city in 1817.

The buildings at Scalan had long been quite inadequate for the housing of the ever-increasing number of available students. An attempt was made more than once to improve the accommodation, but want of means had always prevented. It is an illustration of the simple manners of those days that in spite of the lack of room the three Bishops of Scotland used it as the place of their annual meeting for several successive years. Bishop Hay had shown a particular affection for the seminary from the first. He loved to retire there from time to time, to spend a period of comparative rest in "Patmos," as he styled its hidden solitude. In 1782 he generously made over to Scalan the sum of £400, part of the compensation money paid for the destruction of his house and chapel in the "No-Popery" riots in Edinburgh, three years previously. Yet still it was found impossible to carry out the necessary enlargement of the buildings. When in 1786 an attempt was made to rebuild the house in part and to roof it with slates, mismanagement of funds on the part of the superior for the time being prevented its completion. It required the constant aid and persistent efforts of the Bishop to keep the work advancing. At length, in the mortal illness of the recently appointed and excellent rector, Rev. Andrew Dawson, Bishop Hay found it necessary to take charge of the seminary in his own person. He curtailed all expenses as far as possible and enforced a rigid economy. To help the slender funds he generously paid a considerable sum for his own board. Meanwhile he pushed on the repairs that had been so long needed.

It was during his residence at Scalan, from 1788 to 1791, and also in the course of his various shorter visits, that the Bishop undertook several missionary journeys in the neighborhood, in order to give Catholics who lived at a distance from any chapel the opportunity of hearing Mass. The picture given by an eye-witness of such expeditions illustrates the poverty and simplicity of the

Bishop's way of living. Mounted on his old gray horse, the saddle laden with a large valise containing Mass vestments and all necessities for the journey, and accompanied by his man, also mounted, the good prelate would arrive on Saturday evening at some farm previously designated, and word having been given beforehand to all Catholics living within easy distance, Mass would be celebrated on Sunday in one of the barns, a blanket serving as a reredos to the hastily constructed altar, and another blanket doing duty as a baldachin. Sometimes he would spend two or three days in one place, hearing confessions, giving advice and even administering medical treatment to those who needed it, his training as a physician in early youth and the varied supply of medicines which always formed part of his outfit, rendering such services appreciable in districts where doctors were few and chemists' shops unknown.

Bishop Hay was compelled to resign the charge of the seminary in 1791 to fill Bishop Geddes' place in Edinburgh while the latter was away in Paris on business connected with the Scottish missions. Although he returned to Scaln for six months in the following year, he found it necessary to relinquish the post of superior to one of his priests.

In 1796 negotiations began with regard to the removal of the seminary to a more favorable site at Aquahorties, in Aberdeenshire. The project was carried out in 1799, and after serving as a seminary for eighty-two years and doing valuable service to the Church in Scotland, Scaln became once more a simple mission, under the charge of a single priest.

The former seminary is now used as a farmhouse. It is a modest building of two stories, about 50 feet long and 16 wide. A square room which takes up the whole of the north end of the house is still called "Bishop Hay's Room." Immediately over it, approached by a steep and narrow wooden staircase, is the small room formerly used as the chapel, where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. It measures but 16 feet by 10 and is not more than 7 feet high. At one time access was gained to it by Catholics of the neighborhood by a flight of stone steps on the outer wall leading to a door since converted into a window. For it was necessary, in view of a gradually increasing congregation, to adapt the old kitchen which stands on the north side of the dwelling house, at right angles, to serve the purpose of a public chapel. The mark of the altar may still be seen on the wall of the memorable private chapel, the scene of those many hours of day and night devoted by the holy prelate to prayer.

At the opposite end of the house is the room set apart for the students. It was their oratory in the morning, schoolroom during

the day and refectory at meal times. Above it was their dormitory. Life at Scalan was anything but luxurious and would be calculated to affright some of the hardest spirits of our own days. The boys rose at six. There was no lavatory, but, summer and winter alike, they descended to the bank of the Crombie for their morning ablutions in the river. Breakfast and supper consisted of oatmeal porridge. Meat was given at dinner twice or thrice only during the week. On other days vegetables and oatcake and a kind of oatmeal soup, popularly called "sowens," comprised the fare.

A rigorous life, indeed! Yet it raised up a stock of hardy, self-forgetting, energetic clergy, who carried on to a later generation the tradition of a sturdy contempt for softness and delicacy in ecclesiastical training which has made Scottish priests such sturdy laborers in the vineyard of the Lord.

The words of the holy and learned Bishop Geddes, appended to his manuscript history of Scalan Seminary, which has formed the basis of this paper, may fitly serve as an apology for bringing the subject forward in these pages. "The time, by the goodness of God, will come when the Catholic religion will again flourish in Scotland, and then, when posterity will inquire with a laudable curiosity by what means any sparks of the true faith were preserved in these dismal times of darkness and error, Scalan and these other colleges will be mentioned with veneration, and all that can be known concerning them will be received with interest, and even this very account which I give you, however insignificant it may now appear, may one day serve as some monument for our church history, transmitting down to future ages the names of some of those champions who stood up for the cause of God."

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#### ON THE REVELATIONS OF ST. BRIDGET.

ONE of the most popular books of devotion in Sweden among Catholics now and among Christians in pre-Reformation days is the "Revelations of St. Bridget of Sweden." In the Middle Ages no spiritual book except "The Following of Christ" had so large a circulation in Scandinavia. It has been translated once or twice into French and partially into German, but never wholly into English; so a summary of its contents may be interesting to English readers.

First of all, it may be as well to say a few words about the

authoress, a canonized saint of the Church, and the circumstances in which the Revelations were written, for they led to the foundation of a large religious order, which in its prime numbered over ninety double monasteries for monks and nuns, whose rule form part of the Revelations.

St. Bridget was a Swedish Princess, the wife of Ulph, Prince of Mercia, by whom she had eight children. She led a most holy mortified life with her husband, wearing a hair shirt under her court dresses, visiting the sick poor, nursing and tending them and often making long and fatiguing pilgrimages. On the death of Ulph in the Cistercian monastery of Alvastra, Bridget, who was living there at the time, began to have her revelations, which, Father Peter, the prior of Alvastra, who was Saint Bridget's confessor and director for many years, and also the companion of her travels after she became a widow, translated into Latin and wrote down. Ulph died in 1344, and two years after the saint, by the command of our Lord, went to Rome, where she made her headquarters for the next twenty-eight years, and eventually died there, on her return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in 1373, in her seventieth year. The following year her remains were translated to Vadstena, in Sweden, the mother house of the Order of St. Saviour, which she founded with the help of her daughter, Catherine the First, Abbess of Vadstena. St. Bridget was canonized in 1391 by Pope Martin V. The Revelations are in nine books, the last of which is called the "*Revelationes Extravagantes*," and is in some ways the most interesting, as it concerns the rule of St. Saviour. They are called "*Extravagantes*" merely because they were omitted when Father Peter, the prior of Alvastra, divided the original Celestial Revelations into eight books, and afterwards gave them to the monks at Vadstena, declaring they were divinely revealed to St. Bridget and written down by him from her mouth faithfully.

The edition from which this account is derived was published in Rome in 1606, and was edited and contains notes by Consalvus Durantus, priest and professor of sacred theology, and has a prologue by Matthias, canon of Lincopen, in Sweden, who it is interesting to know glossed the whole Bible excellently and was a very holy man and one of the spiritual advisers of St. Bridget.

The books are subdivided into chapters, which vary in length from a few lines to several pages of folio print, and the whole Revelations make up a large folio volume of nine hundred pages, by which it will be seen they were very lengthy. Each chapter has a titular heading summarizing it. As it would be impossible in the space of an article to deal with the whole of the Revelations, we shall confine ourselves here to the first book and the *Extravagantes*. The Revela-

tions open in this way: "To the honour of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and the Mother. Here begins the Book of Celestial Revelations, and of the secrets of God, of sweet love and of wonderful sweetness, to His elect daughter and sweetest spouse."

A great part of the Revelations concern the Passion of our Lord, to which St. Bridget from her early childhood had an intense devotion, and very often they are in the form of a colloquy between Our Lord and Our Lady. Sometimes Our Lady reveals to the saint what her feelings were during the sufferings of her Son, and then they are most touching and beautiful. Very often the chapter begins with a declaration of the greatness and goodness of God, in which the speaker is sometimes one of the Persons in the Holy Trinity, sometimes our Blessed Lady, occasionally one of the saints. The second chapter in Book I. contains a very beautiful simile in the introduction, so we shall quote it:

"The word of Our Lord Jesus Christ to His elect and beloved Spouse." "I am the Creator of heaven and earth, one in Deity with the Father and the Holy Spirit. I am He who spoke by the prophets and patriarchs, and whom they expected. On account of whose desire and according to My promise, I took flesh without sin and concupiscence, going out from the bowels of a Virgin, as a sun shining through a most pure stone. Because as the sun does not hurt the glass in going through it, so neither was the virginity of the Virgin destroyed in taking My humanity."

Chapter IV. teaches how to discern spirits, whether they are good or evil. It also teaches that good people are sometimes mad not from excess of devotion, as the world says, but because of some defect of brain or for some hidden cause, which is for their humiliation.

Chapter VII. contains spiritual advice to the saint from Our Lady, given under the metaphor of clothes, each garment having a mystical meaning: The under garment is contrition, because as it is the nearest to the skin, so contrition and confession are the first way of conversion to God; the tunic is hope in God; the cloak is faith, because the cloak covers all the rest, and all are included in it, so by faith man is able to understand and attain all. The collar is consideration of His Passion, and should be continually fixed in thy breast.

In Chapter VIII. the Queen of Heaven tells her daughter how she ought to praise her Son with His Mother. The ninth chapter tells of Our Lady's immaculate conception and sanctification before her birth; of the joy of St. Anne; of the virtues of the name of Mary, and how the angels rejoice when they hear it and give thanks to God, and how those in Purgatory rejoice as a sick person

lying in bed if he hears any words of comfort, and how the angels draw nearer to the souls they guard when they hear her name, and how the bad angels fear and let go of the souls they hold in their clutches at its sound. Our Lady further tells St. Bridget that as a bird when it has its nails and claws and beak in its prey, if it hears and sound leaves its prey, and when nothing follows, returns to it, so if no amendment follows, the demons return to a soul like a very swift arrow.

In the tenth chapter Our Lady describes the Annunciation and the Passion and Death of her Son. Before the Archangel Gabriel appeared to her she saw a star, but not as if it were shining in the heavens, and a light, but not like a light that lightens the world, and she smelt a most sweet scent almost ineffable, and she exulted for joy and heard a voice, but not from a human mouth, and she was afraid that it might have been an illusion, and immediately there appeared before her the angel of God, like a most beautiful man, but not clothed in flesh, who said, "Ave Maria."

She then tells how she brought forth Our Lord without any fatigue or pain, but with such joy of soul and exultation of body that her feet seemed not to feel the earth on which she stood. When she beheld His beauty her soul distilled as dew for joy, but when she thought of the prophecies concerning His Passion, her eyes filled with tears, and when He saw the tears, He was sad unto death. Then follows a most beautiful description of the Passion, and Our Lady tells how at the first stroke of the scourge she fell down as dead, and when she recovered she saw that He had been beaten till His ribs were visible. Her grief was increased by hearing some bystanders say that He deserved to be crucified, and at the first blow of the hammer she again fell to the ground, and her eyes were obscured and her hands trembling and her feet tottering, and she could not look again for sorrow until He was fixed to the Cross. Then she describes the burial, and adds that that good John took her home.

In Chapter XVIII. are instructions from Our Lord about the building of the first Brigittine monastery. "In My house should be humility, and a wall dividing the men and women, and a wall between the two habitations, which must be strong and not very high. The windows are to be simple and transparent, the roof moderately high, and nothing is to appear there save what is redolent of humility; the roof by being moderately high signifies that My Wisdom can only be partly understood, never fully. The four walls are My justice, My wisdom, My power and My mercy. I am the foundation."

The Revelations abound in this kind of mystical interpretation of



external things. Chapter XX. is a colloquy between Christ and the Blessed Virgin, in which Our Lord instructs His spouse, St. Bridget, in what way to prepare for her nuptials, and tells her He desires her to have many spiritual children. He mentions St. John the Evangelist as "My dearest John," and says he was like a reed full of sweetness and honey, and so pure that he merited to be called Angel and Virgin.

The next chapter is very mystical and quaint, and tells of a certain magician possessing some splendid gold which a simple workman came to buy, and when he had bought it, the magician told him it was not gold, but a vile frog which he had nourished in his bosom. The interpretation of this is that the magician was the devil and the frog the soul of man, jumping through pride.

The heading to Chapter XXII. is: "A Most Sweet Question of the B. V. M. to St. Bridget and the Humble Answer of the Spouse." The question was: "Tell me what is in thy soul and what thou seekest?" and the spouse answers that she fears two things—the first, sins which she has not wept for nor amended, and the second, because the enemies of Christ are many. Our Lady comforts her and tells her among other things that the evils are permitted to live for the trial of the good, which is further explained under the metaphor of a rose growing among thorns.

Chapter XXIII. describes the enemies of God under the figure of a most repulsive image of a man, every part of him symbolizing sin or folly—*e. g.*, his heart is a scorpion, because it is full of injustice and deceit; his arms are malice, because of his malice. An odd metaphor occurs at the end of the next chapter: As it is said that if oil in which there is a dead scorpion is poured onto any one bitten by a scorpion he is healed, so when a wicked man, seeing another sinner, is filled with compunction, he is healed.

Chapter XXVI. opens with some beautiful words of praise from the army of angels and treats of matrimony and then of spiritual nuptials, the gist of the whole of it being that God is always *third* with those husbands and wives who live chastely. Chapter XXVIII. describes the terrible judgment passed by God on a certain man, declared in a note to be a canon of noble birth, and a sub-deacon who obtained a false dispensation to marry a rich virgin and was prevented by sudden death from obtaining his desire.

In the next chapter Our Lady tells the spouse of two ladies, one of whom is Pride and the other Humility, that is, herself. She is most humble, yet sits in a spacious seat, and over her is neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor clouds, but a wonderful serene, clear light proceeding from the excellent beauty of the Divine Majesty. Below her is neither earth nor stones, but an incomparable rest in the power

of God. There are no walls round her, but an army of angels and holy souls, and yet though enthroned so high, she hears the sobs and sighs and prayers of her friends.

Chapter XXXI. describes a vision St. Bridget had of the B. V. M. having a precious crown on her head and her hair spread over her shoulders of indescribable beauty. She wore a golden tunic shining with wonderful splendor and a blue mantle the color of the sky. When St. Bridget saw this beautiful vision she stood as if in ecstasy. Blessed John the Baptist then appeared and explained what this lovely vision meant, for it had a mystical meaning. The crown denoted a Queen, the hair extended the most pure and Immaculate Virgin, the mantle was blue because she was dead to all temporal things, the tunic was golden because she was burning with divine charity, and so forth.

In Chapter XXXV. the B. V. M. explains how her heart suffered in the Passion, so that as Adam and Eve sold the world for one apple, so her Son and she redeemed the world as it were with one heart.

The next most striking chapter is LI., wherein Christ compares Our Lady to a flower born in a valley, all the leaves of which have a mystical meaning denoting some virtue. The same simile is continued in the next chapter, and St. Bridget is told to transmit Christ's words to the Pope and other prelates of the Church, and to tell Father Matthias to explain these words diligently.

In Chapter LVII. Our Lord tells His spouse that He is like unpalatable food to some Christian souls, to whom the world is pleasing, and how He will come as a giant to such, strong, terrible and severe, and they shall flee as a gnat before Him.

In the last chapter of Book I. Our Lord tells His spouse of three kinds of Christians, typified by the Jews in Egypt: "1, those who believed in God and Moses; 2, those who believed in God and doubted Moses, and 3, those who doubted both. By Moses is meant the word of God.

The above is a brief summary of the more salient features of the first book of the Celestial Revelations, sufficient to give an idea of the character of the work, against which in 1433 a storm of criticism arose, as it did also against the whole order, and the prior of Vadstena was summoned to the General Council then assembled at Basle to answer the accusations of heresy brought against the saint. No less than two hundred points were called in question, in all of which St. Bridget was said to have erred by her accusers. A committee was appointed to examine Father Gervinus and the Revelations, the soul of which was John de Torquemado, afterwards made a Cardinal. He most zealously defended St. Bridget and main-

tained the higher inspiration of the Revelations, and pointed out that the way in which they harmonized with the prophets and Holy Scripture was in itself a proof of their truth. His decision made a great impression, and to him St. Bridget owed the victory she gained, both for the Revelations and her double monasteries, the wisdom of which had also been called in question. They are not, of course, of faith, but they were declared free from error.

The "Revelationes Extravagantes" are less spiritual and contain amplifications of the rule of St. Saviour, as the rule of the Brigittines is called, and also many little anecdotes of St. Catherine. They also show how St. Bridget consulted Our Lord in prayer about everything. This book is also divided into chapters, the first of which deals with a question which had been disturbing the prior, Father Peter, as to whether extra clothing and bedding should be allowed to the sick members of the order, to which Our Lord replied that all necessary things and nothing superfluous should be granted them.

The following chapters concern the singing of the nuns, whose office is to follow that of the monks and to be rather more severe. They are to imitate the singing of the Carthusians and be grave, uniform and, above all, humble, and savor more of sweetness and devotion than of ostentation. In the eighth chapter Our Lord tells St. Bridget to go to Rome and remain there fifteen years in great tribulations until she has seen the Pope and the Emperor. So she went when she was forty-two, and remained for fifteen years before Urban V. and the Emperor Charles came.

While in Rome she had many revelations concerning the state of the city and the sins of the people, which so roused the hatred of the Romans against her that they threatened to burn her alive.

One chapter directs that no organs are to be used in Brigittine monasteries, although the Israelites of old kindled their devotion with organs and trumpets.

In Chapter XII. the saint is shown that humility and discretion are more pleasing to Our Lord than indiscreet fasting. Vegetables are permitted to those fasting on bread and water, and the water may be boiled, for bread is dry and hard without vegetables and water unless cooked is like tisan. It is healthy to fast at the stated times, but the abbess and the confessor are to have compassion and dispense the sick and those who are tired with work. Baths are allowed to the members of the order once a month or once a fortnight if asked for, and for the sick as often as required.

In Chapter XIX. St. Bridget complains to Our Lady that many women are easily found as subjects to her order, but few men will devote themselves to providing for the spiritual needs of women,

which was the chief work of the Brigittine monks. Our Lady told her that she was not to be anxious, as Our Lord knew whom He had ordained to the order. No one may be chosen as abbess who is illegitimate, no matter how holy she may be. An unmarried woman is to be chosen preferably as abbess, but if there is none suitable in the community, then a widow, but she must be humble, for better a humble widow than a proud virgin. The fathers are to preach simple sermons according to the capacity of the audience, remembering that Our Lord's dearest Mother was most simple, Peter illiterate and Francis a peasant; nevertheless, because they had perfect charity, they were more successful preachers than masters of eloquence. All the following chapters up to Chapter XLIV. are concerned with details of the rule and directions for the building of the monasteries of the order.

In Chapter XLIV. Christ tells St. Bridget to tell Father Peter, of Alvastra, to write the rule of St. Saviour at her dictation, and neither to add nor to take away anything from her words. An account of how she began to have the revelations is given a little further on. Some years after the death of her husband, when the saint was anxious about her state of life, the spirit of the Lord was poured round her, inflaming her, and she was rapt in an ecstasy and saw in spirit a bright cloud and heard a voice from the cloud saying to her: "I am thy God, who wish to speak to thee." Fearful lest it might be an illusion of the devil, she heard the voice say: "Do not fear, for I am the Maker of all things and no deceiver. Know that I do not speak on account of thee only, but on account of the salvation of all Christians. Hear what I say. Thou shalt be My spouse, and thou shalt see spiritual things and secret celestial things, and My spirit shall remain with thee until death. Believe, therefore, that I am with thee."

In Chapter XLVIII. we read that as Bridget was praying Christ appeared to her, saying: "Tell Brother Peter, the sub-prior, from Me that I have many sons Christians who are held in snares by the devil. Out of charity I send to them the words of My mouth, which I speak through a woman. Brother Peter, hear her and write in Latin the words which she shall say to thee from Me."

St. Bridget communicated this revelation to Brother Peter immediately, but he, wishing to deliberate over it, stood one evening in the church beating his brains about it. At last from humility he decided not to undertake the task, reputed himself unworthy and doubting lest it were an illusion of the devil. Then suddenly he was struck as if with a blow, and immediately felt as if dead, deprived of his senses and bodily powers, but nevertheless his intellect remained clear.

The monks, finding him thus lying on the ground, carried him to his cell and placed him in bed, and thus he lay for the great part of the night, as if half dead. Then by a divine inspiration the thought came to him that perhaps he suffered thus because he was unwilling to obey the precept and revelation made to him through St. Bridget. He said in his heart: "O Lord God, if it is on this account, spare me and I am willing to obey and write all she shall tell me." And immediately he was cured, and he went quickly to St. Bridget and offered to write all the revelations. And for thirty years Father Peter, who was afterwards prior of Alvastra, was the saint's confessor and companion and follower in all her travels and wrote all the revelations and divine visions she had up to the time of her death. Before Father Peter's death Our Lord commanded that afterwards the revelations should be given to Father Alphonsus, a Spanish hermit, formerly Bishop of Jaen.

In Chapter LV. a description is given of a certain holy monk of Alvastra named Gerechinus, who was of great sanctity and passed his days and nights in prayer and was favored with visions, in one of which he saw Our Lord at the Elevation in the species of a boy. When St. Bridget first went to reside in his monastery he was rather scandalized and wondered why she did so, for it was against their rule and a new custom for women to live in the monastery, but it was revealed to him in prayer that she was a friend of God, upon which he went and told his prior with tears of his rash judgment. This Brother, we are told, once saw St. Bridget elevated in the air and flames coming from her mouth and heard a voice saying she was a woman bringing wisdom to all nations.

A pretty legend is then narrated of this monk. He was once told by his abbot to go and help in the bakehouse, but he not being accustomed to the duties of the bakehouse, spoke to a picture of Our Lady on the wall, which he was accustomed to venerate, and said: "Dearest Lady, the abbot commands me to labor with the bakers. Thou knowest that I know nothing of baking; nevertheless, I will do thy will." To which the image answered: "Do what you have hitherto done; I will serve for thee in the bakehouse." And so it was done, and those in the bakehouse knew not who was working with them, but thought it was Brother Gerechinus, who remained fixed in prayer in the church.

In Chapter LVI. Ulph Gudmarson, the saint's husband, appeared to her and told her the causes of his Purgatorial pains and the remedies necessary for his speedy deliverance. There were five reasons for his Purgatory: He had doted on one of his sons, spoiling him; he had neglected to make sufficient provision for his family before his death; he had been pertinacious in the exile of a certain

noble, who nevertheless had deserved punishment; that he had injudiciously helped a certain unworthy man in his money difficulties, and that he had taken part in fencing and other worldly amusements more from vanity than necessity. Then he asks her for Masses for a whole year, and tells her to take care of the poor, and especially to give away things that he loved too much, as his horses, and she is to offer some of his cups for chalices, but to leave his immovable things for his sons.

In Chapter LVIII. Our Lady tells St. Bridget that fasting is to be done with discretion, as it is more acceptable to her Son to eat than to fast against obedience. It is wrong to fast vainly to be seen, or foolishly like those who fast in illness, or irrationally, that is, more than others, to obtain a greater reward. Later on in this book a story à propos to fasting is told which we will relate here. When Bridget was traveling from Rome on a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of St. Andrew, in Italy, she was obliged by illness to stop at a place called Bari, and when Advent arrived they could not get any fish, and there were many infirm persons with her, so she asked Our Lord to have compassion upon them, that they might not scandalize their neighbors by eating meat in fasting time, and that the weak might not faint by fasting. Our Lord appeared to her and said: "Fish is very cold, and the weather is not very warm; the way is stony and difficult, and you are infirm, so eat what you can find. I am above all your vows."

Several appearances are described in the "*Revelationes Extravagantes*" of the saints besides Our Lord and Our Lady. St. John the Baptist, St. Botvidus of Sweden and St. Dionysius all appeared to her. In some of the revelations advice is given to the King and Bishops of Sweden and to the Swedish Princes. Chapter XCVL narrates how on a certain day, after Bridget had written a rule for herself and copied it into a book called "*A Mirror for Virgins*," she was rapt in spirit, and when she recovered she heard a voice saying that virginity merits a crown, widowhood draws near to God, marriage does not shut out from heaven, but obedience introduces all to glory.

Chapter CIII. gives us a peep into the temporal trials of the saint. When she was staying in Rome it happened before All Saints' Day that she was in great need of money, for she had received many loans, and it was three years since any money had reached her from her own country, and her creditors came daily and begged that she would return the money lent by them. Then Our Lord appeared to her and told her to accept the money lent her boldly and promise to pay her creditors on the first Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany. She did so, and about Vespers on that Sunday a mes-

senger came from Sweden carrying the money and she made satisfaction to her creditors on the same day. In the last chapter Our Lady tells St. Bridget that although Father Peter, who translated the revelations, did not write classical Latin, still his words were more pleasing to her than the Latin of worldly men, and further commanded that all the revelations were to be kept at Alvastra until her monastery at Vadstena was finished.

The above extracts will perhaps suffice to give an idea of the scope of the revelations to those who have not the opportunity of seeing the original. Besides the partial translations of the revelations mentioned in the beginning of this article, there have been no less than twenty-two Latin versions published. The first was published at Lubeck in 1492. The one consulted by the present writer was published in 1606 in Rome, and contains the prologue written by Father Matthias, one of St. Bridget's directors, the holy canon of Linköping, and has notes by Consalvus Duran, a priest. A partial English translation was published in New York in 1873.

A most interesting passage occurs in the "*Revelationes Extravagantes*" which we must not omit to note, as it is believed to be the first mention of Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament which occurs in history. Here Our Lord tells St. Bridget that the Sacrament of His Body should be placed over His altar continually in a decent sapphire or crystal vase, that Him whom daily they behold under another form they may desire more fervently. He also ordered, as is recorded in the same chapter, that when a nun was too ill to receive the Blessed Sacrament, the abbess, if at night, or the priest might carry the monstrance with the Host to the sick nun, the convent following, and show it to her, saying: "May thy faith profit thee to eternal life and salvation." This was done in the case of the first abbess, St. Bridget's own daughter, Catherine, who was too ill to receive Communion when on her deathbed.

A great part of the revelations is concerned with denouncing the worldliness and wickedness of the reigning sovereigns of Sweden, Naples and other places and in threatening them with the judgments of God if they did not repent. The clergy also are severely reproved for their laxity and falling away from grace, and there is a great deal of repetition in the course of the nine books, also a great deal that is very mystical and difficult of comprehension. In the above extracts we have endeavored to take out the pearls from the oysters.

DARLEY DALE.

<sup>24</sup> "*Axioms and Postulantes*," p. 59.

## PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—V.

THE religious treaty known as the Concordat, which had been negotiated between the Holy See and the French Republic, put an end to the persecution to which, during ten years, the Catholic Church had been subjected by the various governments which had succeeded each other in France. It also marked the beginning of new relations between the Church and the State very different from those which existed under the monarchy, when the possessions of the clergy rendered them, to a certain degree, independent of the royal authority. As a first act of hostility to the Church the *Assemblée Constituante* had seized all ecclesiastical property; by the *Constitution Civile* it had placed the nomination of the Bishops in the hands of the people and founded a schismatical church. The Convention treated the priest as an outlaw and an enemy of the State, to be hunted down and exterminated without mercy. The Directory, less sanguinary in its methods, though equally hostile, had sent him to perish in the swamps of Guyana or on board the hulks; but the Church had survived every form of persecution, and the mass of the French people had remained firmly attached to their faith. Bonaparte saw that to restore peace to the Church and to France it would be necessary to check the anti-Christian fanaticism of the Jacobin party, and to put an end to the schism. But he did not intend to restore to the Church the influence it had possessed in the days of the monarchy. Guided in all his actions by political motives, he wished the clergy to be merely the salaried servants of the State, charged with the maintenance of order and the repression of opinions hostile to the government, and liable to be fined or imprisoned for any manifestation of independence. And yet, so intolerable had been the situation of the Church in France, that this small amount of liberty, hampered on all sides by jealous regulations, some of them reluctantly accepted by the Holy See and others arbitrarily imposed, was hailed as "a triumph of Christianity and a signal victory for the Papacy."

The successful conclusion of the Concordat in spite of the ill-will of the army and the opposition of nearly all the members of his government, seems to have convinced Bonaparte that his rule was so popular and so firmly established that he might venture to make a further advance towards the throne. Without openly demanding a prolongation of his dignity as First Consul or its conversion into an hereditary monarchy, he allowed his friends and partisans to proclaim that it was the duty of the nation to present a testimonial of its gratitude to the man who had given peace to the Church,



restored order in France and reconciled the Revolution with Europe.<sup>1</sup> This reward could only take the form of an augmentation of power, and it was well known that that was the object of Bonaparte's ambition, though he carefully avoided giving any intimation of his wishes. The question was submitted to the Senate, many of the members of which were willing to confer upon the General the Consulate for life, but the Republican party, led by Sieyès, spread the belief that all that he desired was a term of ten years, and on May 8, 1802, a vote was passed to that effect. This decision, which was far inferior to what Bonaparte expected, caused him intense displeasure, and he was at first inclined to reject the offer. The difficulty was solved by the skillful management of Cambacérès, who suggested that the Council of State should invite the people to vote upon the question, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be Consul for life?" The answer was given in the affirmative by an enormous majority, and on August 3, 1802, it was ratified by a decree of the Senate and presented to the First Consul.

Though Bonaparte was resolved to keep the Church subjected to the government as much as possible, he seemed anxious at first to entertain the most cordial relations with the Holy See and with the clergy. He presented to Pius VII. two armed brigs, the St. Peter and the St. Paul, for the defense of his States against the Barbary corsairs, and he ordered a monument to be erected in the Cathedral of Valence to the memory of Pius VI. The Sisters of Charity were now authorized to wear their costume in public as of old; other religious associations for the relief of the infirm had also since some time been allowed to reopen their convents and resume their work in the hospitals. But even while making these demonstrations of good-will towards the Church he showed that he was resolved to interfere in its discipline and regulate it in accordance with the interests of his policy.

By his favorite device of threatening to break off all relations with Rome unless his demands were complied with, the First Consul had obliged Cardinal Caprara to accept twelve of the schismatical Bishops, in spite of the very doubtful assurances which they had given of their repentance. He was now determined to compel him, by a similar combination of trickery and menaces, to readmit into the Church on still easier terms the priests who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*. Cardinal Caprara had given to all the newly nominated Bishops a form of abjuration to be signed by these priests, in which they declared that they gave up the benefices which they had occupied without having been canonically

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<sup>1</sup> L. A. Thiers, "History of the Consulate and the Empire," 1893, Vol. II., pp. 281-283.

instituted; that they submitted entirely to the judgments pronounced by the Holy See on the ecclesiastical affairs of France, and that they professed true and sincere obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff and to their lawful Bishop. After they had signed this document the Bishops were to give them the decree of absolution and the dispensation from irregularity.<sup>2</sup>

But this form of retractation seemed to the government to inflict too much humiliation on the clergy of the Constitutional Church. It involved, moreover, the condemnation of the *Assemblée Constituante* which had founded that Church at the dawn of the Revolution, and whose acts the First Consul insisted on respecting as the expression of the will of the nation. It was different also from the letter prepared by Bernier and Portalis, in which the schismatical Bishops declared that they submitted to the Holy Father, and which, though departing from the form prescribed in Rome, had been accepted by Cardinal Caprara on the understanding that they should compensate for the insufficiency of its expressions by a verbal acceptance of the conditions specified in the decree of absolution.<sup>3</sup> On May 27, 1802, Portalis sent one of his subordinates to inform Cardinal Caprara that many Bishops were in a state of consternation, as they did not know how they should be able to receive the schismatical clergy back into the Church. He requested, therefore, that the matter should be left to the judgment of each Bishop. This the Legate refused to do, and said that those Bishops who professed to be embarrassed should come to see him, and that he would certainly be able to come to an understanding with them, but that any further concession was beyond his powers.<sup>4</sup>

Portalis seems to have been satisfied with this reply, but the First Consul on receiving his Minister's report insisted on the exclusive employment of the formula approved of by the government, and by means of the usual description of the dangers about to overwhelm the Church the unfortunate Cardinal was at last compelled to yield. The Legate was summoned on June 7 to an interview with Bonaparte at La Malmaison, and though so broken down in health that he was hardly able to take part in a discussion, he instantly obeyed. Bonaparte told him that all that was required for the reconciliation of the schismatical priests was that they should renounce the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and promise to obey their lawful Bishops. Anything more than that was, he said, useless, superfluous and an act of pride on the part of Rome, while the difficulties alleged by

<sup>2</sup> P. Ilario Rinieri, S. J., "La Diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX," Roma, 1902, Vol. II., p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, I., p. 470; II., 350.

<sup>4</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, II., p. 22, p. 246, Caprara & Consalvi, 30 Mai, 1802.

the Cardinal were a cause of mortal anguish to the people and to the more pusillanimous among the Bishops, and many thousands of Catholics were asking to become Protestants. The discussion, in which Portalis and Mgr. Sala, one of the Cardinal's secretaries, also took part, lasted for two hours, but no concession was made on either side. At last Bonaparte lost patience and said that if what he considered to be indispensable, necessary and advantageous for the good of religion and of the French people were done, it would be useless for the Cardinal to remain in France. There were still eleven Bishops to be nominated, and in consequence of these theological subtleties of Rome, they should all be chosen from among the Constitutional clergy.<sup>5</sup>

As the Cardinal had successfully resisted this onslaught other tactics were tried. Mgr. Pancemont, Bishop of Vannes, brought to him on the following morning a letter from Portalis, in which the Minister reminded him that the circulation in France of the formula of retraction for the clergy which he had given to the French Bishops, as well as of the decree by which the extraordinary faculties which had been granted to them by Pius VI. in 1792 were prolonged for six months, constituted an infraction of the conditions under which he had been received in France. He had solemnly sworn to observe these conditions, and according to them he could not cause any document to circulate in France without the authorization of the government. He was therefore requested to withdraw this formula as well as the decree, as otherwise the Bishops and other ecclesiastics who accepted it should be treated as State criminals, and he would bear the terrible responsibility of the misfortunes which should be the result. In addition to these threats Mgr. Pancemont presented to him an alarming picture of the extreme irritation of the First Consul, to whom no one dared to suggest any change in his decisions, and of the dangers to which the Bishops would be exposed from the hostility of the government. The Cardinal replied immediately to Portalis that in order not to offend the government he would at once withdraw both the formula of retraction and the decree.

As the Cardinal had thus been forced to withdraw the formula which was displeasing to Bonaparte, he had now to be obliged to publish one which should be in conformity with the First Consul's opinions. No time was lost, for on the evening of the 8th Talleyrand himself appeared on the scene, and in a sad tone of voice told the Legate that all the labor that had been bestowed on the reestablishment of religion was on the point of being thrown away. Neither the First Consul nor any other member of the government would

<sup>5</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, II., p. 26, Caprara & Consalvi, 13 Jun., 1802.

allow the Legate to demand from the Constitutional priests what he had demanded. If the Bishops attempted to do so, misfortunes without end would be the result. The people have been stirred up. The Catholics were revolted by the harshness with which Rome was treating the clergy, and they were thinking of embracing Protestantism. In a word, everything was on the point of utter ruin, and Rome and the Legate would be guilty of destroying religion by not condescending to show a more conciliatory spirit in such a lamentable state of affairs. Talleyrand's threats produced no effect on Cardinal Caprara, and on the following morning he also refused to yield to the urgent appeal of Mgr. Champion de Cicé, Archbishop of Aix, who repeated the same arguments. The Archbishop, however, was closely followed by the Bishop of Vannes, who told the Legate that on his decision depended either the existence or the total ruin of the Catholic religion in France and in the neighboring countries, and gave him a letter from Portalis. The Minister stated that the only declaration which the government would allow to be demanded from the Constitutional priests was: "I adhere to the Concordat, and I am in communion with my Bishop, who has been nominated by the First Consul and instituted by the Pope." Portalis added that it was evident that this declaration was sufficient; that the past ought to be forgotten; that the French character would not tolerate any irritating or humiliating expression, and that the interests of the Church, of the Holy See and of France demanded the cessation of controversies which could bring no remedy for the past, but would disturb the present and destroy everything in the future.

Cardinal Caprara, who appears to have been unaware of the real state of affairs in France, was terrified by the heavy responsibility thus cast upon him, and he gave way before this combination of threats and falsehoods which Bonaparte and his Ministers had so often employed with success. As he stated in his report to Cardinal Consalvi, he reflected that when it is a question of reconciling to the Church a large number of persons such rigorous conditions cannot be exacted as in the case of a few. On his decision, moreover, would depend the preservation or the total ruin of the Church, and he came, therefore, to the conclusion that he would not struggle against the declared will of the government, but would accept the formula proposed by Portalis. The three theologians attached to the Legation did not, it is true, share his opinion or approve of his action, but he wrote at once to the Minister that he would accept the formula proposed by the government. To the Bishops he announced that the Constitutional priests wishing to be reconciled to the Church might present that declaration, but he added that when they had signed it the Bishops should warn them to put their conscience in

order ("*de pouvoir à leur conscience*"). Portalis on his side consented to allow the Cardinal's decree of May 8, which prolonged the faculties granted by Pius VI. to stand, for the cleverly contrived plot had succeeded; Bonaparte and Talleyrand had obtained what they wanted; the schismatical priests were enabled to reënter the Church and hold ecclesiastical dignities without having been compelled to make a formal recantation of their errors.<sup>6</sup>

It is needless to add that Cardinal Caprara's concession, extorted from him by this disgraceful intrigue, caused the Holy Father intense grief. The theologians and the Cardinals whom he consulted on the subject declared that the formula dictated by the government for the reconciliation of the Constitutional clergy was insufficient. They suggested that a brief should be sent to Bonaparte to protest against the action of his government and another to the Legate to signify disapprobation of his conduct, but no steps would seem to have been taken to carry out these recommendations.<sup>7</sup>

As a further proof of the partiality of the First Consul for the Constitutional clergy, Portalis wrote on June 8 to all the Bishops who had not been members of the Constitutional Church that they should select one of their "*Grands Vicaires*" from among the Constitutional clergy, as well as a third of their canons and parish priests. If they were unable to observe this proportion, they should refer the matter to the First Consul and justify the exceptions they had made to this rule. Those Bishops who had belonged to the Constitutional Church were bound, on the other hand, to choose as "*Grand Vicaire*" priests who had not belonged to that schism.<sup>8</sup> But this was not the only act of interference in the administration of the French Church on the part of the First Consul, who thus began that series of aggressions on the liberty of the Church which in the days of the empire filled the prisons and fortresses of France with nearly

<sup>6</sup> Both Bonaparte and Talleyrand must have been well aware of the falsity of these statements with regard to the irritation of the people against Rome. They cannot have forgotten the reports furnished by the Commission of 1801 on the State of France (see the number of the *Review* for October, 1908, especially the report of Barbé Marbois, p. 583), according to which the great majority of the people throughout France were intensely hostile to the schismatic priests and steadily rejected their ministrations. Portalis also, in his report of February 25, 1802, to the First Consul (Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la négociation du Concordat*, t. V., p. 163), quotes the testimony of the prefects of several departments with regard to this general aversion for the Constitutional clergy, an aversion which the conduct of many of its members had much contributed to strengthen.

<sup>7</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, II, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Count Joseph Jauffret, "*Mémoires historiques sur les Affaires Ecclésiastiques de France pendant les premières années du xix. siècle*," Paris, 1823, t. I., p. 64. According to Article 21 of the "*Articles Organiques*," each Bishop might name two vicars general and each Archbishop three. (Migne, "*Encyclopédie théologique*," t. XXXVIII, p. 1,019.)

as many confessors of the faith as the anti-Christian government of the Directory.

Bonaparte had ordered the prefects of the Republic to exercise a strict censorship over all publications which appeared in their respective departments, and this supervision extended even to the pastorals of the Bishops. He was thus enabled to prevent the expression of hostile criticisms directed against his government, and to make use of the influence of the Church for the furtherance of his own interests. As there were cases where a diocese comprised two departments, the prefects of which held diametrically opposite views on religious questions, and therefore judged a pastoral according to their conflicting opinions, the position of many Bishops became so intolerable that at last Portalis intervened and obtained that this censorship should be transferred from the prefects to his office in Paris. But though every allusion to political questions could be thus suppressed, the same office frequently requested the Bishops to direct their parish priests to use all their influence to inculcate submission to the law of conscription, and to remind their flocks that one of the first duties of a citizen and a Christian was the defense of his country.\*

Since some years a reaction against the excesses of the Revolution and a tendency towards monarchical institutions had been gradually spreading through France. Those to whom the Revolution had brought wealth, political influence or military rank dreaded the downfall of the firm government of the First Consul, on whom depended the safety of their possessions. The Royalist conspiracies against Bonaparte, so actively carried on at this time, strengthened this conviction, and though the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, falsely accused of having shared in these plots, spread for a time a feeling of horror and consternation even among the partisans of Bonaparte, the impression remained that it was necessary, by raising the First Consul to the throne and creating an hereditary monarchy, to frustrate the aims of his enemies, and thus put an end to their plots. The ultimate object of Bonaparte's ambition was well known to all those in his immediate vicinity, though he carefully avoided giving any expression of his intentions. It was Fouché, the ex-Oratorian and ex-Jacobin, his former Minister of Police, who undertook to divine his hidden wishes and to carry out, along with some of the leaders of the Senate, the intrigues required to give them effect. Addresses and petitions, covered with signatures from the camps in several parts of France, from the municipal councils of the great towns and from electoral colleges then in session, were presented to

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\* Count d'Haussonville, "*L'Eglise Romaine et le premier Empire*," Paris, 1868, t. I., pp. 275-277.

Bonaparte demanding the establishment of a new form of government which should consolidate all power in his hands and secure its perpetuation in his family. The First Consul then, abandoning his reserve, consulted his colleagues on the subject. The Third Consul, Lebrun, immediately acquiesced, but as Cambacérès strongly objected, alleging the danger of a war with the older monarchies, which might withhold their recognition, Bonaparte resolved not to interfere, but to let public opinion take its course.

An address from the Senate on March 29, 1804, on a question relating to foreign affairs gave Fouché and his friends an opportunity for at last making a formal demand for the reëstablishment of monarchy, in order to deprive conspirators of the temptation to destroy everything by a single blow. Bonaparte thanked the Senate, but deferred giving a definite reply to their suggestion until he had acquired the certainty that the army would support him and that the principal sovereigns of Europe would not refuse to recognize him. Austria and Prussia were the powers consulted, and they immediately acquiesced, while the army gave him the strongest proofs of devotion, and on April 25 Bonaparte asked the Senate to give further explanations of its views and its wishes—a very evident request for a definite offer of the throne. As no public discussions took place in the Senate, it was decided to treat the question in the Tribunate, the only body where there was still some freedom of speech, and one of its members, Jean François Curée, who had once been an ardent Republican, was chosen to open the debate and propose the reëstablishment of an hereditary monarchy in favor of the family of Bonaparte. The motion was brought forward on April 30. It met with almost unanimous support, and on May 4 the vote of the Tribunate that the First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, should be named Emperor, and that the title and the authority should be made hereditary in his family, was laid before the Senate, which approved of it. On the same day it presented to the First Consul a memorial, in which it expressed its views with regard to the new organization of France. A committee was then formed consisting of the three Consuls, the Ministers and several Senators, to draw up a Constitution for the empire and name the chief dignitaries, whose functions and titles are believed to be mostly the invention of Talleyrand, and on May 18, 1804, the *Senatus Consultum*, which declared Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, was presented to him at St. Cloud.<sup>10</sup>

In the preceding year Bonaparte had sent his uncle, Cardinal

<sup>10</sup> Thiers, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 202, 218. The decision of the Senate was then submitted to a popular vote. It was ratified by a large majority and published on the eve of the coronation.

Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, to represent the French Republic in Rome in place of M. Cacaault. The latter, a Breton, who spoke of himself as "a converted revolutionist, *"un révolutionnaire corrigé,"*" by his prudence, his tact and his conciliatory spirit, had much contributed to restore a good understanding between the Holy See and France. He had acquired the friendship and the confidence of Pius VII. and of Cardinal Consalvi, but his frank and sturdy character would not have allowed him to assist the ambitious plans which Bonaparte was already preparing to carry out, and in spite of the entreaties of Cardinal Consalvi he was recalled. His successor, Cardinal Fesch (1763-1839) had been canon and archdeacon of Ajaccio before the Revolution. Driven from Corsica, together with the other members of the Bonaparte family, by the civil war between the partisans of England and those of France, he was obliged to lay aside his ecclesiastical costume and position and obtain employment in the commissariat. Later on he became *commissaire des guerres*, or commissary general, at the headquarters of the army of Italy commanded by his nephew. When, by the overthrow of the Directory, Bonaparte became First Consul, Fesch retired from the world. At the restoration of the hierarchy by the Concordat he was nominated Archbishop of Lyons, and shortly afterwards was promoted to the dignity of Cardinal. Bonaparte had long been fascinated by the idea of having himself crowned in Paris by the Pope as successor of Charlemagne, whose empire over a large part of Europe he aimed at restoring, and to attain this end he required to have in Rome a representative more docile and more blindly obedient to his orders than M. Cacaault. The new Minister, unaccustomed to the usages of diplomacy, was far from entertaining the same friendly relations with the Papal Court, with the other members of the diplomatic body and with Roman society as his predecessor. There is even reason to believe that the haughty and dictatorial attitude adopted by the Cardinal was the result of Bonaparte's orders, who thought that he might render the Holy Father subservient to his views by inspiring him with a dread of his power.<sup>11</sup>

Though the *Senatus Consultum* by which the First Consul was proclaimed Emperor of the French had not yet been published, the vote of May 4 was sufficiently decisive to enable Bonaparte to announce officially to Cardinal Caprara on the evening of May 9 his resolution of having himself crowned in Paris by the Sovereign Pontiff. But by a strange coincidence Cardinal Caprara had that very day written to Rome to express his belief that such would be the case, and his hope that the request would be granted without hesitation. A refusal would be extremely disagreeable to the Em-

<sup>11</sup> D'Haussonville, *op. cit.*, I, 304, 305.



peror, while great advantages to the Holy See, both from the spiritual and the temporal point of view, would be the result of the Pope's journey to Paris. The Emperor-elect, it is true, did not that evening make a formal demand with regard to the matter, but merely requested the Legate to ascertain as a preliminary step what might be the opinion of the Holy Father on the subject. The request caused much surprise and uneasiness in Rome, as the Pope and the members of the Sacred College could not forget the spoliation of the Church of which General Bonaparte had been directly or indirectly the cause, and they felt but small confidence in whatever promises he might make. Cardinal Consalvi cautiously replied on May 23 that the Holy Father would hasten to congratulate the Emperor as soon as all the formalities of his election should have been accomplished. A few days later he pointed out to the Legate that in eighteen centuries there had been no example of a Pope undertaking such a long journey for a purely secular object, and that only very important religious motives could justify a Sovereign Pontiff in abandoning his residence and thereby suspending for a time the discussion of the many ecclesiastical questions which are continually being referred to Rome.

The matter was submitted to a congregation of twenty Cardinals, on whose discussions was imposed the secrecy of the confessional, and their answers are not to be found in the archives of the Vatican; but a despatch of Cardinal Consalvi to the Legate gives an abstract of the various objections made to the journey of the Holy Father.<sup>12</sup> A favorable answer was, however, about to be returned to the Emperor's request when the *Senatus Consultum* of May 18 was received in Rome. Among other things it enacted that the Emperor was to swear to uphold the laws of the Concordat and the liberty of worship, "*la liberté des cultes.*" But the laws of the Concordat might be considered as comprising also the *Articles Organiques*, which had been published along with them without the consent of the Holy Father, and had been formally rejected by him as being opposed to the laws of the Church. The maintenance, too, of liberty of worship implied not merely that persons professing other religions than Catholicism would be tolerated, but that religion was a matter of indifference, and that all religions were equally worthy of favor and protection. The Pope could not crown as defender of the Catholic Church a sovereign who should take such an oath, and until some explanation of its meaning were given, showing that it implied only the *civil* toleration of the persons professing these religions and not a *theological* toleration which should consider all religions as

<sup>12</sup> Rinaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 37, Consalvi & Caprara, Roma, 6 Giugno, 1804, and 6th June, p. 564.

indifferent, the Holy Father could not accept the Emperor's invitation.

In the note accompanying this despatch Cardinal Consalvi pointed out that only a purely religious motive and the certainty of obtaining some important advantages for the French Church could justify the Holy Father in leaving Rome. In another letter of June 10<sup>18</sup> the Cardinal asked for a formal declaration on the part of the Emperor, or, better still, of the Senate, of the precise meaning to be given to the terms of the oath, and a positive assurance that the journey would have a good result with regard to the religious questions which were still undecided.

The various objections to the journey of the Holy Father which had been suggested by the congregation of Cardinals were laid before Talleyrand in a note from Cardinal Caprara on June 25. He pointed out that the impediments caused by the oath should be removed in a satisfactory manner, and that the anointing and the coronation of the Emperor should be performed according to the Roman ritual. His Holiness would be willing to receive all the Bishops and priests who had returned to the Church, but he could not hold any communication with those who having abandoned the *Constitution Civile*, had afterwards maintained its principles in their writings and tried to spread them in their sees. It would be becoming to the glory of the Emperor and to the dignity of the Holy See that the letter of invitation should be brought to Rome, not by an ordinary courier, but by two Bishops. Talleyrand's reply is believed to have been written by the Bishop of Orleans, the Abbé Bernier, who had played such an important part in the negotiation of the Concordat. It stated that the Emperor was very much surprised that any objections should have been raised to a journey which would evidently prove so useful to religion, so glorious for the Holy See and so advantageous in every way to the Church, to France and to Europe. It enumerated the services which Napoleon had rendered to the Church and which he thought to be deserving of gratitude. The churches had been reopened, their altars raised again; seminaries had been founded and chapters endowed. The Neapolitans had been made to evacuate Ancona and give up Benevento and Ponte Corvo. The town of Pesaro, the fort of San Leo and the Duchy of Urbino had been restored to the Holy See. The foreign missions had been reëstablished and the Eastern Catholics were freed from persecution and protected. In the oath to be taken by the Emperor the words "the laws of the Concordat" would mean only the Concordat, and not a combination of the Concordat with the *Articles Organiques*. The liberty of religion, "*la liberté des cultes*,"

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<sup>18</sup> D'Haussonville, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

is distinct from their essence and their constitution. It concerns only the persons who profess these religions, and to maintain it does not imply the approval of their principles or of their teaching. With regard to the *Articles Organiques*, the Emperor will listen with impartiality and respect to the Holy Father's observations, and will do what he can to satisfy him as far as it may be compatible with his position, with the welfare of the State and with his duty. The former Constitutional Bishops who still adhere to that Church shall be forced by His Majesty to respect the Concordat. The letter of invitation shall be presented to His Holiness by two Bishops, as he desires, or by Cardinal Fesch, and the reception of His Holiness in France shall be worthy of the greatness of the sovereign who has invited him and of the dignity of the Head of the Church.<sup>14</sup>

An unexpected obstacle to the journey of the Holy Father then arose. In a despatch of July 20 Cardinal Caprara announced that the Holy Father was only to anoint the Emperor, for the coronation would be considered as a purely civil ceremony and would take place in the Church of the Invalides. This was an innovation to which the Pope could not consent, and further correspondence took place with regard to this important question.

Talleyrand's letter was submitted to the thirty-four Cardinals then residing in Rome. They were not dazzled by its brilliant rhetoric nor duped by its vague diplomatic expressions. They doubted the sincerity of its flattering promises, and decided that more definite assurances should be demanded with regard to all the points to which objections had been raised.<sup>15</sup> Cardinal Consalvi in his reply repeated those demands, and also stated that the Holy Father had noted and accepted Talleyrand's formal assurance that the expression "*les lois du Concordat*" did not comprise "*les Articles Organiques*," but meant only the 17 Articles agreed upon with the Holy See. He required, however, a more exact definition of "*la liberté des cultes*," he observed that the Bishops who had belonged to the Constitutional Church had other duties to fulfill towards the Holy See besides the mere acceptance of the Concordat, and he asked for an explicit declaration that the ceremony of the coronation should not be separated from that of the anointing. Cardinal Fesch, as representing the Emperor in Rome, gave assurances on all these points which satisfied the Holy Father, and the tedious negotiation was at last ended on September 2, when Cardinal Consalvi informed Cardinal Fesch that, as His Holiness was satisfied with the assurances he had received with regard to the advantages which religion

<sup>14</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 586, Talleyrand à Caprara, 18th July, 1804.

<sup>15</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 594, Estratto analitico dei voti cardinalizi, fatto dal P. Fontana e presentato al Consalvi, 9-10 Agosto, 1804.

would derive from his journey to France, he would leave for Paris on receiving the official letter of invitation from the Emperor.<sup>16</sup>

To the Holy Father's surprise the letter was not brought to Rome by two Bishops, as had been promised, but by General Caffarelli, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp. Its tone was respectful, but dry and formal, and it did not contain the assurance which the Holy Father had demanded—that the results of the journey would be of very great advantage to religion, an assurance which alone could justify, as no purely human motive could, the very great inconvenience which would be caused by the absence of the Sovereign Pontiff from Rome. Cardinal Fesch was therefore requested to obtain another letter from Paris which should fulfill that condition, but he refused, and recalled the assurances already given by Talleyrand in his letter of July 18 that the interests of the Church would be discussed between the Sovereign Pontiff and His Majesty, and that the results of their deliberations could not fail to be useful to religion. He added that the Holy Father might repeat Talleyrand's declaration in his allocution to the Holy College. The Cardinals were again consulted and asked to give their opinion with regard to this answer of the representative of France. Only Cardinal della Somaglia's answer has been found, but it seems to have expressed the decision of the majority—namely, that in any case the journey of the Holy Father to France would probably obtain some advantages for religion, while otherwise if the Emperor were offended, it would be impossible to foresee what injury he might inflict on the Church, in which he would be supported by public opinion and by the intrigues of the powerful party of the atheists and the Jan-senists.<sup>17</sup>

Consalvi was, therefore, able to inform Cardinal Fesch on October 6 that the invitation was accepted, and the Holy Father announced his decision to the Sacred College in a Consistory held on October 29. In his allocution he praised Napoleon for having restored religion in France; it was to give, he said, as distinctly religious a character as possible to the Emperor's anointing and coronation that he had consented to go to France, and the Emperor had assured him

<sup>16</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>17</sup> Eight years later Cardinal Consalvi, while in exile at Reims, wrote in his "Memoirs:" "All that the French Government did had no other object than to bring about the Pope's journey, for that Government was resolved not to observe any of its promises." The Cardinal also stated that the Pope's answer to Cardinal Fesch was intended to be "private and confidential," but that the newspapers were allowed to publish it in order to embarrass the Holy Father and render it impossible for him to retreat in case he was dissatisfied with any ulterior measures. (Cardinal Consalvi, "Mémoires," avec Introduction et Notes par J. Crétineau-Joly, Paris, 1864, t. II., pp. 400-402.)

that the interests of religion would form the chief object of the journey.

Cardinal Consalvi would seem to have entertained very little hope that any serious advantages, either spiritual or temporal, could be obtained by the Pope's journey to Paris. He knew by personal experience how hostile to the Church were most of the men then in power in France, and that Napoleon was mainly guided by his ambition; but he feared that to the Holy Father's refusal might be falsely ascribed whatever misfortunes might assail the Church in France, and he sought at least to obtain assurances which should clearly establish the fact that religious motives alone had impelled the Sovereign Pontiff to take such an unprecedented step.<sup>18</sup> But in his letters to the Papal Nuncios in the different courts of Europe he frankly expressed his doubts and misgivings. He depicted the anxiety and the mental sufferings which the Holy Father had undergone in the course of these negotiations, and he alluded to the dangers which might have been incurred by a refusal. That the consent of the Holy Father was the result of long and serious deliberations is shown by his words to Mgr. Morozzo, the Nuncio in Florence, to whom he wrote on the day on which the Pope left Rome: "With regard to the general affliction caused by such a journey, allow me to answer you by an eloquent silence. You may see that it took us six months to say yes."<sup>19</sup>

Pius VII. left Rome on November 2, after celebrating Mass at the high altar of St. Peter's, in presence of an immense concourse of people. He was accompanied in his journey by Cardinals Antonelli, de Bayane, Borgia, Braschi. Caselli and di Pietro, five prelates and the chief officers of the Noble Guard, Prince Altieri and Duke Braschi. He had granted Cardinal Consalvi full powers for the spiritual and temporal government of the Papal States during his absence. Such was the Emperor's impatience to have his coronation speedily celebrated that courier after courier was sent to accelerate his journey. He was obliged to travel with a haste unbecoming to his dignity and injurious to his health; he was allowed to stop only two days in Florence, one in Turin and but a few hours in other places.<sup>20</sup>

It was on November 25 that the Holy Father met the Emperor in the forest of Fontainebleau at the Cross of St. Hérem, on the road from Fontainebleau to Nemours. Napoleon had decided that that day a hunt was to take place, in the course of which he should meet the Pope, apparently by chance. Savary, Duke of Rovigo,

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<sup>18</sup> Consalvi, "*Mémoires*," t. II., p. 389.

<sup>19</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>20</sup> Consalvi, "*Mémoires*," II., p. 403.

who a few months previously had presided at the execution of the Duke of Enghien, has given an account of this interview, the details of which he had probably been charged to arrange, and he confesses that the hunt was only a pretext in order to avoid all ceremony. On seeing the Emperor coming towards him, the Holy Father stopped his carriage, alighted on the wet road and went forward to meet him halfway. Savary remarks that the Pope, who was clothed in white and wore white shoes, hesitated to step down into the mud; "but," he adds, "he had to do it." "*Cependant il fallut bien qu'il en vint là.*" The Emperor's carriage was then brought up so as to come between the two sovereigns, as if by carelessness on the part of the servants. Two men had been stationed to open the doors at the same time, and as the Emperor entered on the right side, the Holy Father was forced to take his seat on the left. Savary observes triumphantly that this first step settled without any negotiations what should be the etiquette to be observed during the time of the Pope's stay in Paris.<sup>21</sup> The Holy Father remained at the Castle of Fontainebleau for three days, and when he entered Paris with the Emperor he was, indeed, placed at his right hand, but the entry took place at night, so that the people should not remark the subordinate position held by their sovereign.<sup>22</sup>

The marriage of General Bonaparte, then a penniless young officer, to Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, the widow of Viscount Alexander de Beauharnais, which had taken place on March 11, 1796, at the municipality of the second *Arrondissement* of Paris, was a purely civil ceremony. Owing to the proscription of the clergy under the Directory, it would have been almost impossible at that time to have found a priest, and the indifference to all religious observances which then prevailed may also account for this neglect to obtain the blessing of the Church. In the following years Josephine had frequently asked Cardinal Fesch to persuade Bonaparte to have their marriage religiously celebrated, but without success. It has been usually believed that on the eve of the coronation the Empress, who was aware that Napoleon already thought of divorcing her, revealed to the Holy Father that she had been only civilly married, and that Pius VII. declared that unless her marriage were blessed by the Church he should refuse to perform the ceremony of the following day. On learning this decision Napoleon was much irritated, but finally yielded, on condition that the marriage should be celebrated secretly and without witnesses by Cardinal Fesch, who at once obtained the necessary dispensations from the

<sup>21</sup> "Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo pour servir à l'histoire de l'Empereur Napoléon," Édition nouvelle, Paris, 1900, t. II., p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Consalvi, "Mémoires," II., p. 403.

Holy Father.<sup>23</sup> Another theory is founded on the declaration made by the Cardinal on December 26, 1809, before the *Comité Ecclésiastique* which was examining the question of Napoleon's divorce.<sup>24</sup> It was substantially the same as that which he made on January 6, 1810, to the diocesan official. Napoleon had sent for him on December 1, 1804, and told him that the Empress wished to receive the nuptial benediction, and that he consented, but that he insisted on absolute secrecy. Fesch then went to the Pope, and without declaring to him the state of affairs, told him that in his position as Grand Almoner he was or might sometimes be in very embarrassing situations and unable to have recourse to the authority of the Archbishop of Paris, because he should have to mention to him facts of the utmost importance which ought to remain concealed, as well as for other great and urgent reasons. The Pope replied: "I give you all the powers which I can give you." The Cardinal had then thought that he was sufficiently authorized to celebrate their Majesties' marriage without witnesses or previous publication of banns. When two days later the Empress asked him for a marriage certificate, he at first refused, but on her assuring him that the Emperor had consented, he granted it. Napoleon was, however, very angry with him for doing so.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> D'Haussonville, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 354. Henri Welschinger, "Le Pape et l'Empereur" (1804-1815), Paris, 1905, p. 30.

<sup>24</sup> When Pius VII. was imprisoned at Savona Napoleon formed, on 18th November, 1809, an Ecclesiastical Council, which he called his "Concili de Conscience," to help him to solve the religious difficulties which had arisen in Italy and in France. It was composed of Cardinal Fesch, president; de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes; Mannay, Bishop of Trèves; Bourlier, Bishop of Breux; Canaveri, Bishop of Vercelli; the Abbé Emery, superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and Padre Fontana, the general of the Barnabite order. Cardinal Fesch always showed himself thoroughly impartial; he blamed the way in which the Pope was treated, and sought to make amends for his imperious conduct when Ambassador at Rome. The Abbé Emery was the most highly esteemed and respected by Napoleon on account of the frankness and the courage with which he dared to oppose him. Padre Fontana, who resigned almost immediately, was devoted to the Church and to the Papacy, and was imprisoned from 1810 to 1814. The other members, though they were pious and learned prelates, were too subservient to the Emperor and too ready to make concessions to him. The Council was reorganized in January, 1811, with the addition of Cardinal Maury. Padre Fontana was replaced by Cardinal Caselli, and the Abbé de Prado, named Archbishop of Malines, replaced the Bishop of Vercelli. (Welschinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 158.)

<sup>25</sup> Welschinger, "Le Divorce de Napoléon," Paris, 1889, p. 99, gives Cardinal Fesch's declaration to the diocesan official on January 6, 1810. Father Bernard Duhr, in the "Leitschrift für Katholische Theologie," 1888, p. 601, believes that the Pope did not ask to have the marriage celebrated, and knew nothing about it, but gave the Cardinal extraordinary and general faculties on which he acted. He quotes the declaration made by Fesch on December 26, 1809, from *Le Correspondant*, 1856, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 958.

The ceremonial which should be followed at the Emperor's coronation was discussed at a meeting of the Council of State held at St. Cloud on June 14, and it was decided that the Emperor was not to receive the imperial insignia from the Pope, but to enter the church wearing them, lay them down to be blessed and take them up again.<sup>26</sup> On September 1, Portalis, the *Minister des cultes*, was charged with the regulation of the ceremonies. He suggested that they should be selected from the Roman ritual, and the *Cérémonial Français* formerly used at Reims for the coronation of the Kings of France, and that whatever did not suit modern French ideas should be set aside.<sup>27</sup> Cambacérès was named as his collaborator, and M. de Ségur, the grand master of the ceremonies, the Abbé de Pradt, and probably also Talleyrand were consulted. The Emperor, too, suggested some important changes, although Cardinal Fesch had assured him that the Roman ritual should be followed. This revised ceremonial, which omitted some of the old ceremonies and introduced others, accompanied by new forms of prayer, was presented to the Holy Father at a rather late hour on the eve of the coronation.<sup>28</sup> He consented to most of the changes, but some he refused to accept, and Napoleon was obliged to yield to his remonstrances.

The Cathedral of Notre Dame had been decorated with great splendor for the occasion. Outside it was surrounded by a Gothic portico leading from the main entrance to the Archbishop's palace, and the interior was hung with heavy draperies of green velvet embroidered with gold. The Papal throne stood on the left side of the choir. Two smaller thrones for the sovereigns were placed at the foot of the altar, and at the west end of the church, a short distance from the great door, was a throne raised upon twenty-four steps, where they were to take their seats when crowned. The Holy Father, who left the Tuileries at 9, put on the Pontifical vestments in the Archbishop's palace, whence he entered the Cathedral under a canopy borne by the canons, while an orchestra of 460 musicians intoned the "*Tu es Petrus*." The delay of an hour and a half which followed before the arrival of the sovereigns had unfortunately the appearance of a deliberate intention to insult and humiliate the Holy Father, though it may be accounted for by the fact that, lest the two processions should meet, the Emperor had set out an hour later, and on arriving at the Archbishop's palace had to be clothed in the imperial robes. His procession, consisting of his marshals and the chief officers of State, wearing the splendid costumes designed by

<sup>26</sup> "Mémoires de Miot de Méliot, Conseiller d'État" (1762-1841), t. II., p. 195.

<sup>27</sup> "Le Livre du Sacre de l'Empereur Napoléon." Dessiné par Isabey. Texte par Frédéric Masson, Paris, 1908. F. Masson, "Le Sacre et le Couronnement de Napoléon," fifth edition, Paris, 1908.

<sup>28</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 114.



the painter David, passed through the portico and entered the Cathedral by the great door. The Emperor wore the imperial mantle; he held in his right hand the sceptre bearing an eagle, in his left a smaller sceptre surmounted by an ivory hand called *la main de justice*. He was crowned with a golden laurel wreath like the Roman Emperors, and the globe, the sword and the imperial were carried before him.<sup>29</sup> According to the French ritual the ceremony by the presentation of the King to the Archbishop of Reims, the celebrant, by two Bishops, who, in reply to the questions addressed to them, declared that they knew him to be worthy of the crown. He was then exhorted by the celebrant in a short discourse to perform his duties towards God, the Church and his subjects. For this part of the ceremony was substituted, at the Emperor's request, the chant of the *Veni Creator*, and the Emperor while kneeling gave the sceptre, the hand of justice, the mantle, the crown and the sword to various dignitaries to lay upon the altar. He then took the oath as given in the Roman ritual, by which he promised to observe and uphold the laws; to preserve peace for the Church and for the people, and to render due respect to the chief pastors of the Church; but the clause in the original by which the enjoyment of their property was guaranteed to the churches was omitted. The Litany was then sung. It was followed by the anointing of the sovereigns on the hands and on the forehead by the Holy Father, who then began to say Mass. At the Gradual he blessed the sword, the mantles, the rings, the crowns, in the order which had been assigned to them by the Emperor. In the Roman ritual these blessings were not prescribed; in the *Cérémonial Français* no blessing was pronounced over the mantle or the crown, and prayers, which the Pope was asked to accept, had therefore to be composed for the purpose.<sup>30</sup> The Emperor then received from the Holy Father the ring, the sword, the hand of justice and the imperial mantle, but he had already informed the Pope that he intended to crown himself. According to the *Cérémonial Français*, eleven of the great peers of France<sup>31</sup> held the crown over the King's head, and the twelfth, the Archbishop of Reims, lowered it upon him. But Napoleon had declared that he wished to avoid any discussion between the dignitaries of the empire who might lay claim to give him the crown in

<sup>29</sup> This was one of the Emperor's innovations. According to the "*Cérémonial Français*," the sovereign to be crowned entered the cathedral wearing a tunic. The Roman ritual required him to be clothed in armor.

<sup>30</sup> "*Livre du Sacre*," p. 110.

<sup>31</sup> The peers of France in the thirteenth century were the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Guyenne, the Counts of Toulouse, of Flanders and of Champagne, the Archbishop of Reims, the Bishops of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Châlons and Noyon. When those peerages had ceased to exist they were represented by other nobles.

the name of the people, and that it would suffice if, while he crowned himself, the Pope were to recite the usual prayer. Pius VII. seems to have assuiesced. Napoleon stood, therefore, before the altar, girt with the sword, wearing the imperial mantle and carrying the sceptre and the hand of justice, while the Holy Father gave Josephine the mantle and the ring. He then gave the hand of justice to the *Archichancelier* Cambacérés, the sceptre to the *Architrésorier* Lebrun, and going up to the altar took the crown and crowned himself. Then, taking the Empress' crown, he placed it on her head, while the Pope recited the prayers used at a coronation.<sup>32</sup> The sovereigns were then led by the Pope to the throne at the end of the church, where, having seated them, he turned to the assistants and exclaimed: "*Vivat Imperator in æternus!*" The words were taken up by all present; the choir repeated them, and the guns stationed on the banks of the Seine fired a salute. The Holy Father then returned to his throne, where he intoned the *Te Deum*, at the close of which he continued the Mass to the end.<sup>33</sup>

According to the Roman ritual and the *Cérémonial Français* it was the custom for the sovereign to receive Holy Communion at the Mass of the coronation, and the ceremonies which should accompany it were inserted in the work on the coronation which had been drawn up according to the Emperor's instructions. As, however, he did not wish to go to confession, it was decided that it should not take place. When the Mass was ended the Holy Father left the Cathedral for the chapel of the Treasury, where he was to lay aside the Pontifical vestments, and during that time the Emperor took the oath prescribed by the *Senatus Consultum* which had raised him to the throne and which the Pope refused to sanction by his presence. It was administered by the Grand Almoner, Cardinal Fesch, who

<sup>32</sup> The publication by Padre Rinaldi of the original text of the prayers and the ceremonies employed at the coronation, as they had been arranged by Napoleon, refutes the legend, which appears to have been first related by M. Thiers, and which has been since repeated by other historians, namely, that Napoleon seized the crown before the Pope could take it up and crowned himself. The painter Isabey had been commissioned, together with the architects Percier and Fontaine, to paint the principal events of the ceremony. In the engraving in the "*Livre du Sacre*," which represents the coronation, Pius VII. is shown seated before the altar, while Napoleon stands at the epistle side, wearing the imperial mantle and with his left hand on the hilt of his sword. The crown which he is in the act of placing on his head is the golden laurel wreath which he wore on entering the church. An imperial crown, representing that of Charlemagne, is on the altar. It is also the laurel crown which he is shown wearing in the scene of the enthronization.

<sup>33</sup> This was perhaps the only point of the ceremonial with regard to which the Pope's objections prevailed over Napoleon's will. The Emperor had wished the "*Te Deum*" to be sung at the end of the Mass, after he had taken the oath prescribed by the *Senatus Consultum*.

carried the book of the Gospels from the altar to the imperial throne, and at the end the chief herald called out from the steps of the throne: "*Le très glorieux et très auguste Empereur Napoléon, Empereur des Français, est couronné et intronisé! Vive l'Empereur!*" The cry was answered by the acclamations of the brilliant crowd of officers and civil dignitaries which filled the church, and more salvos of artillery announced the end of the ceremony.

After the departure of their Majesties the Pope reentered the Cathedral and passed through it in procession to the Archbishop's palace while the choir again sang the "*Tu es Petrus.*"

Pius VII. did not obtain those advantages for the Church which he had been led to believe would be the result of the sacrifices he made in undertaking the journey to Paris. He had at least the satisfaction of reconciling again with the Church the four Constitutional Bishops, who since their institution by Cardinal Caprara had relapsed into the schism. They now yielded to the affectionate remonstrances of the Holy Father and consented to sign a declaration by which they submitted to the decisions of the Holy See upon the ecclesiastical affairs of France.

The enthusiasm with which the Pope was received whenever he appeared in public must have shown him that though infidelity still predominated among the higher classes and in official circles, the sentiments of religion had not disappeared from the minds of the people. He could not, however, obtain the revocation of the *Articles Organiques*, nor the abolition of the law which sanctioned divorce, nor the restitution of the provinces which had been detached from the States of the Church by the Treaty of Tolentino. He had also asked that Catholicism should be acknowledged as the religion of the State; that the former laws regarding the observance of Sundays and feast days should be reënacted; that religious congregations of men should be allowed, and the salaries of the clergy augmented. M. Portalis was charged to reply to these demands and to clothe with an outward show of courtesy and a semblance of religious feeling the Emperor's decided resolution not to yield on these points. He mentioned, indeed, certain concessions which had already been made. Some congregations had been reestablished, such as that of the Foreign Missions, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, the Sisters of Mercy. The ancient foundations in various parts of France belonging to the Irish, in which the Pope took a special interest, had been united in one, which the government promised to assist.<sup>34</sup> Chaplains had also been appointed in the army and the

<sup>34</sup> "Correspondance de Napoléon I." t. VIII, p. 88, No. 6,375, 16th October, 1802. The Irish Colleges established at Toulouse, Bordeaux, Nantes, Douai, Lille, Antwerp, Louvain and the Scotch College of Douai are united with

navy, and the Bishops were granted a share in the management of the *Lycées* or government schools. On the other hand, the laws on the observance of Sunday could not be reënacted, but public functionaries had been forbidden to work on that day. The law which authorized divorce could not be repealed, but the clergy could refuse to celebrate the marriage of people who had been divorced.

The reply to the Pope's request that the Legations might be restored to the Holy See was entrusted to Talleyrand, who sought to compensate for the harshness of the Emperor's decision not to give up the lost territories by vague promises of future protection and protestations of admiration for the Holy Father's virtues and of devotedness to his interests. Even Napoleon thought Talleyrand's assurances insufficient, and to raise the hopes of Pius VII. he added some lines, in which he declared that if God should prolong his life he hoped to find opportunities which might enable him to consolidate and extend the Holy Father's possessions, and that even then he would help to extricate him from the difficulties caused by the late war. He would thus give a proof of his veneration for the Holy Father and of his desire to augment the splendor of our religion and cause it to be respected. Faithful to the plan which he had adopted from the beginning, he would glory in being one of the strongest supporters of the Holy See. He wished that the efforts which he had made to reunite to it the heart and the faith of the first nation in the world should be placed among the deeds which had illustrated his career.<sup>35</sup>

These eloquent protestations of devotedness to the interests of religion form a striking contrast with the crimes against the Holy See of which Napoleon was guilty shortly afterwards. Even then Pius VII. could perceive how little Napoleon cared for the interests of the Church. While his demands for the restitution of the Legations were being answered with eloquent promises for the future the Emperor was preparing to change into a kingdom the Cisalpine Republic, of which those provinces formed a part. He announced his project at a special meeting of the Senate on March 7, 1805, as well as his intention of taking the crowns of the Lombard Kings at Milan, but added that the kingdom should remain separate from the empire, and be inherited by one of his children.<sup>36</sup>

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the Irish and Scotch Colleges of Paris. The Irish and Scotch Colleges of Paris shall be united in a single establishment. The director was to be alternately an Irishman or a Scotchman.

<sup>35</sup> D'Haussonville, *op. cit.*, I., 375. Consalvi, "Mémoires," t. II., p. 407.

<sup>36</sup> On the coat-of-arms of the new kingdom were emblazoned, among other quarterings, the Papal keys and the Lion of Venice, as emblems indicating the origin of the provinces of which it was composed. (Consalvi, *op. cit.*, t. II., 410.)

Pius VII. had long been anxious to return to Rome, but under the pretext that the weather was bad and the roads dangerous Napoleon detained him in Paris in the hope, it was said, that he might be induced to crown him at Milan. When the Emperor at last left Paris for Milan on April 2, he decided that the Holy Father should follow him on the 6th and celebrate the feast of Easter at Chalons-sur-Saone, while he was to pass that day at Lyons, a much more important town, and where he apparently feared that the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff might deprive him of the homage of the multitude which he considered to be due exclusively to himself.

After crossing the Alps and passing through Turin, Parma and Modena, Pius VII. spent two days at Florence, where he received the abjuration of Scipione Ricci, the former Bishop of Pistoia and Prato. In a recent number of this REVIEW<sup>37</sup> have been described the efforts made by this prelate, aided by the Grand Duke Leopold I., to diffuse Jansenism throughout Tuscany, and the Synod which he held in Pistoia in 1786, the acts which were solemnly condemned in 1794 by the bull "*Auctorem Fidei*." After the election of Pius VII. Ricci had sent him a retraction of his errors, but this letter, as well as others previously addressed to the Archbishop of Florence, was found to contain equivocal expressions intended to dissimulate his adherence to the condemned doctrines. Ricci resigned his bishopric in 1800, but made no reply to the warnings he received from Cardinal Consalvi, and informed the Secretary of the Nuncio in Florence that he intended to "observe a respectful silence." When Pius VII. came to Florence the Queen of Etruria, Maria Louisa,<sup>38</sup> expressed to Ricci her wish that he should be reconciled with the Holy Father, and after a long hesitation he signed a form of abjuration presented to him by Mgr. Fenaia, the Vicegerent of Pius VII. He was then affectionately received by the Holy Father, but his Memoirs show that even while signing his retraction he persisted in maintaining, according to the usual custom of the Jansenists, that he had never held the erroneous doctrines condemned by the bull of Pius VI. It is even believed that though continuing to profess outwardly the sentiments declared in his retraction, his opinions, to judge by his Memoirs, underwent no modification up to the time of his death in 1810.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Vol. XXXI., July, 1906.

<sup>38</sup> Ferdinand III., the son of Leopold I., was expelled by the Directory in 1799. By the treaty of Luneville, in 1801, he was given the Duchy of Salzburg as compensation, and Tuscany was made into the Kingdom of Etruria for Louis of Bourbon, Duke of Parma, who had been deprived of his State. The kingdom was united to the French Empire in 1807 and formed into three departments.

<sup>39</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

The friendly relations which apparently existed between the Sovereign Pontiff and the Emperor were soon broken off by the latter, owing to the mania for universal domination both in political and religious matters, which ultimately caused his downfall. Napoleon's first infringement of the rights of the Holy See was the edict published at Milan on June 8, 1805, shortly after he had crowned himself with the iron crown of the Lombard Kings. By this decree, it is true, he reorganized the ecclesiastical affairs which had been thrown into disorder by the revolutionary government of the Cisalpine Republic; he reestablished several of the congregations which had been suppressed; he put the Bishops, the seminaries and the parish churches in possession of a great part of their former revenues. But the same decree introduced the *Code Napoléon*, which authorized divorce; it ordered the property of the convents and monasteries which had been suppressed to be sold and the proceeds to be paid to the State; it fixed the age at which the monastic vows could be pronounced, and it had been drawn up and published without the coöperation of the Holy See, which was required by the regulations of the Concordat recently made between the Sovereign Pontiff and the Cisalpine Republic.<sup>40</sup>

Pius VII. vainly remonstrated against this infraction of a solemn treaty. Napoleon replied, with some irritation, that the Holy See was slow in its action and would have taken some years to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy; that he had therefore hastened to put them in order, and that he had empowered Cardinal Fesch to discuss the matter in Rome and to consent to whatever modifications should be possible. But Cardinal Fesch was warned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that this discussion was to arrive at no result, and that the Emperor wished to hear no more about it.<sup>41</sup>

A more serious cause of disagreement, and one more displeasing to the Emperor, then arose. Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome, whom he had placed in the navy, had married at Baltimore on 24th December, 1803,<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth Patterson, the daughter of a wealthy merchant of that city. He was then a minor and had not obtained

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<sup>40</sup> It had been signed in Paris on September 16, 1803, by Cardinal Caprara, acting for the Holy See, and by Ferdinando Mareschalchi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Cisalpine Republic. Padre Mario Rinaldi, S. J., "*La Diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX.*," Roma, 1902, t. II, pp. 219 and 315.

<sup>41</sup> Cesare Cantù, "*Corrispondenze di diplomatici della Repubblica e del Regno d'Italia*" (1796-1814), Milano, 1884, p. 321. Instructions given to the Marchese di Blarago, Plenipotentiary Minister of the Kingdom of Italy to the Holy See.

<sup>42</sup> The marriage was celebrated by Bishop John Carroll (1785-1815), one of the Carrolls of Carrollton, an old Maryland family. Named Bishop of Baltimore in 1789, the first Bishop in the United States, and made Archbishop shortly before his death.

by two decrees dated 2d and 21st March, but he wished to obtain also a bull from the Holy See to the same effect. He founded his demand especially on the fact that the lady was a Protestant, and that it was of importance for the interests of religion in France that he should not have a Protestant so closely connected with him.

Jerome returned to Europe by way of Lisbon. He met the Emperor at Milan in the early part of May and seems to have been soon persuaded to allow his marriage to be annulled. The Emperor had already given orders that if Miss Patterson attempted to land she should be sent to Amsterdam and put on board a ship bound for America, but she took refuge in England. Pius VII. examined carefully the three memorials against the validity of the marriage which Napoleon had caused to be drawn up, and found that it was not in his power to annul it. In his reply to the Emperor he pointed out to him that "though marriages between Catholics and Protestants are abhorred by the Church, she considers them valid." The clandestinity of the marriage caused by the absence of the parish priest is an impediment established by the Council of Trent, but it exists only in the countries where its "decree, chapter I., section 24, *de Reformatione matrimonii*, has been published, and even there only with regard to the persons for whom it has been published." The Holy Father ordered most careful researches to be made in the archives of the Propaganda and of the Inquisition, but could not find that such had been the case, and the decree of a Synod held by the Bishop of Baltimore gave him further proof that it had not been published. Pius VII. therefore declared that he had not the power to annul a marriage of which the invalidity could not be proved.<sup>48</sup> Napoleon, who was already accustomed to be blindly obeyed, could not understand how a feeble and unimportant sovereign like the Pope could dare to resist his will, and ascribed it to a desire to be revenged for his refusal to restore the Legations. In October, 1806, he caused Jerome's marriage to be annulled by the diocesan officiality of Paris, and in August, 1807, he made him marry Frederica Catherine, the daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, a Protestant Princess. In a letter to the Emperor the Holy Father showed his disapprobation of this marriage by expressing a hope that, after the examination which he had made of the reasons which had been brought forward regarding the nullity of the Prince's first marriage, new and valid arguments had been found which had not been sub-

the consent of his mother, Madame Bonaparte, who made a formal protest against the marriage on February 22, 1805. As a *Senatus Consultum* of 18th May, 1804, had given the Emperor full jurisdic-

<sup>48</sup> Artand de Montor, "Histoire du Pape Pie VII.," Paris, 1836, t. II., p. 67. Letter of Pius VII. to Napoleon, 26th June, 1805.

tion over the members of his family, he declared the marriage null and void, which were therefore completely unknown to him, and in consequence of which this marriage had taken place.<sup>44</sup>

Napoleon soon showed how very little gratitude he felt for the great service which the Holy Father had rendered to him, and how little he respected the rights of another sovereign when his own interests were concerned. Since some years a French garrison of from 15,000 to 20,000 men, commanded by General Gouvion de St. Cyr, had occupied Otranto, in Calabria, to guard against any alliance between the King of Naples and England or Russia. King Ferdinand was anxious that these troops should be withdrawn, and by a treaty signed in Paris on September 22 and ratified at Portici on October 8, 1805, he promised to observe a strict neutrality and not to allow the soldiers of the hostile powers to enter his States. Napoleon was then on the point of leaving Paris to open the campaign in which he suddenly and unexpectedly turned against Austria the great army which he had collected at Boulogne for the invasion of England. He was glad to be able to reinforce the troops which Marshal Massena commanded in Lombardy, and thus enable it to cooperate with those which he led. General St. Cyr was therefore ordered to march towards the north of Italy, and while on his way to place a garrison at Ancona,<sup>45</sup> which he did towards the end of October.

This unprovoked aggression on the part of the Emperor for whom he had done so much caused Pius VII. great surprise and uneasiness. He sent to Napoleon on November 13 a strong protest against this violation of his territory, which he had done nothing to deserve. His conduct towards the Emperor had given him the right to expect that he should be treated differently, but ever since his return from Paris he had experienced nothing but affronts and acts of discourtesy. As he wished to remain absolutely neutral, he demanded that Ancona should be evacuated or he would cease all relations with the Emperor's representative in Rome. Napoleon returned no answer to this letter until January 7, 1806, when he replied to it from Munich. Much had happened in the interval to inspire him with an exaggerated idea of his power, a greater contempt for his enemies and a more lively feeling of exasperation against all who dared to oppose him. His skillfully planned campaign had succeeded even beyond his hopes. The Austrians and the Russians had been beaten

<sup>44</sup> Artand de Montor, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 177. Letter of Pius VII. to Napoleon, undated, but probably of September, 1807. D'Haussonville, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 425.

<sup>45</sup> "Correspondance de Napoléon I.," t. XI, p. 298, No. 9,263. Paris, 23d September, 1805. To General Gouvion Saint-Cyr. He is ordered to march towards Pesaro. "En passant, vous placerez aussi garnison à Ancône."



in a series of victories, the most decisive of which was that of Austerlitz on December 2. The remains of the Russian army had been allowed to retreat, and Austria had sued for peace, which had been granted by the Treaty of Presburg. By it Venice, the Venetian provinces and Dalmatia were united to the kingdom of Italy, the Electors of Bavaria and of Wurtemberg had their States enlarged at the expense of Austria and received the title of King. At Naples an army of about 14,000 Russians from Corfu, under General Lasey, and 10,000 English from Malta, under Sir James Craig, had landed 19th November without opposition from the King and taken up positions in the neighborhood. But after the signature of the peace of Presburg Napoleon announced to his soldiers that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to exist. The Russians were ordered to return to Corfu, and the English, too few to be able to resist after the departure of their allies, retired to Sicily.<sup>46</sup>

It was, therefore, in a tone of studied insolence, and as though Pius VII. had seriously offended him by daring to protest against the seizure of Ancona, that he accused the Holy Father of listening to evil counsels and of rejecting all his demands. He asserted that it was as protector of the Holy See, the troops of which were badly organized, that he had occupied Ancona to save it from falling into the hands of the English and the Russians. He declared that he would continue to protect the Holy See, in spite of its blunders and its ingratitude, for he considered himself, like his predecessors of the second and third dynasties, as being the eldest son of the Church, and the only one who had the sword for her defense. Whenever the Holy Father would listen only to the counsels of his heart and to those of the true friends of religion, he would be his friend.

In a letter of the same date to Cardinal Fesch Napoleon displayed still more contempt for the Holy See. He called the Pope's protest ridiculous and insane. He ordered Fesch to declare that he would tolerate no Russian or Sardinian representatives in Rome. If Cardinal Consalvi loved his country, he should resign or do his bidding. Like Constantine, he, too, could appoint a Senator to govern in his name in Rome. "With regard to the Pope, I am Charlemagne, because, like Charlemagne, I unite the crown of France to that of the Lombards, and my empire touches the East. Their conduct (that of the Pope and the Cardinals) towards me must be regulated from that point of view. If they behave well, I shall make no change in outward appearances; if they do not, I shall reduce the Pope to be Bishop of Rome."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> "Correspondance de Napoléon I.," t. XI, p. 620, No. 9,626. Ducamp Impérial de Schoenbrunn, Décembre 27, 1805. "Annual Register," 1806, p. 135.

<sup>47</sup> "Correspondance de Napoléon I.," t. XI, p. 643, No. 9,656. Munich, 7th January, 1806. To Cardinal Fesch.

His letter to Pius VII. on February 13 was still more explicit. He blamed him for the consideration which he showed to heretical powers, and told him: "Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor. All my enemies must be yours. It is not becoming that any agent of the King of Sardinia, or any English, Russians or Swedes should reside in Rome or in your States, or that any vessel belonging to these powers should enter your ports." Cardinal Fesch was ordered at the same time to insist that these demands should be satisfied and to inform the Papal Government that "I (Napoleon) am Charlemagne, the sword of the Church, their Emperor; that I must be treated as such; that they should not know if an empire of Russia exists. I inform the Pope of my intentions in a few words. If he does not acquiesce, I shall reduce him to the condition in which he was before Charlemagne."

Before answering these almost insane outbursts of wounded vanity and arrogance on the part of the Emperor, intoxicated with his brilliant military success, the Holy Father consulted the Cardinals then present in Rome to the number of thirty-two, and with only one exception, that of Cardinal Bayane, a Frenchman, who believed that submission to the will of the Emperor would be more prudent, they replied that the independence of the Holy See should be maintained at any price, as it was so intimately connected with the advantage of religion. Pius VII. then replied to the Emperor (21st March, 1806) in a frank and outspoken tone such as Napoleon was not accustomed to hear. He pointed out to him that the duties inseparable from his position rendered it impossible for him to yield to the Emperor's demands. It was his duty to be at peace with all, without making any distinction between Catholics and Protestants. He could not infringe that rule unless it were necessary to repel a hostile invasion. Moreover, there were millions of Catholics in the Empire of Russia and in the Kingdom of England, where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion. What would become of them if those governments were irritated by the unprovoked expulsion of their subjects and the closure of the ports? To Napoleon's haughty assertion that he was Emperor of Rome, Pius VII. replied that the Sovereign Pontiff had never acknowledged within his States any power superior to his own, and that no Emperor could claim any right over Rome. Charlemagne had found Rome in the hands of the Popes; he confirmed their possessions without reserve and enlarged them by new donations. He bore the title of *Avvocato*, or Defender of the Roman Church, and like the other Princes who also bore it, sought to protect her from war, and not to drag her into it. To pretend that His Majesty's enemies should also be those of the Holy See would oblige the Pope to make war against any Cath-

olic power with which His Majesty should be at war. It would render the Sovereign Pontiff the vassal of the French Empire.<sup>48</sup>

But Napoleon's pride was too great to allow itself to be influenced by any appeal to his sense of justice or gratitude. Talleyrand was instructed to inform Cardinal Caprara that the Emperor was much irritated by the Holy Father's communication of his letters to the College of Cardinals, which he looked upon as a breach of confidence and an act of perfidy on the part of Consalvi, although Cardinal Fesch had insisted upon it. From thence forward Napoleon's hostility and his designs against the temporal power of the Holy See showed themselves more openly, and aggressions against the Papal Government quickly followed each other.

In spite of the overbearing manners constantly displayed by Cardinal Fesch and his enmity towards Cardinal Consalvi, Napoleon felt that he could not reckon on his help to carry out his plans against Rome. He was therefore recalled and replaced on May 17 by M. Alquier, who had been Ambassador at Naples. His departure was followed by the seizure of Civit  Vecchia in the beginning of June by a body of French troops, who were apparently on their way from Naples to Tuscany. This took place without any negotiation with the Papal Government, as in the case of Ancona, and simply because it suited the Emperor to command the coast of the Mediterranean as well as that of the Adriatic. At the same time a decree sent to the Senate and published in the *Moniteur* of 6th June, 1806, declared that as the duchies of Benevento and Pontecorvo (two Papal provinces situated within the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples) had been a source of litigation between the King of Naples and the Court of Rome, in order to end these difficulties they were made into fiefs immediately dependent on the empire. The former of these was given to Talleyrand, the latter to Marshal Bernadotte, and in both cases with the title of Prince.

Cardinal Consalvi was then forced to resign. He had long been the object of calumnious attacks on the part of the Emperor, who believed, or feigned to believe, that it was he who encouraged Pius VII. in his resistance to the imperial will; that he was sold to the English, and was organizing a revolt against France. In the hope, therefore, that his retiring from public life might appease the Emperor and avert the storm which threatened the Papacy, the Cardinal gave up his post on June 17 and was succeeded by Cardinal Casoni.

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<sup>48</sup> Artand de Montor, *op. cit.*, t. II., p. 125.

But this sacrifice could not stop the onward march of Napoleon's aggressive policy, for he had now thrown aside all semblance of respect for the Sovereign Pontiff. In July General Lemarrois, an *aide-de-camp* of the Emperor's, was ordered to seize all the taxes paid to the Papal Government in the duchy of Urbino, the province of Macerata and at Sinigallia and Pesaro. At Civit  Vecchia, Mgr. Negreta, the Papal Governor, having refused to obey General Duhesme, the commander of the imperial troops, was seized and sent to Rome. But these spoliations and the violent language employed by the Emperor towards Cardinal Caprara could not intimidate the Holy Father or the College of Cardinals and cause him to close his ports to English vessels or allow the fortresses of the Papal States to be occupied by the French troops in the case of the landing of a hostile army, even though the Emperor should guarantee to him the possession of his States in the event of his complying.

In September, 1807, General Lemarrois was named Governor General of Ancona, Macerata, Fermo, Spoleto and Urbino; but the Holy Father still resisted. He would not consent to enter into a federation with France, which would place him in a state of perpetual warfare. He would not allow his communications with the Catholics of the British Empire to be interrupted. He refused to renounce the rights of the Holy See over Benevento and Pontecorvo; to raise the number of the French Cardinals to one-third of the Sacred College, and the Cardinals whom he consulted also rejected these demands.

Napoleon then executed the plan of campaign which he had long prepared. General Miollis received orders to march with 2,500 men from Tuscany towards Perugia, while Lemarrois led the same number to Foligno. There Miollis took the command and marched upon Rome, under the pretext of passing through it on his way to Naples. Joseph Bonaparte, recently named King of Naples, was to send 3,000 men to Terracina, and there wait for orders from Miollis. Napoleon insisted on both secrecy and rapidity in this operation. Miollis on entering Rome was to seize the Castle of St. Angelo, and if any insurrection broke out, he was to suppress it with grapeshot. The carefully prepared plot succeeded without any resistance on the part of the Papal troops. On the morning of February 2, 1808, the French entered Rome by the Piazza del Popolo. The Papal soldiers were disarmed, the Castle of St. Angelo seized. The Palace of the Quirinal was surrounded with cavalry and infantry and a battery of eight guns was pointed against it. Pius VII. was at that moment celebrating the feast of the Purification in his private chapel in presence of the Sacred College. The ceremony proceeded without interruption, and at its close "the French officers," says Cardinal

Pacca, "were surprised to see the Cardinals enter their carriages and drive away without showing on their countenances any signs of emotion."

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

## THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS AN EXPEDIENCY.

A CONCLUSION one may safely come to is that the suppression of the Templars was rendered expedient by the danger of a schism into which Philip IV. would have carried France. The absolute authority of the Holy See in a matter of the kind is elementary law. In the decree this is implied by way of recital, as if Clement anticipated criticisms on his justice in the matter. If he expected criticism, he was not mistaken, for there has been no public act of the Holy See so warmly debated.

The sound view I submit is that Clement understood his age. It was no longer possible to launch the States of Europe on a crusade by appeals to devotion to the Cross and pity for the Christians of the East "in the danger" of the infidel. The knight and noble, the esquire and the novice of chivalry might still spit out when they spoke the name of Mohammed,<sup>1</sup> but they had their pursuits at home and they recognized to the full extent their liege lord's claims. The liege lord himself thought his interests lay if not within his own domain, at least on his frontiers; and he had a good reason, for his neighbors—sovereign dukes or counts, knights or barons, would take advantage of his absence to seize upon his territory. Not a single State could be trusted. The maritime republics whose fleets were the principal means of transportation from Europe fought each other and entered into alliance with the Saracens against each other and against the cause of the Christian commonwealth when it suited their interest. It is no exaggeration to say that Venice drove as hard a bargain with the Crusaders to carry them across the Adriatic as though there were no common idea in the enterprise. Genoa was baser, if possible, than her rival, for she openly fought for the Turk, as they frequently called the Saracens, against her rival. Venice for every service must obtain lines of seacoast, ports and commercial cities and stations all round the Adriatic to the archipelago and along Asia Minor to the Levant. When the

<sup>1</sup> The Crusader's form of Mohammed. The Crusaders called this battle-cry of the Moslems thus: "Lillies;" for the war shout, "Allah il Allah Mohammed." Resoul Allah had such a sound borne from a distance.

European princes saw their resources squandered, their subjects decimated in the East apparently for no purpose but to enrich Italian trailing towns and to maintain titular Kings of Jerusalem, Orientalized Norman, Italian and French dukes, marquises and counts here and there from Damascus to Ptolemais, from Engadine to Pilgrim Castle, they do not surprise one by their lack of enthusiasm for crusading. The Popes could only organize a crusade by paying Kings and nobles as an Italian despot of the same time, an Italian republic of the same time would hire mercenaries for those bloodless battles which were the scorn and laughter of the German and the Frenchman.

The money was hard to get, and much of what was got remained with collectors, with great and small nobles and sovereign princes for the exeat of what went to Rome. This Boniface VIII. was blind to. The influence of the Holy See was apparently at the zenith; in reality it was sapped by the Renaissance at the close of the thirteenth century. No doubt the moral ruin of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Renaissances was not reached; there was at least the intellectual habit of virtue, patriotism, loyalty and respect for religion, but it had no more authority than the black man's fetish. It was beaten, this mental virtue, like the fetish when the rainmaker brought down no showers to the parched earth, when the sunshine priest failed to call out heat and light from the dense masses of cloud whose contents were turning the country into a swamp. The baronage of Rome would throng around a Pope's palfrey to-day, put him on a donkey to-morrow, the sacred feet bound beneath the animal's belly, the blessed face turned to its tail.

Indeed, the wonder is how any man could desire the greatest and most unhappy dignity on earth; how any Pope could live among the detestable baronage and populace of Rome. Popes saw what Italy was from Rome to Spartivento on the south, from Rome to Mount Cenis on the north. They saw Bishops lawless as the most reckless lay lords and incomparably more insolent. Henry II. of England and Philip Augustus of France led by his bridle the horse of a Pope who would be starved to death in prison or strangled by the executive of emancipated Rome. Beyond the Alps the Pope was the Vicar, though harsh things might be written by Grosse Teste of Lincoln about the Curia and the plague of locusts filling the passages and carrying circumlocution orders from desk to desk of each jurisdiction and from one jurisdiction to another. A reverence for one as divine was the feeling for the Pope outside Italy, despite annuities and tithes for one thing or another, despite the grumbling of Bishops and abbots, priors and parish priests, who set the example of disobedience to the laity high and low.

It was upon this attachment of veneration, a thing made up of the passion of tears and the passion of brave men who for love of the Lord and Master would face "fearful odds" for the Vicar, that the high-hearted Benedetto Gaetani stood as on a rock. The difference between himself and Clement was that the latter saw what Boniface could not see—the change which was expressed to him with brutal insolence by Peter Flotte, that the King his master had the power whether or not Boniface possessed the authority he claimed from God. If this difference is borne in mind the question of the Templars, so far as Clement's duty to them and to the Church extended, can be very fairly decided. The frenzy of Philip the Fourth's hatred of Boniface is not uncommon among able and ambitious sovereigns who find the policy on which their hearts are set blocked by the opposition of another's conscience. How often Henry II. stormed and swore like a madman, tearing his lips with his teeth until finally with the bloody froth flying from his mouth he flung himself on and gnawed the straw carpeting the hall before he issued the command to murder the Archbishop in the shape of an appeal to the fidelity of gallant men. The wild rants of Philip IV. were methodical; they have even a touch of devilish humor in their ferocity, like the reply, I think, to the Bull *Clericos laicis*. Clement's behavior towards this savage bull, endowed with infinite human craft, is the most extraordinary victory of patience, good sense and sagacious use of the advantages supplied by the changes of the political barometer that one will find in all history. It was at the cost of the suppression of a great military order of the Church? Not a bit of it, but Philip thought this the price of abandoning his pursuit of the memory of the murdered Boniface.<sup>2</sup>

It seems to me clear that Philip would have driven the Templars out of France if he could have done so safely. I doubt if he would be restrained if it were only a spiritual order that had stood in his way. But to attack a great body of knights, to whose help the best army of Europe would be gathered from Germany and every part of Italy, from Spain and the nations of the north, from Cyprus; in a word, to the Grampians and the Shannon, was a task on which Philip and his lawyers would not embark. They should be prosecuted as great delinquents, guilty of heresy, idolatry, devil-worship, magic and such abominations as could not be named.

It cannot be disputed that the confessions as they appear on the record are admissions of guilt in every article just stated. I put

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<sup>2</sup> I have no hesitation in employing the word murder. Selva Colonna actually attempted murder, but was prevented by de Nogaret, who himself is said to have struck him. Three days' starvation, insults, blows for a man of the Pope's age would be likely to prove fatal, at least to shorten life.

them aside for the present and take up the external evidence given in England, where the inquests were more fairly conducted than in France.

This came from various classes of witnesses, and in no instance can I find testimony that would stand the test of a modern system of inquiry. It was all hearsay, rambling, unrestricted, inconsistent. The accused were absent generally, and, of course, there was no cross-examination. It is worth observing that upon the whole the English knights were acquitted. There were witnesses who may have honestly believed the hearsay they were relating, witnesses who invented or enlarged the hearsay, and then passing to France we have the testimony of renegades who had left the Church and the order, and we have informers who had been degraded and expelled from the order. The evidence of the two last mentioned classes I include in the external evidence as not proceeding from torture, but voluntarily given.

I may here observe that as there were witnesses of the last class to tell whatever they might know in reality of terrible secrets, the commonly asserted story that such a knowledge in the possession of brethren or servants who disapproved of or who even were suspected of disapproving of the iniquities was a sentence of death or perpetual imprisonment in the dungeons of the order. Therefore one may well ask: What induced the renegade to leave? Why was the degraded knight<sup>3</sup> allowed to take away his knowledge of appalling secrets? Though according to the uncritical method of the time in dealing with evidence, judges might honestly conclude that hearsay testimony was valid, we are to deal with it in compliance with modern rules, because by these rules alone the value of the evidence can be ascertained. Spiritual judges even then came nearer to the modern safeguards than temporal judges; we have proof of this in Philip's declaring that Clement had less zeal for the good name of the Church than he himself had. Philip made the declaration of protest because Clement was trying to secure fair play when he learned what was being done in the investigations and the violation of law in their inception. Philip would allow no safeguards; Clement saw, as any spiritual judge even then would see, that animosity or interest or haste prevented justice.

It appeared to Philip that the guilt of the order was so manifest<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Bull "*Faciens Miseriordiam*," August 12, 1308. Based to some extent on the confessions of the seventy-two at Poitiers. Recited that one knight of noble race and of no slight esteem had deposed on oath secretly to the enormities. Circular letter to the king as Clement passed through Toulouse, in which the Pope declares his conviction of the order's guilt.

<sup>4</sup> The knights, wherever in exile they were safe, declared the innocence of the order—*adjurantes se objecti criminis prorsus insontes*.



that there should be no delay in inflicting the terrible punishment of the stake on those who refused to confess or who retracted their confessions. In other words, his mind had been made up before trial; so trial was a travesty in France. The Holy Father, on the other hand, was indignant that proceedings against a religious order should have been taken by the temporal power without the necessary authority from the Holy See, and the more particularly as the initial step was an imprisonment, as though the Templars were guilty, and the second step the application of the question by varied and extreme torture, the reading an account of which at the close of six centuries paralyzes the brain and stops the beating of the heart.

Before proceeding further I hint that Philip's hatred of the order, which is a factor with those who defend the knights, is based on *ex post facto* suggestions rather than on proof of the existence of the feeling. This is the case even with Guizot, who comes nearest to my own views as to the ambition of Philip, and I add that despite his pretended zeal for the good name of the Church, Philip was moved by an intense determination to subjugate the Church in France, and, so far as he could accomplish it, in every other State, to the authority of the secular power.<sup>5</sup> Imbert, the chief of the Inquisition, should have seen this, but he embarked on the inquiry without regard to the law which required the Pope's sanction before noted.

Philip had no reason for hating the order. He had found refuge in the Temple when he fled for his life from the citizens of Paris, maddened by hunger owing to his terrible taxation and the unprecedented debasement of the coinage. He had obtained a loan from the order to pay the dowry of his daughter on her marriage with Edward II. of England. It is said he asked to be admitted to the order and was refused. I fail to see in what quality he could be received and remain King. There were no exoteric Templars in analogy with the Proselytes of the Gate, or the uninitiated members of certain cults and philosophies, but on this unproved and improbable request is in part based the theory of inexorable hate which drove on the King to the ruin of the order. It is curious the cross-lines of argument and criticism displayed concerning Philip's motives. Guizot hardly sees the aggrandizement of the monarchy as the inspiration, though he speaks of Philip as a man whose only thought was his own interest and the things that served his ambition. Michelet is coerced by the confessions to believe the charges, yet he

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<sup>5</sup> Boniface VIII's Bull, "*Laicis clericis*," so hurt the feelings of an English Catholic convert named Dill that he expressed them warmly in *The Nineteenth Century*. He should have written an apologia for Philip. Modernism is abroad; the encyclical has only scotched the snakes. "Up, guards, and at 'em," I mean Irish.

condemns Clement as the tool of Philip. From the first French churchmen imported their Gallicanism, French laymen their politics into a question which should have been dealt with in the serene air of history. As for the Italian historians, an Avignon Pope has judged with something of the passionate prejudice with which Dante condemns Boniface VIII., the shibbelene.

I do not think Philip cared very much personally; at any rate his unequalled craft concealed his feelings when there was a reason for concealing them. The idea of prerogative in its extremest form absorbed all other ideas. He reminds me of our own Charles I. Both were pious in a way, and both were past masters of that incredible duplicity which deceives, takes payment and absolves itself for the deception and the keeping of the money. Du Molay the very day before his arrest was a pall-bearer at the funeral of the King's sister. A short time before that Philip, as I have stated, had obtained from the order as a loan the money needed for his daughter's dowry on her marriage to Edward II. It is said that their demand for repayment caused his resolution to destroy them. Allowing for the pride of Kings, no King in the Middle Ages, save a madman like John of England, would have set about the task of destroying a religio-feudal organization merely because it asked for its own.

It was safe enough to plunder the Jews and Lombards by exacting loans and then driving them from the kingdom. It is not so easy to follow this astute prince's career through its intricacies and involutions any more than it is easy to understand why he has been abandoned by all writers except by theologians, and even the advocacy of these is restricted to the quarrel with the Templars and Boniface VIII. One may understand the expulsion of the Jews, for they were eating into the substance of property, as parasites will fasten on a body and waste it away. They were as the taeniae, the trichinae, which, if unchecked before vital functions are penetrated, possess the victim, be it cattle, be it swine, be it man. But the Lombards were not merely usurers; they were bankers and great leaders in trade and commerce. No commercial country but had its Lombard quarter, like Lombard street in London. From its houses the bills went forth from the English staples, the Flemish factories, the French granaries for commodities carried in Genoese bottoms to Marseilles, to Antwerp, to London.

When Philip was guided by those great lawyers, La Flotte, de Nogaret, de Plasian, great feudal magnates themselves, he would not, surely, deal with a wealthy and powerful society sustained, one may suppose, by the strongest sentiments and associations of the age and whose members belonged to every distinguished house in France,

as he did with the Jews and the Lombards. If he did so, his passionate desire for the aggrandizement of his house and theirs and his for the establishment of an absolute monarchy uncontrolled by external authority of any kind, supreme in the field of morality and that of civil law, self-sufficing, imperial as Rome was under Augustus, irresponsible as Byzantium was when Constantine placed the resources of the State at the service of the Bishops on their way to Nicea and during the sessions of the Council; if, I say, he aimed at destroying such an organization in order not to pay a debt, his hope and the daring imagination of the great lawyers named had passed into the limbo of empty dreams, disappointed aspirations, defeated policies.

They understood their time too well to countenance what would be a folly, ignoble as perilous. Of course, they knew that Philip had not a particle of conscience in money matters. He was fertile in expedients of taxation. The infamous method of repairing the finances—namely, the debasement of the coinage, was three times resorted to by him. He was more consistent, at least more determined, than the leaders of the Revolution when they dealt out their assignats, a cartful of which would hardly procure a meal in the poorest cabaret.<sup>6</sup> He insisted that the debased coin should not be accepted for the King's taxes; the assignats were only refused when *ci-devants* or suspected *ci-devants* offered them. Any one might be a suspected *ci-devant*; if a man had a handsome daughter he was as sure to be a suspected *ci-devant* as if he were seen to bless himself, or if it were told that he said prayers in the old-fashioned way to the Lord Christ, His Mother and the saints, instead of to the poor Bacchante, wild-eyed, a *beaucoup pres décolleté*, who sat as Goddess of Reason on the high altar of Notre Dame.

But though they did not oppose Philip's levies on his subjects, the ministers would not sustain his attacking a feudatory who was only guilty of taking the King's promises to pay, or a great baron who rode at the head of five hundred men at arms and ten thousand footmen, such as they were, and who in such a quarrel would be backed by nobles and commons. The fact is, every noble considered himself as good a gentleman as the King, and a dishonor to one of them would be resented by all unless complicated by other elements. The word *peer* would indicate equality in which the King was only *primus inter pares*. True, it was only in England that a nobleman was a legislator, but he was a legislator in early days not by right, but by summons. I am therefore convinced that a war against a body of men related to every house of distinction in France for

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<sup>6</sup> Philip for a moment allowed the debased coin to be taken at the face value.

demanding payment of what the King owed them would be fatal to the monarchy, the very thing the sovereign feudatories wanted to make them go out against their primus, as in the War of the Public Good.

The genius of Philip Augustus enabled him to preserve his dignity among these haughty and ambitious vassals; the high character and the deep veneration of all classes for St. Louis enabled him to hold the homage of these powerful, almost independent princes in his keeping; but Philip Augustus and St. Louis were the only Kings who could do so with any show of success from the time of the great Hugh Capet himself to the moment with which we are dealing. The attack upon the Templars had a deeper meaning than wounded pride or rapacity. I do not deny that these feelings entered into the execution of a policy which had taken shape early in the pontificate of Boniface VIII., and towards which the destruction of the Templars was a most important if not necessary step.

The order was not condemned—it is proper to bear this in mind, though I am not going to develop the considerations suggested by the fact—but there appeared to be in the investigations in France and other countries such a mass of appalling proofs that the Holy See and its advisers could only conclude that reform was impossible. It is a remarkable fact that we find no expressions of pity or sympathy among the masses or in the 9,000 manors over Europe where the vassals of the order lived under better conditions than the vassals of lay lords. Their vassals show no part of the affection or even the partisanship of feudal loyalty such as was exhibited towards lay lords in their trouble. The suppression of the monasteries in England was not accomplished by a King's "I will it," or by Thomas Cromwell's handwave.

Terrible accusations had been growing against the English religious houses ever since the accession of the Plantagenets. A writer who plays the part of candid friend says the murder of St. Thomas postponed the Reformation in England three centuries. The view is adopted by criticism that is by novelty. But in any case the monks, who were the object of the village bard's pasquinades, the subject of the poet's malicious insinuations, the victim of the politician's rancor and the mark for the wit of every Autolicus who traveled with his wares from town to town, from village to village, were not driven forth until every tree from the midland counties to Berwick was a gallows. These betrayed and murdered peasants might have laughed at a morality, a miracle play or an abbot of unreason's antics, laughed at the biting jests which linked the horned devil to some high ecclesiastical scholar puffed up with what the simple laity never liked and what they came to call carnal wisdom, laughed when

the counterfeit of a fat monk too intimate with the leading yeoman's wife was lead over bog and marsh, through briar and brake, by the ignis fatuus, laughed when the representative of the attenuated monk whose covetous eyes showed that asceticism was not the cause of his pallor and meagreness was deprived of his collection before their eyes by some outlaws in Lincoln Green with long bows in their hands, and so on; these betrayed and murdered peasants might have often jested over the monks and their laziness, their liking for the good wife's posset, the good man's pot of mighty ale, their itching palm and the suspicion of things far worse, but in the hour of darkness, when the perjured King and his infamous vicar general were laying heavy hands upon the house and its curtilage, the chapel and its treasure, they remembered that no one failed to get a loan to replace his cattle dead from disease, or to buy seed for the tillage land, no one impoverished by bad seasons but found his larder replenished from the monastery, no wretched wanderer but passed the gate to the fireplace in the guest room, the table there, the clean straw and bed covering in the guests' dormitory.

I have evidence more or less convincing that the Templars were generous and indulgent landlords. One of the charges against them was their extravagance, their lavishness in gifts. I do not mean to say that this would prove that they were easy in the rents levied from their vassals, because I have heard of Irish landlords being extravagant and generous in gifts; it might lead, in fact, to the opposite conclusion were it not that they had as a fixed income a vast part of the continued tenths from layman's land and churchman's land for the Crusades.

Moreover, they only came to their European homes at long intervals, possibly enriched each one of them by his peculium from the ransom of some highly placed infidel, from the beaten enemy's camp, from the captured town, from the town given to the sack. In less than a generation after the nine founders issued their rescript of poverty, the painted lances, the silk underclothing, the gold-mounted chain armor, the gold stirrups, the gold hilts, the Arab steeds showed a far progress from the days when one horse served for two knights, when meat was eaten only three times in the week, when druggit and sacking were the clothing and a coarse frieze for the white mantle instead of a sable-lined cloak of silk or satin or velvet of Genoa.

I suggest that these grand seigneurs, as I may describe them, with the offerings of Europe and the spoils of Western Asia, would not wring the last coin from their serfs, would not pass the despoiling knife between hair and hide like the savage barons who warred with each other, like petty Kings and wasted with fire each others lands.

I suggest that the preceptor of the house to which the serf paid his manorial dues, a haughty gentleman indeed, but, as a religious, was magnificent in his generous kindness, and I suggest it on our knowledge of the easy rents and the untiring benevolence of the monastic houses of the spiritual orders.

This has, I think, some bearing on the case. No writer seems to have taken it into account as an element in judging the character and conduct of the knights. There were some sayings about them almost like proverbs. "Beware the kisses of a Templar," the little boys in England would say. Richard I. in his legacies to the clergy and religious bequeathed his pride to the Templars, his rapacity and licentiousness to the secular and what I may for distinction sake call the spiritual religious. I am not at all ready to accept charges against members of the religious orders; I certainly, from some slight historical knowledge, judge *a posteriori* and confirm my *a priori* sentiments that a body of religious men could not be depraved, though individuals might. At any rate, the inquisition into the monastic houses in England was a complete triumph for the monks, and I see no reason to think that the fire and energy of the military life should have led the Templars to habits of inconceivable, nameless turpitude.<sup>7</sup> There is one thing clear, that Richard of England in bequeathing his arrogance to the Templars meant the very fault which every one recognized and which their greatest patron, Innocent II., spoke of in the most scathing terms. If there was any thing else, Richard would have endowed them with it, and I am sure Innocent would not have spared them. You see, I refuse to attach importance to outside reports. People are so foolish in a weak way, a radically evil way, that though good enough themselves, they are very ready to believe things affecting reputations. One scandalous tongue may start a malignant lie, and it will run like wildfire. A village gossip seeing a Templar enter the postern of his preceptory at a late hour could not think the absence was for anything but a criminal assignation.

He could not think the knight had been sitting by the bedside of a sick or dying friend, or had gone out in answer to a sudden summons from some one in distress or in danger. The common defamer, the oracle of the smith's forge, usually the council chamber of the village pundits, the Solomon of the tap room or kitchen of the village inn, or whatever he may have been, passed in the moment that the knight went through the small and secret gate. The postern

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<sup>7</sup> One knight under torture scouted the interrogatory. "We had plenty of money to purchase the favors of the most beautiful women." An old knight, when told that the Grand Master had confessed, declared he lied in his threat or was belied.

was a circumstance pregnant with suspicion—so those knights of the Preceptory of Dinelee, let it be—I will have something to say about a place so named—were among the classes in the Apocalypse that shall not enter heaven.

One member coming home late at night figured as a whole preceptory whose nights were spent in debauchery.

At any rate, the whole history of the alleged backsliding of the order is obscure. It is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion, and one gets no assistance, I think, from the defenders of the knights or the apologists of Clement. I am not aware that any one has *per se* defended Philip. Surely the modern school of Clemenceau, Combes, Waldeck-Rousseau, of the Panama Canal men, the Zola schoolmasters and the progressive rulers who have made the national deficit might find something to say for Philip, who was an asserter of their own principles and policy incomparably more able and tactful than themselves, as I shall show by and by. They owed him a word for supplying the financial precedent of confiscating religious foundations to fill a treasury void.

There must have been some purpose in the minds of Philip and Clement when they were said to have met in the mysterious fashion reported in the wood of St. Jean d'Angely. If the reporter tells the truth, he must know the purpose. Accordingly, he supplies us with six articles, one of which, however, is not mentioned.\* A high ecclesiastic, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, binds himself to grant an unmentioned favor in consideration of Philip's influence in obtaining for him the tiara. I cannot at this stage of a paper in which much remains to be said examine the circumstances which would, if true—and I have no reason to doubt them—disprove the alleged meeting and, of course, the treaty. I allow myself to say this, the report rests only on the authority of Villani, and he had as much means of knowing the antecedents of the meeting as he would have of knowing what took place in secret between the unattended King and Pontiff. Was he a thirdsman at the conference?

I think the general lines of examination have been stated, and I may say Philip's policy does not emerge from the Templars' advocates, beginning with Voltaire, or, if you like, with the Eagle of Meaux. It would be unreasonable to expect that philosophers of the Panama Canal school, the Wilson-Grevy sale of public offices school,

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\* It was to be declared after De Goth's election. The undisclosed article was said to be the suppression of the order. Within the last few days M. Briand has appropriated the £20,000,000 that had been offered to the non-existent worship associations for old age pensions, hospitals, etc. I can only predict that Panama Canal morality will divert the cup from the lip of old age, which will be fed on high sentiments instead. The pensioner can say with good Peter Teazle: "D—— your fine sentiments!"

the spoliator of a foreign embassy school, could defend Philip for a policy the precedent of their own. Because the Templars are regarded, or pretended to be regarded, as the early form of the Freemasons, it would be too candid to do this; but had they done so, theirs would be the line I intend to take, but with a different purpose, and to which I have been leading up. In a word, the enslavement of the Church was Philip's object, as it is now the object of the Freemasons in France.

Before entering more minutely on what I conceive to be Philip's policy I will report a few of the cases, two English cases and a French contribution, of evidence in the form of a deposition from Vercelli. They are not unfairly representative of the class of evidence distinct from the confessions made under torture, the dread of it or the testimony of renegades, or members who had been expelled for crime. I would trust a confession under torture or fear as little as the testimony of a renegade or spy.

I take the report of William, vicar of St. Clement in Sandwich, before the commission in London. William had heard fifteen years before his examination from a groom in his service that the latter had heard from a servant of a Templar that the servant hid himself under a seat in the great hall of the Preceptory of Dinelee, where the Knights held their midnight chapters. The president preached to the Knights how they might become richer.<sup>9</sup> The brethren deposited their girdles in a certain place; one of the girdles the servant found and carried to his master, whereupon the latter struck him with his sword in the groom's presence. The vicar was asked if the groom was alive. He answered he did not know. Why did not the vicar tell the story, such as it was, fifteen years before? Either there was no such story or he disbelieved it.

I pause to point out that the investigation began in Paris in October, 1307; that Philip had previously communicated his desire to the princes of Europe that the order should be suppressed on account of enormous crimes, and he was particularly confident of the readiness of his son-in-law, Edward II. of England, to sustain him. I premise that the notes of the processes in France were sent regularly to Edward. There is very distinct proof of this fact, for English evidence was controlled in some cases by the notes or copies of depositions from France.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> In what language? The knights only spoke French among themselves. Hyden's "Polychronicon" is my authority, written about 1357. The servant could not have understood the sermon.

<sup>10</sup> Two French cases to contradict English accounts of initiation were put in. This is a serious matter, because the knights in question were received in England. No one believes foul practices were proved concerning English initiations. This is not all.



The communication of Squino di Florian, prior of Montfenleon, in the county of Toulouse, which crystallized into a coherent and formal state paper all the scandals that had been floating in society and among the humbler classes for some time, was made before September. That Edward II. and his ministers were immediately informed of di Florian's accusation is in the highest degree probable, and that without the circumstance that it had been made in the royal prison to which di Florian had been consigned for life as a heretic and profligate.

It is not yet known what the secret article was; therefore there was no secret article. It is the fatuity of invention to think men of sense would believe that Philip would have kept the secret from his Ministers and his brothers, particularly Charles of Valois.

The proceedings did not begin in England until October of 1309 and continued for over three years. Witnesses such as the vicar of Sandwich, recalling the ancient history told them by persons who had heard the details from others, had ample time to cook up these stories or to concoct stories of their own.

I am not just now insisting on the utter absurdity of receiving such a rigmarole as evidence. I can make allowance for the very crude notions which prevail as to what might be admitted at a time when ordinarily the jurors who knew the accused personally were not so much judges as witnesses to character.<sup>11</sup> The defendant's character was then a matter of supreme consequence, for the finding depended upon it. I submit that a jury knowing a Templar belonging, say to a preceptory in their neighborhood, and knowing that the first informants were di Florian and his fellow-prisoner, the apostate Templar Roffo, and that these had come from jail to swear away the character and life of the man they knew would have little difficulty in acquitting him, even though the oaths of di Florian and Roffo were backed up by the hearsay of the Vicar William of St. Clement and a thousand hearsays of the kind. The character of the man known to his neighbors as of good repute would stand against all the wild fancies and imaginations, the duplicities and malignities of fools and knaves. Even the colorable corroboration of manufactured testimony would be too flimsy to hold the common sense and experience of such jurors captive. The Templars were not even confronted with the witnesses.

I am now to give the second English deposition. I look at it as a fraudulent and manufactured confirmation of William the Vicar's statement, and I trust the inconsistency of it as well as the inherent improbability of the means of knowledge will impress every one as I have been impressed. The corroboration is the testimony of John

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<sup>11</sup> That was the reason for the local venue.

de Gertia, a Frenchman. He deposes to what he had been told fourteen years before by a woman named Cacococa. She had been informed by Exvalet, the preceptor of London, that a servant of certain Templars had concealed himself in their chapter-house at Dinelee. She lived near some elms in a suburban street leading to St. Giles. I suggest that the street and suburb must have had names, and as London was then a small place, a resident should know the name of every street and suburb.

Exvalet as preceptor of London was a man of high social position, and the only way in which it could be conceived that he communicated a dreadful secret of his order to a woman living in an unnamed suburb is that she kept a bad house which he frequented. The preceptor of London, according to de Gertia's story, told this woman that after the chapter at Dinelee the hidden servant saw the knights go to an adjacent house, in a room of which they opened a coffer, from which they drew a black idol with shining eyes, performing as they took it forth disgusting ceremonies. One of them refused after a little to continue his part in the ceremonies. He was thrown into a well and the abominable excesses went on as though the murder was a matter of course.

This hideous story bears the marks and tokens of the putting together of the rumors and imaginations going the rounds. The two years or more since the proceedings began in France afforded ample time for legal elaboration into acts of evidence. The case I referred to from France is a magical tale of a character so loathsome that I can only refer to it vaguely. It is a history of the birth of the magic head from the abuse of a disinterred body by a lord of Sidon who had loved the owner in her lifetime. This head was a talisman for good fortune to the order and was worshiped as the deity that secured success.

As the testimony of William the Vicar, the hearsay of hearsay is a fair sample of all the external evidence, I may say a word about it. If it could for a moment be allowed that a clergyman might without censure keep to himself a scandal of a kind so flagrant in its suggestions and so appalling in its main incidents, it would be on the ground that William's charity forbade him to give it currency, or else on the more intelligible ground that he dreaded the vengeance of an organization so wealthy and so powerful as the Templars. He had a Bishop to whom he could communicate the information under a pledge of screening him as the medium. But the inherent improbability is enough to condemn the statement. Assuming the reality of the midnight chapters of abomination, the spy went with his life in his hands. To be acquainted with the secrets, according to the various accounts, meant death, even to such

members of the order as did not approve of the deeds, and, a fortiori, it would mean it to possible spies and informers from outside. The giving up of the girdle would reveal the servant's presence or suggest it, or at least suggest enough for unscrupulous self-defense to get rid of him, and with him to get rid of the groom who saw the blow and must be reasonably suspected to know what the girdle meant or to have been afterwards told why the blow was given.

With regard to the discrepancies between William's story and de Gertia's confirmation of it, I see the clearest evidence of an elaboration, cunning and malignant indeed, but ambitious in its progressiveness of infamy. William heard the particulars fifteen years before. This date suggested the time—fourteen years—for de Gertia's later communication. The interval of twelve months since those behind William, or William himself, just caught hold of the Dinelee mystery, and the entrance of de Gertia on the scene would at once explain the growth of detail.

We have this kind of thing in the history of informers from the time of Tiberius to the latest state trials in Ireland. The growth of particulars in the "Popish Plot" was so momentous that when men came to their senses they saw what liars Oates, Dangerfield, Ludlow and the other vile creatures were, who added new things to accounts of their means of knowledge, new things to the extent, means and designs of the plotters. As they went on, adherents not named at previous stages were included until men of rank who feared the political wire-pullers like Shaftesbury behind the witnesses realized that their own Protestantism would not save them. It was easy to say that it was a cloak to cover their designs to bring over the Pope and the French King's armies; when the slightest suggestion from the bench as a test of a particular statement would cause the Doctor—as Oates was called—to shout in his peculiar intonation and unparalleled insolence that "may loard was staffine the Ploat." The Doctor, just fancy!

The precision and enlargement of de Gertia's narrative remind me of the growing comprehensiveness and at the same time the increasing argumentative fitness of detail with the Doctor and his satellites. Still, we have this obstacle to belief in both forms of the Dinelee story—namely, how from his secret place the servant could have seen and heard so well? With regard to the later cast of it, how could he see the entry of the adjacent house? We must, at least, suppose two outer walls, two inner walls, a well in the courtyard, a passage and a turn. The eyes that could see through all these from under a seat, and see through the crowds standing around the coffer all that the servant saw must have had a power of vision such as Sam Weller confesses he lacked. As to Cacococa's house,

the vagueness of locality must have had its object. It would have been easy to find it at a time when the great house of the Temple was the western boundary of the city, and cmfwyp itself was in the heart of open spaces. Apart from this, the hideous story told by this woman, whose name suggests de Gertia's imagination or else a shameless notoriety—altogether a maze of baseness and depravity active in conspiracy, I say this hideous story shows what little reliance can be placed on the proceedings, can be placed on the findings of the various commissions, when one thinks of the origin of the magic head as testified, and that a document containing statements of the time loathsome, bewildering, portentous and incredible, coming from distant Vercelli, would be accepted as part of the acts of indictment and put upon the record.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, a belief in magic prevailed, and according to the notions of the period evidence of magical acts was not merely legal, but would be the most material proof in prosecutions for their employment. Investigations in natural science, experiments in the laboratory were not safely employed even by monks. Three centuries before Silvester II. won an evil name as a pursuer of unlawful studies. It was said of this great scholar: "*Homagium diabolo fecit et male finivit*," alluding to his death by poison at the hands of the "white devil" who had poisoned Otho III. Marlowe calls in one of his plays such women "white devils."

The fact is that an accusation of the kind was the same as a conviction. It was used to get rid of a political opponent. We find it employed to destroy the influence of the most popular prince of the House of Lancaster a century and a half later than the process against the Templars. Such charges were easily made and were met with the greatest difficulty. An accusation of the sort meant that the impeached person had sold himself to the Evil Principle, and by the compact had acquired power over the forces of nature. That from his malignity calamities visited the nations; from his laboratory went forth a spell upon the earth which made it sterile; at his bidding the stars shed fatal influences, the skies refused their rains or sent tempests against church and tower and town that laid them in ruins.

The prominence of such an accusation against the Templars sprang from those astute lawyers, de Nogaret and de Plasian, who advised Philip throughout. As men versed in the passions and prejudices, possessing power over their contemporaries, they calculated on depriving the impeached order of the sympathy of all classes. There was a subtlety in the selection of such an article,

<sup>12</sup> There was a head in every Preceptory—gold, two-faced, so on. Not one was found, despite the descent on the French ones, sudden as a thunder-clap.

for it would go into the public heart and mind that a magician, a sorcerer, a necromancer, with the devil as his agent, his servant for the covenanted time to rule the powers of nature and the mysteries of the grave, would be capable of any crime. What were the abominations of the secret midnight chapters in comparison to calling up the dead, to reveal the hidden things of the past, foretell the future and show as in a mirror the secret sins of friend and foe? What in comparison were those nameless enormities to the power to send pestilence whose march was more deadly than that of destroying armies?

Yet we find an article accusing the knights of refusing to pay taxes to the King, and that among the most conspicuous items of impeachment they relied upon the Papal exemption; and this justification was probably a greater offense than the refusal. But the fact of its being included in the leading counts is to me a proof that Philip and his Ministers really did not believe in the order's guilt beyond the diplomatic pretense of covering them with infamy. The point suggested is that these abandoned men, enemies of God and portents of wickedness, claimed, as servants of God, exemption from the taxes which even the poorest paid. The effect is obvious.

Altogether the question of guilt is one of great difficulty. It is not the less so from the fact that the only valid evidence is the confessions; but these were for the most part obtained by torture under conditions of exceptional cruelty. The admissions of the seventy-two, said to be voluntarily made before the Holy Father himself at the end of the inquiries in France, have been accepted as conclusive by writers who condemn the order. The torture inflicted on so many and the winding up of the torture by the fires in which they died, may have had an effect on the survivors, who are said to have voluntarily confessed their guilt. This one cannot determine, but I submit that a little daylight comes in when we look at one or two circumstances in the confessions.

It would seem proved that the charge of spitting on the crucifix had at least a qualified sanction when the aspirant came to be initiated. It is avowed almost in every confession, but it is palliated by the plea that the applicant always spat above or below the figure, and not upon it. The excuse proves the fact, and is only a plea in mitigation. I don't discredit the plea; I think it is what a person entering the order without any knowledge of such an impious requirement would do if asked by those he thought had some privilege to empower them in exacting the requirement. Such an acknowledgment running through so great a number of confessions satisfies me as to the existence of the practice at initiations, whatever V  
may have been its meaning or origin.

Then there is the denial of Christ. The like argument holds, for the confessions are most numerous and qualified in a similar manner. Those admitting say they denied Him with their lips and not in their hearts. This is like not spitting on the crucifix, but above or below it, and probably the explanation or one of the explanations for this rite at initiations is that it was a test of their fidelity if they should afterward fall into the hands of the Saracens.<sup>13</sup> It is supposed that if they would endure the punishment to be inflicted for disobedience in this matter they would be faithful in the teeth of infidels. On the other hand, if they obeyed blindly, it was proof of such a surrender of the will as afforded a guaranty that they would dare all things on the field at the command of the Grand Master, and all things that might befall them if vanquished—long imprisonment, the axe of the headsman, death by starvation.

It is unnecessary to say that even to the last moment the Templars in Asia showed fidelity to their faith and the valor of their best days. It was their rule never to flee from an encounter—one of them against three foes—and another rule of theirs was to lead the van and to cover the retreat. At the hour when the sun was setting on the Christian possessions in Asia by the fall of Ptolemais, their loyalty to faith proved itself, for all of them, to the number of six hundred, bowed their necks to the headsman rather than apostatize. In the two matters I have taken as proved—the spitting on the crucifix and the denial of our Lord—I am inclined to accept their explanations that they were not meant as a real contempt, a real repudiation, but outsiders would naturally and properly put the severest interpretation on the practice.

But their doom was sealed. Philip, as I have said, carried his people with him by raising the most popular issue that could be selected within the scope of national politics—namely, the independence of the State from foreign dictation. There were elements of the greatest force in his appeal, owing to the circumstances of the time. One was the confiscation of the boundless wealth of the order, which would supply a treasury only drawing resources by the exercise of extreme cruelties from a people burdened beyond bearing. There was this element—that these men were a menace to the existence of the monarchy, the liberty of France, by their numbers, their discipline and their fortresses in every part of the country.

Those astute and ambitious lawyers, La Flotte, de Nogaret and de Plasian, had been revolving these things for years. The Templars had proved their devotion to the Holy See by refusing to join Philip

<sup>13</sup> Those who refused were said to be sent over seas immediately and subjected to great severities and humiliations. Despite their own, they could leave the order. We know from the confessions that knights were expelled for crimes. Then the order must not have feared disclosures.

in his movement to degrade Boniface VIII. La Flotte was dead when the proceedings against the Templars began, but his colleagues, and with them a band of court lawyers, who made the precedents for all attempts in later times to subjugate the Church to the monarchy, were able to continue his counsels.

I must conclude I should have liked to discuss Hammer's extraordinary inferences from grotesque sculptures on temple churches in Central Europe—in Bohemia, Austria and Hungary, for instance. Though Hallam allows them force, I can see in them only that eccentricity of fancy which ran riot in the minds of mediæval church architects and masons. The masons were really artists who carved and moulded each stone they put into the building which was to be the house of God. Hammer finds in such adornments evidence of Gnosticism, Ophitism and the like,<sup>14</sup> and as many of the knights were accused of participation in such cults, these would appear a sort of confirmation. It would be the conclusion to capture the Modernist or emancipated sciolist, unless indeed he feared he might acquit the Pope of base subserviency to Philip. Rather than do that the Modernist or vague-headed pursuer of novelty would withdraw Hammer as an ass. No doubt there were in Eastern Europe, here and there, scattered fragments of the believers in these cults, who either had found their way thither from Asia or who were descendants in the Byzantine Empire of infidels or heretics of the first century, who had transmitted their ideas and errors through the vicissitudes of centuries to Eastern Europe, to recesses in the Alps, to that region called Languedoc, where amatory poetry luscious as Catullus' was the moral and intellectual recreation of the fine lady to whom the *trouveur* sang in the castle bower, the incitement of the peasant girl's fancies, to whom the wandering minstrel touched his rote as payment for the hospitality of the night.<sup>15</sup>

I should have liked to deal with the alleged treaty which bound Clement to Philip. There are facts that prove that the meeting could

<sup>14</sup> I have seen on the door pillars of Clonmacnoise serpent shapes moulded with exquisite skill. In truth, the delicacy and grace of the lines seemed to indicate the loving care of a devotee. Yet no one fit to remain ten minutes outside a lunatic asylum would have made a charge of Ophitism against the abbots and their monks.

<sup>15</sup> In Ireland thirty brothers were examined and admitted nothing; a chaplain admitted only suspicions. The Franciscans, hostile to malignity, only suspected the order or believed it guilty. No fact. In Scotland the monks or clergy are pretty hard on the knights for their "*conquestus injustos*." Indifferenter sibi appropriare cupiunt perfas et nefas, bona et prædia suorum vicinorum. Naturally this would be worse than all other things to Scotchmen. There can be no doubt but that torture was used in England, but not to the awful lengths it was carried in France. And this justifies my disbelief regarding the extorted confessions. One knight in France exclaimed he would admit the murder of Christ by his own hand if asked.

not have taken place. There are in this story itself circumstances which even if a meeting did take place would compel the judgment of common sense to reject it. It seems to me that the articles are suggested, plainly suggested, by events subsequent to the date of the alleged treaty. In other words, certain events occurred; they suggested the treaty, and the treaty explains them. The romantic idea of a meeting in a wood, as though the King and the Archbishop of Bordeaux could not meet in palace or castle! But they wanted to be where no one could hear, for walls proverbially have ears. But then how did Villani hear? I should have liked to show that this story does not hold water, but I have already passed the limit.

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## CHURCH AND STATE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

### SAINT MARTIN AND MAXIMUS.

THE same quarter of a century (375-400) which saw the momentous developments in the relations of Church and State previously noted witnessed a crisis of no less importance in regard to the second of the two leading questions of church history—the manner of dealing with those Christians who refuse to accept the official teaching of the Church of Christ on one or more essential points. Looking at the matter *a priori* one might be inclined to suppose that the assurance of Our Lord to the effect that the Holy Ghost would always remain with His Church would prevent Christians from carrying differences of opinion in questions of faith and morals to the extremes of heresy and schism. Yet the career of St. Paul alone shows sufficiently well that no human authority, no matter how clear its title to govern, may count, under all circumstances, on obedience to its mandates. Such being the general principle taught by history, it is not surprising to find that in the infant Church there were dissentients in considerable numbers, who preferred their own opinions to the decisions of the official preachers of the Gospel. There must be heresies, the Apostle sadly admitted, but, on the other hand, it was incumbent on the Church to protect herself from the danger to her organization from this source, which was done by depriving heretics of Communion.

In the conditions of the age before Constantine such deprivation of membership was necessarily the only form of punishment that the Church could decree against heretics and schismatics. The question of external coercion was not, therefore, during this period,



as far as Christian dissentients were concerned, in any sense a practical issue. But as regards the general question of religious toleration at this time the few Christian writers who discuss the subject regard freedom of worship as the inalienable right of every human being. Tertullian, for instance, esteems it "a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions," and he further maintains that "it is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion, to which free will, not force, should lead us."<sup>1</sup> Origen and St. Cyprian also regard the prescriptions of the Old Testament relative to the punishment of certain violations of the law as abrogated.<sup>2</sup> In the age of Constantine Lactantius pronounces as strongly against physical coercion as Tertullian himself. Religion, he holds, "cannot be imposed by force. . . . Nor is it possible for truth to be united with violence, or justice with cruelty." Furthermore, "religion is to be defended, not by putting to death, but by dying; not by cruelty, but by patient endurance. . . . For nothing is so much a matter of free-will as religion."<sup>3</sup>

These Christian writers have the honor of being the first advocates of religious toleration. For paganism, in all its forms, was essentially intolerant. Indeed, paganism was necessarily intolerant, since dissent from the national religion was universally regarded as high treason. Renouncing the national gods was equivalent to renouncing one's citizenship. Even Plato, in his ideal republic, would not tolerate dissentients from the established religion, whom he stigmatizes as "impious." Heretics who would remain quiet and make no effort to propagate their views, he would treat with comparative mildness by shutting them up in prison for a term of five years, each day of which they would be compelled to listen to a discourse with a view to their conversion. But the violent and the propagandists he would imprison for life and deny them burial after death.<sup>4</sup>

What the Romans of the empire thought on the subject of toleration is sufficiently indicated by their treatment of the Christians, whose dissent from the forms of religion recognized by law was the principal cause of the persecutions of the first three centuries. Constantine and Licinius, in the Edict of Milan, were the first civil rulers to proclaim the broadest doctrine of toleration, and by so doing departed from one of the most respected traditions of the empire they governed. Once a Christian, indeed, the former of these Emperors made no secret of his wish that all his subjects should follow his

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<sup>1</sup> *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Vacandard, L'Inquisition*, p. 3, sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Lactantius, Div. Inst.*, v. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Boissier, La Fin du Paganisme*, I., 47, sq.

example in embracing the faith. The greatest ambition of his life, he himself tells us, was "to bring the diverse judgments formed by all nations respecting the deity to a condition, as it were, of settled uniformity."<sup>5</sup> From Constantine's point of view the conversion of his subjects ought to be a very simple matter. Nobody was any longer enthusiastic about the State divinities. As a religious force paganism was dead; whereas, on the other hand, Christianity had long been under trial, and had not been found wanting. The general acceptance of the Christian religion, moreover, would be the salvation of the empire, for Christianity possessed at the same time a rational basis of faith in a Supreme Being to whom all are responsible, and a moral code which, if earnestly practiced, would restore virility to the enervated populace. The difficulties in the way of wholesale conversion, also, seemed the reverse of insuperable. For the prestige of a Christian Emperor, victorious over all his pagan competitors, in other words, victorious over the old-time gods, ought to prove almost a decisive factor in achieving Constantine's purpose. Then, too, the Emperor was Pontifex Maximus, supreme head of the State religion, a fact which made it seem improbable that many would hesitate to act in accordance with his wishes. Yet time was to prove that all pagans were not so ready to renounce the gods as Constantine had hoped; and, worse still, time was further to convince the disappointed Emperor that the Christians were far from being united among themselves. Under these circumstances the temptation to employ some form of coercion in the interest of religious conformity was more than a Roman Emperor could withstand. How Constantine and his successors yielded to the temptation, so far as regarded those who dissented from the imperial form of Christianity for the time being, we have seen in previous papers. From the standpoint of that age, indeed, the employment of a certain degree of force to secure uniformity of religious belief was wholly justifiable. It was an accepted maxim of the imperial government, which nobody thought of questioning, that the preservation of order in society would be impossible, in the highest sense, unless all citizens professed the same faith.<sup>6</sup> This being the general conviction, no one but the victims thought of denying the right of the Emperor to use the means his office placed at his disposal to bring about the uniformity believed to be necessary for the best government of the empire. The author of the Edict of Milan, therefore, when he closed the pagan temples and abolished pagan sacrifices, in the latter part of his reign, was merely acting conformably with a generally accepted principle.<sup>7</sup> His Christian successors followed the precedent

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, II., 65.

<sup>6</sup> Boissier, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>7</sup> *Vita Const.*, II., 45.

thus established of proscribing paganism, and laws of increasing severity were from time to time enacted with a view to the extinction of the religion of ancient Rome. These enactments, however, were never very strictly enforced, and all through the fourth century pagans occupied some of the highest offices in the State. The real cause of the gradual decay of paganism was the withdrawal of the imperial favor.

It was, of course, to be expected that the Christians of the empire would waste little sympathy on the hardships of those who remained faithful to the gods, but it was quite another matter when one or other of the groups of Christians created by the doctrinal or disciplinary issues of the time became itself the subject of imperial restrictions. Then, as we have seen, each proscribed party protested in vigorous terms. Yet during the greater part of the fourth century the imperial laws against dissent, though often stringent, all stopped short of exacting the extreme penalty of death. The doubtful credit of establishing a new precedent in this respect was reserved for Maximus, the successful contestant for imperial honors in the West against the Emperor Gratian.

The circumstances responsible for this departure were as follows: About the beginning of the reign of Gratian an ascetical movement, directed by a wealthy layman of considerable mental attainments named Priscillian, began to attract attention in the western part of Spain.<sup>8</sup> The new sectaries, who placed the apocrypha on a footing of equality with the canonical Scriptures, held opinions on the subject of marriage seriously unorthodox, and their views on the use of wine would have pleased the most rabid modern prohibitionist. In their conduct the element of spiritual pride was much in evidence. Christians not of their way of thinking they looked upon with contempt. They were accused of holding secret meetings; they fasted on Sundays and had a predilection for going about barefooted. When they attended the celebration of the liturgy also it was remarked that they did not receive Holy Communion. Women were especially attracted by the unauthorized spiritual director of the sect, Priscillian, who, though a layman, presumed to introduce doctrines and practices at variance with the official doctrines of the Church. According to Sulpicius Severus,<sup>9</sup> an Egyptian Gnostic named Marcus was responsible for the introduction into Spain of this "deadly superstition." Marcus had found enthusiastic disciples in a "certain Agape, a woman of no mean origin, and a rhetorician named Helpidius," who in turn made an important conquest in the conversion of Priscillian. The eloquence of Priscillian quickly pop-

<sup>8</sup> On the Priscillianist movement, cf. Leclercq, *L'Espagne Chrétienne*, c. 3, and Duchesne, *Hist. Anc. de l'Eglise*, II, c. 15.

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. Sacra.*, II., 46.

ularized the movement, so that even two Bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, became his oathbound followers.

Matters had reached this point when Hyginus, Bishop of Cordova, alarmed at the danger, invoked the intervention of his metropolitan, Ydacius of Merida. But, strange to say, Hyginus himself subsequently fell under the influence of the ascetics and admitted them to communion. Ydacius, however, lost no time in making investigations, but his zeal so outran discretion that the measures he thought proper to take against the episcopal adherents of Priscillian only served as "a torch to the growing conflagration." Pope Damasus, whom he consulted on the troubles in his province, advised him to act with moderation, and in particular warned him against pronouncing sentence against any of the accused without hearing their defense. This advice was followed, perhaps too closely, by the council, at which two Gallic Bishops assisted, held at Saragossa in 380. The canons adopted condemned in general the extravagant doctrines of the new sect, but without mentioning by name any individuals.

The fact that their opinions were thus only censured in a vague manner encouraged the sectaries to renew their propaganda with greater boldness than ever. The see of Avila having become vacant, they were strong enough to elect Priscillian to its episcopal throne. Then assuming a pronouncedly aggressive attitude, the heretics declared war on the enemy by preferring grave charges against the chief of their opponents, Bishop Ydacius. At this stage Ydacius and his chief lieutenant, Ithacius, Bishop of Ossonova, adopting "unwise counsels," as Sulpicius Severus regards them, "applied to secular judges that by their decrees and persecutions the heretics might be expelled from the cities."<sup>10</sup> In other words, the Emperor Gratian, at the request of Ydacius, issued a rescript against the Priscillianists, "in virtue of which all heretics were enjoined not only to leave all churches or cities, but to be driven forth beyond all the territory under his jurisdiction." This severe measure was for the moment effective; the Priscillianist Bishops ceased their propaganda and their followers dispersed.

But they had no intention of abandoning the contest with the Catholics. Their three leaders, Priscillian, Salvianus and Instantius, at once set for the imperial court at Milan, where they received but a cool reception from the Emperor and St. Ambrose. Thence they proceeded to Rome, but Pope Damasus refused even to grant them an interview. After the death of one of the trio—Salvianus—in Rome, Priscillian and his remaining companions returned to Milan and again laid their case before Gratian. Their perseverance was

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<sup>10</sup> Sulp. Sever., *op. cit.*, II., 47.

now rewarded with complete success. Through the imperial Master of Offices, Macedonius, whom they won by bribery, they obtained a revocation of the existing rescript against them, as well as an order that their churches should be restored to the Bishops of the party.

The victorious Priscillianists once more, on their return to Spain, assumed the aggressive. The most active of their opponents, Ithacius, was the first object of their attack. They accused him before the Proconsul Volventius of being "a disturber of the churches," and he escaped condemnation only by flight into Gaul. In Gaul the fugitive interested the Prefect Gregory in his favor, and this high official issued orders for all parties to the dispute to appear before his tribunal. But again the Priscillianists proved too many for their adversaries. By means of another bribe they obtained an order from their court friend, Macedonius, transferring the case to the jurisdiction of the Vicar of Spain.

The arrest of Ithacius was then attempted, but without success, and the Bishop of Ossonova was able to conceal his whereabouts from his enemies until the victory of Maximus and the subsequent death of Gratian completely reversed the positions of the respective parties.

For Ithacius experienced no difficulty in interesting Maximus favorably in the cause for which he stood. Orders were issued by the new Emperor to the Prefect of Gaul and the Vicar of Spain enjoining them to see that the leaders of the Spanish heretics appear for judgment before an ecclesiastical synod to be held at Bordeaux. The synod met in the year 385. Instantius was the first of the accused cited to defend his doctrines before the fathers, but failing to satisfy them as to his orthodoxy, he was deposed from his bishopric. Priscillian was next called, but, possibly in the hope of securing friends at the court of Maximus by the same means he had employed at the court of Gratian, he appealed from the synod to the Emperor.

Accused and accusers now proceeded to Trier, where Priscillian was speedily brought to realize the mistake he had made in appealing from an ecclesiastical to a civil tribunal. For at the court of Trier Ydacius and Ithacius had things pretty much their own way. These two Bishops, though justified in their defense of the faith against a dangerous heresy, were yet far from being ideal champions of orthodoxy. Sulpicius Severus says that accusers and accused were about equally distasteful to him. Ithacius in particular he characterizes as "a bold, loquacious, impudent and extravagant man," excessively devoted to the pleasures of the table. Ithacius hated asceticism in any form, and "proceeded to such a pitch of folly as to charge all those men, however holy, who either took delight in

reading or made it their object to vie with each other in the practice of fasting, with being friends of Priscillian." His prejudice against austerities carried him so far as to accuse of heresy even St. Martin of Tours, solely on the ground of the famous Bishop's predilection for asceticism.

St. Martin was quite a different type of defender of the faith from that represented by Bishop Ithacius. A native of Pannonia and son of an officer of the Roman army, the future Bishop of Tours began his career as a soldier. Although both his parents were pagans, Martin became a catechumen at the age of twelve. About the year 341 he withdrew from the army and embraced the ascetical life in the vicinity of Poitiers, of whose Bishop, St. Hilary, he was an ardent follower. From Poitiers he made a special journey to his native place for the purpose of converting his parents, and was successful in convincing his mother, though not his father, of the divinity of the Christian religion. After the return of St. Hilary from his exile in the East, Martin again established himself near the episcopal city of his patron, where he founded the first of Western monasteries at Liguge. The sanctity of the monastic brethren soon won general admiration, which was reflected in a particular manner on the founder of the institution. Thus it turned out that when in 373 the church of Tours lost its Bishop, Martin was drawn by a ruse from his monastic seclusion and, in spite of his protestations, elected by acclamation Bishop of the vacant see. The Bishops present on the occasion were not all quite so enthusiastic as the people, and it was with some reluctance that at least one of their number finally gave his assent to the popular choice.

Martin proved, needless to say, a model Bishop. Early in his new career he took up his abode in the new monastery of Marmoutier, which he established in the vicinity of Tours, and there organized a vigorous campaign, which proved eminently successful, against paganism in the rural districts of his diocese. When his eloquence, as occasionally happened, failed to persuade the pagan populations that they should themselves destroy the sanctuaries of the gods, the Bishop undertook the task of demolition, sometimes at no small risk to his life. Then on the site of the pagan temples he erected churches or monasteries, which thus became centres for the evangelization of the adjoining districts. The great success he achieved by degrees won for Martin a national fame, and thus we find him at the accession of Maximus by all odds the greatest Bishop of Gaul.

Such was the man whom the epicurean Bishop of Ossonova dared stigmatize as a heretic. Like the court Bishops of the East during the previous half a century, Ithacius had no proper conception of the meaning of the Christian religion, and he regarded his episcopal

office rather as a means of temporal than of spiritual advancement. As St. Martin represented so very different a type of churchman, Ithacius instinctively disliked the Bishop of Tours, but he was soon to have still greater reason, from his point of view, for hostility to the saint, whom he found a determined opponent of his own policy with regard to the Priscillianists.

By the time St. Martin first appeared upon the scene Ithacius had determined that the leaders of the heretics should be judged by a civil tribunal, and punished with death. The mere notion of such a procedure profoundly shocked the Bishop of Tours, who vainly besought Ithacius to abandon his intention. On the question at issue St. Martin's opinion was as clear as it was moderate. Those accused of heresy, he maintained, should, in the first place, be judged only by Bishops, and, in the second place, if found guilty, they should be punished only with excommunication. He regarded it as "a foul and unheard-of indignity that a secular ruler should be judge in an ecclesiastical cause."<sup>11</sup> Failing to move Ithacius, he remonstrated with the Emperor and, as he thought, successfully, since Maximus assured him that no blood would be shed. But no sooner had Martin left Trier than the Bishops again importuned Maximus, who at length, yielding to the persuasions of two of their number, Magnus and Rufus, gave orders for the accused to appear for trial before the Prefect Evodius. Priscillian made some damaging admissions relative to the peculiar practices of his sect, and he was convicted of the principal charge made against him, that of *maleficium*. Under the civil law this was a capital crime, hence the offender was sentenced to death. For some reason or other the trial had to be repeated, and this time, complacent as they had been previously, the Bishops insisted that Ithacius should not appear as accuser. This office was entrusted to a treasury official named Patritius, who succeeded in convicting Priscillian and two of his clerical followers, Felicissimus and Armenius. Subsequently the deacons Asarbius and Aurelius, the poet Latronianus and a matron named Euchrotia were convicted, and all seven were executed. Bishop Instantius, who had been convicted of heresy at the synod of Bourdeaux, as well as the rhetorician Tiberianus, escaped with exile to the Scilly Isles.

Satisfied with their achievements, the Bishops who brought about the condemnation of the Priscillianists remained in Trier, basking in the sunshine of the imperial court. After further deliberations on the subject of Priscillianism they determined to eradicate completely the dangerous heresy they had been combating in the manner described, and to this end they persuaded Maximus to send a special

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<sup>11</sup> Sulp. Sev., *op. cit.*, c. 50.

commission, armed with plenary powers, into Spain, "to search out heretics," who, when found, were to be deprived "of their life or goods." But before the commission had had time to set out the disturbing news was circulated that St. Martin was returning to Trier. Realizing instinctively that the saint would refrain from communion with them, and dreading the consequences of thus being tacitly condemned by one whose prestige was so great, the Ithacians persuaded Maximus to prohibit the Bishop of Tours from entering the city, unless he would first promise to remain on friendly terms with them. The officials charged with this demand encountered Martin approaching Trier, and the saint readily promised that "he would come among them with the peace of Christ." This seemed satisfactory, and Martin was allowed to continue his journey.

In coming to court at this time the saint had several objects in view, among them being that of securing pardon for two former officers of Gratian. His principal purpose was, however, to obtain the revocation of the powers of the commission about to depart for Spain. But this favor Maximus was reluctant to grant. For, in the first place, Martin refused to communicate with the Bishops, and in the next place, the Emperor was credited at the time with a strong desire to lay hands on the confiscated goods of the Spanish heretics.<sup>12</sup> The Bishops, too, begged the Emperor not to fail them, for they knew full well that Martin, whom they were pleased to designate a defender and vindicator of heretics, was supported by public opinion. To a certain extent their efforts were successful, and the Emperor assured them of his continued support. According to Sulpicius Severus, the Ithacians even tried to persuade Maximus to dispose of Martin as he had disposed of Priscillian. Prudence, however, if no better motive, prevented the Emperor from adopting a proposal so outrageous, which in all probability would then and there have cost him his usurped throne. Instead of violent measures, therefore, Maximus determined to try persuasion, and sending for Martin he gave him a plausible account of the condemnation of Priscillian and his followers which he thought ought to satisfy the saint's scruples. The heretics, Maximus assured Martin, were condemned for civil rather than religious offenses, and after a fair trial. There was, consequently, no valid reason why the Bishop of Tours should refrain from communion with his confreres. Furthermore, a synod held a few days previously had absolved Ithacius from all responsibility for the condemnation of the Priscillianists. But this specious argument failed to convince Martin, and the Emperor, leaving him in anger, gave orders for the commission to start immediately for Spain.

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<sup>12</sup> Sulp. Sever. Dial., III., 11.



The news of this decision was brought to Martin the same night, and at once he hurried to the palace, where he obtained an immediate audience. To save the heretics from the danger that threatened them the saint capitulated. He would communicate with the Bishops on two conditions—namely, that the powers of the commission should be revoked and that all further proceedings of the kind contemplated against the Priscillianists should be abandoned. The Emperor granted his terms without further parley, and the following day Martin, agreeably with his promise, assisted at the consecration of Felix, the newly elected Bishop of Trier, who personally had had nothing to do with the Priscillianist matter.

Yet the saint's conscience reproached him for even this slight concession, which circumstances forced him to make as the only way of preventing bloodshed. Hurrying away from Trier after the ceremony of consecration, the holy Bishop suffered intensely because of what he regarded as his weakness in communicating with the Ithacians under any conditions. On arriving at the village of Andethanna on his homeward journey, he sat down for a while to reason the matter out, but his conscience would not be satisfied. At this point, says Sulpicius Severus, "an angel stood by him and said: 'Justly, O Martin, do you feel compunction, but you could not otherwise get out of your difficulty. Renew your virtue, resume your courage, lest you not only expose your fame, but your very salvation to damage.' " Thenceforward he kept aloof from the Ithacians, and during the remaining sixteen years of his life he refused to attend ecclesiastical synods.<sup>13</sup>

The best public opinion of the time was with St. Martin of Tours in his noble protest against the execution of the Priscillianists. The pretext for this execution, indeed, was that the sectaries had been found guilty of a crime punishable with death under the civil law, but everybody knew that the real reason for the infliction of capital punishment on the heretics was their unorthodoxy. It is quite true that at this time Christians in general regarded heresy as a grave civil offense, but it is equally true that the great majority of Christians were strongly opposed to the death penalty for religious dissent. St. Martin's opinion as to the proper manner of dealing with heresy is very clearly stated, and his view is substantially that of his contemporaries, St. Ambrose and Pope Siricius. Those accused of teaching false doctrines, St. Martin held, should be judged only by a synod of Bishops, and if found guilty, they should merely be excommunicated and expelled from their churches.<sup>14</sup> The Bishop of Tours did not, therefore, find fault with a certain degree of indirect tem-

<sup>13</sup> Sulp. Sev., *op. cit.*, c. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacra.*, II., 50.

poral punishment for heresy, which was obviously a necessity; for otherwise a heretical Bishop could with impunity retain in his possession the churches of his diocese, using them for a purpose the opposite of that for which they were founded. Furthermore, nobody in the fourth century raised any particular objection when the State imposed the penalty of exile on heresiarchs or fomenters of schism; good order, indeed, then ordinarily demanded the removal of personages of these two categories to a distance from the scenes that witnessed their departure from orthodoxy. But prior to the Priscillianist troubles, no group of orthodox Bishops ever countenanced extreme penalties against dissenters. Now that a new precedent was established by Spanish and Gallic Bishops, a precedent which went even farther than any of the palmy days of Constantius and Valens, the leading Bishops of the Western Church expressed their indignation against its authors in a manner that left no room for doubt as to their opinions. St. Ambrose, on his second mission to the court of Trier, refused to have any relations with Bishop Felix, who, because of the peculiar circumstances of his consecration, was necessarily identified with the Ithacians. Pope Siricius demanded explanations of Maximus,<sup>15</sup> which were evidently unsatisfactory, as we infer from the sixth canon of the Council of Turin, held towards the year 400.<sup>16</sup> So long, indeed, as Maximus reigned the Ithacians held their own, but after the defeat and death of their imperial protector their cause was lost. Ydacius of Merida then, of his own accord, resigned his see, and Ithacius was deposed. Ydacius subsequently endeavored again to take possession of his bishopric, but failed in the attempt. History loses sight of him and his friend Ithacius enjoying leisure for reflection on their achievements in a Neapolitan prison.

Thus, at the close of the fourth century, while punishment of greater or less severity inflicted on heretics and schismatics by imperial enactments was generally approved, yet, on the other hand, the Catholics of the empire were practically unanimous in the opinion that such punishment should invariably stop short of death. The Theodocian code contains sixty-eight laws, enacted in a period of fifty-seven years,<sup>17</sup> on the subject of heresy, but of these only one exacts the supreme penalty for heresy. The exception is a law of

<sup>15</sup> P. L., t. XIII., 592.

<sup>16</sup> "Those Bishops of Gaul who have refused communion with Felix of Trier ought to be admitted to the council, conformably with a letter of Ambrose of blessed memory, and of the Pope." In other words, those Bishops who took the side of St. Martin in the Priscillianist matter were alone admitted to the Italian synod, whereas those in any way identified with the Ithacians were excluded.—*Cf.* Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, II., Part I., p. 134.

<sup>17</sup> Loening, *Geschichte des Deutschen Kirchenrechts*, I., 98.

the Emperor Honorius, and its scope is limited to a Manichean sect, against which the pagan Emperor Diocletian had enacted a law of equal severity. Honorius also, it is true, decreed, in a law of 410, that all heretics who assembled for common worship were liable to the death penalty, but this enactment appears to have been intended to intimidate dissidents and induce them by fear of the consequences to return to orthodoxy. The mere fact of being a heretic was not illegal; so long as the individual kept his views to himself he was not interfered with. But any attempt to propagate heresy was ordinarily punished with confiscation and exile.<sup>18</sup>

In the early part of the fifth century the question of how to deal with dissidents in large numbers from the officially recognized creed occupied a considerable share of the attention of the Emperor Honorius. For nearly a century prior to this time the Church of Africa had been divided into two bitterly opposed factions, the Donatists and the Catholics. Although the grounds for the Donatist schism were wholly trivial, yet all previous attempts to end it had proved futile. Honorius now determined to employ the strongest measures against the sectaries, with the approval of most of the Catholic hierarchy of the province. At first one African Bishop, St. Augustine, disapproved of the severe enactments of the Emperor. But by degrees the views of the great Bishop of Hippo underwent considerable modification, a fact of very great moment in the history of heresy and schism.

At the beginning of his career as a priest of Hippo St. Augustine determined to do all in his power to terminate a senseless schism which he regarded as a disgrace to the Church of Africa. The means for the attainment of this desirable object which he proposed to adopt were "peaceful conferences," in which the civil authorities should have no part. On the side of the Catholics there should be "no appeal to men's fear of the civil power," and nobody should be compelled "to embrace the communion of any party;" but on the part of the schismatics he required that the violent sect of the Circumcelliones should be kept in order.<sup>19</sup> The discussions thus inaugurated continued for several years with fairly good results, and at length, in 411, by mutual agreement, a great conference of the Bishops of both parties was arranged to be held at Carthage, with an imperial official named Marcellinus as referee.

The conference opened in June, 411, with 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist Bishops participating. At the suggestion of Marcellinus seven Bishops on each side were selected to present the arguments of the respective parties. The decision, given in favor of the Cath-

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<sup>18</sup> Cod. Theod., XVI., tit. V., 45.

<sup>19</sup> St. Aug., Ep. XXIII., 6, 7.

olics, was not acceptable to the Donatists, who, as in the reign of Constantine, appealed to the Emperor for final judgment. But Honorius pronounced against them, as did his predecessor, and the Donatists were ordered to surrender their churches to their adversaries.

Severe measures were now decreed against those who persisted in schism. Their churches were ordered to be seized; Donatist Bishops and priests were banished and their material possessions confiscated, while the laity of the sect were punished with greater or less severity according to their status as freemen or slaves.

For several years previous to this culmination St. Augustine's views on the question of the punishment of heresy and schism had been undergoing a gradual change. In the period following immediately on his conversion his tolerance was of the broadest character, embracing even the Manicheans. But little by little he became a convert to the theory of moderate coercion, for reasons which we find stated at length in his ninety-third letter.

Briefly stated, St. Augustine became an advocate of coercion after he had seen coercion successfully employed in bringing back to the Catholic fold a host of schismatics. Curiously enough, also, the converts from schism themselves seem to have been in a large measure responsible for the change of mind in this regard of the Bishop of Hippo. For even the most fanatical of the schismatics, the Circumcelliones themselves, stated freely after their reconciliation that they had long been laboring under a "wretched delusion," "as persons beside themselves," who under the bondage of custom would have continued in their erroneous practices had they not, "under the shock of alarm," addressed themselves with genuine earnestness to the study of the truth. Furthermore, many of these converts to Catholicism now spoke "bitterly of the weight with which their ruinous course formerly oppressed them," and confessed that it was the duty of the Catholics "to inflict annoyance on them, in order to prevent them from perishing under the disease of lethargic habit, as under a fatal sleep." These peculiar views evidently astonished St. Augustine and made him ask himself whether after all his colleagues in the episcopate were not right and he wrong as to the best way of eradicating Donatism. His conclusion was in favor of the employment of the sort of moderate coercion favored by the "fatherly diligence" of the African Bishops. For not every one, he urged, who is indulgent is a friend, nor, on the other hand, is every one an enemy who smites; better are the wounds of a friend than the proffered kisses of an enemy. One who binds a madman or who arouses a slothful neighbor is distasteful to the persons thus disturbed; yet in both instances the friend acts for the best interests

of the irritated parties. Or take the decisive example of God in His dealings with men. Does not our Creator Himself unite salutary fear with wholesome instruction? Some of the patriarchs of the Old Testament suffered from famine; the chosen people for their sins were often and severely punished, and even the Apostle of the nations was afflicted so that his strength might be perfected in weakness. Why, then, not chastise the foolish members of the flock of Christ who refuse unreasonably to accept the shepherd's protection, which is necessary for their salvation? To inflict punishment in a vindictive spirit would be, of course, inexcusable; but punishment of the order in question is merely a means to an end, and the end is that the African schismatics should be compelled to hear salutary instruction. The results so far had been excellent, and the wanderers had been among the first to express their gratitude to the shepherds who by paternal coercion had brought them back to the fold.<sup>20</sup>

But, it was objected, no one can be compelled to be righteous. To this St. Augustine replies by quoting the injunction of the Lord to the servants at the marriage feast: "Compel them to come in." The degree of compulsion here approved of, however, is still of the paternal order, as is clear from the example of the conversion of St. Paul cited in illustration. The Apostle "was compelled by the great violence with which Christ coerced him to know and embrace the truth." In her dealings with the schismatics similarly, the Church is merely endeavoring to counteract the evil of sin, "not with the hatred which seeks to harm, but with the love which seeks to heal."

The employment of such punishments as exile and fines, therefore, St. Augustine regards as justifiable for the purpose of bringing back to safety those who have been led away by perverse men from the fold of Christ. But the aim of repression and restraint should be the spiritual good of those affected, rather than that they should depart from evil than be punished for crime.<sup>21</sup> And, as already noted, the results of this policy had proved to the satisfaction of the Bishop of Hippo that his own early views on tolerance were at least partially erroneous. Before his eyes in his episcopal city of Hippo he had a striking example of what the imperial laws against the Donatists had effected. Hippo, which had formerly been a Donatist stronghold, was now wholly Catholic, and this surprising change had been brought about by means of which those who alone had a right to protest heartily approved. St. Augustine entertained no suspicion as to the sincerity of the conversion of his diocesans, who themselves

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<sup>20</sup> Ep. XCIII., cc. 1, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Ep. XCIII., 10.

assured him that they had remained in schism either because they had not taken the trouble to ascertain what the merits of the dispute between Catholics and Donatists really were, or because they had been afraid of offending the leaders of their party by returning to the Church.

But while St. Augustine thus became a convert to the principle of compulsion in religion, his writings leave no room for doubt that at all times he was strongly opposed to the infliction of the more severe forms of punishment, and particularly of the death penalty for heresy or schism. In theory, it is true, he admitted that a heretic was a criminal of the worst order, who, as such, deserved the extreme penalty of the law. Heretics, he argued, "kill souls, for which the State inflicts corporal punishment only; they cause eternal death, and yet complain when made to suffer temporal death."<sup>22</sup> Yet, in spite of their guilt, and although "every injury done by impious and ungrateful men against Christian society is a more serious and heinous crime than if it had been done against others," nevertheless the civil magistrate should not on this account punish offenses of this order with the severity they deserve, but "with the moderation which is suitable to Christian forbearance."<sup>23</sup> The Church does not desire the death of heretics, but "their deliverance from error." It would be, on the one hand, a mistake to inflict no punishment at all on heretics, since a wholesome fear of temporal suffering may save them from "falling under the penalty of eternal judgment." But neither does the Church wish to see heretics "subjected to the severer punishment which they deserve;" on the contrary, her strongest desire is that "sinners may be spared to repent of their sin."

Wherefore, St. Augustine begs of the Proconsul Donatus, to whom this letter is addressed, when pronouncing judgment in cases affecting the Church, that no matter how wicked the offenders may be, he must try "to forget that he has the power to inflict capital punishment." If the Proconsul will not grant this favor to the Bishop of Hippo, then no Bishop can coöperate with the civil authorities by denouncing heretics; in other words, Bishops approve of the milder forms of punishment for heresy, but they are totally opposed to the supreme penalty being carried out against heretics. Still more emphatic in opposition to extreme measures is a letter of St. Augustine's to Marcellinus, the imperial official who presided over the conference of Carthage. In this letter St. Augustine says that he has heard with the deepest concern of certain crimes committed by the Circumcelliones in the Diocese of Hippo. These crimes con-

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<sup>22</sup> In Joannem, Tract. XI., c. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Ep. C., 1.

sisted of the murder of the priest Restitutus and the gouging out the eyes and cutting off a finger of another priest, Innocentius. A considerable number of persons had been arrested on the charge of complicity in these grave offenses, and of these several had confessed their guilt. Yet, even in this instance, St. Augustine was opposed to the infliction of capital punishment, and he now writes in haste imploring Marcellinus by his faith in Christ and "by the mercy of Christ Himself, by no means to do this or permit it to be done." He has no objection to ordinary criminals being punished according to law, but he does "not wish to have the sufferings of the servants of God avenged by the infliction of precisely similar injuries in the way of retaliation." He recommends, therefore, that the guilty fanatics shall merely be deprived "of the liberty to commit further crimes." Justice must, indeed, be satisfied, but, just because the crimes of which the Circumcelliones had been convicted were associated with the Christian religion, the Bishop of Hippo strongly urges Marcellinus not to treat them as he would ordinary offenders against the law. Their lives must not be taken nor their bodies in any way maimed; only such coercive measures may be employed as will restrain "their insane frenzy" and compel them "to give up mischievous violence and betake themselves to some useful labor."<sup>24</sup> By thus imposing only a moderate penalty for the outrages committed by the guilty schismatics, these will have a further opportunity to repent of their evil deeds, and thus what would ordinarily be regarded as a punishment will not in reality be such at all, since it will have effected the conversion to a better and more Christian frame of mind of the unfortunates whom their advocate regards as scarcely responsible beings.<sup>25</sup> "Fulfill, Christian judge," continues St. Augustine, "the duty of an affectionate father; let your indignation against their crime be tempered by considerations of humanity; be not provoked by the atrocity of their sinful deeds to gratify the passion of revenge, but rather be moved by the wounds which these deeds have inflicted on their own souls to exercise a desire to heal them. Do not now lose that fatherly care which you maintained when prosecuting the examination, in doing which you extracted the confession of such horrid crimes, not by stretching them on the rack, not by furrowing their flesh with iron claws, not by scorching them with flames, but by beating them with rods, a mode of correction used by schoolmasters and by parents themselves in chastising children, and often by Bishops in the sentences awarded by them. Do not, therefore, now punish with extreme severity the crimes which you searched out with lenity." If Marcellinus will not listen

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<sup>24</sup> Ep. CXXXIII., 1.

<sup>25</sup> Ep. CXXXIII., 1.

to this advice from Augustine, the friend, let him then hearken thereto as the counsel of Augustine the Bishop, who by virtue of his office in such a matter as this, and speaking to a Christian judge, has the right to command with authority. St. Augustine employs these strong terms because he does not wish to see the sufferings of Catholic servants of God, which ought to be useful in the spiritual upbuilding of the weak, "sullied by the retaliation of injustice on those who did them wrong." As a son of the Church Marcellinus should temper the rigor of justice with clemency, and thus demonstrate his own proper comprehension of the Christian faith.<sup>26</sup>

In the Eastern Church St. John Chrysostom, in the earlier portion of his career, held views on the subject of toleration as moderate as those of St. Augustine during the period immediately following his conversion. "The wrongdoer," St. Chrysostom maintained, "must be made better, not by force, but by persuasion." Authority to employ restraint against sinners is not given by law, but even if it were given, its exercise would be futile, "inasmuch as God rewards those who abstain from evil by their own choice, not from necessity."<sup>27</sup> In common with all his contemporaries, however, St. John had a perfect horror of heresy. The virtues of heretics he regarded as virtues in appearance only,<sup>28</sup> and neither he nor any other Christian of that age seriously entertained the idea that a heretic might be in good faith. Propagators of heresy, therefore, were the worst of criminals, and as such should be severely dealt with; but, like St. Augustine, Chrysostom drew the line at capital punishment. The execution of a Christian for the crime of heresy he regards as wholly indefensible; those who approve of such a procedure fail to grasp the plain teaching of Christ as expressed in the parable of the cockle. But our Lord did not forbid the repression of heresy by such means as interdicting heretical reunions and prohibiting heretical propaganda. When, therefore, the priest is unable to convince heretics of their errors, then the secular powers should intervene, in the sense indicated. In this manner the earthly will coöperate with the heavenly kingdom and put an effective check on the obstinacy and pride of the stiff-necked generation of those who set their own opinions above the teaching of the Church.<sup>29</sup> A story is told by the historian Socrates which illustrates Chrysostom's idea of the manner in which heresy should be dealt with. At the time John became Bishop of Constantinople the now proscribed Arian sect had still a considerable number of adherents in the Eastern capital. Having

<sup>26</sup> Ep. CXXXIII., 3.

<sup>27</sup> *De Sacerdotio*, II., 3; cf. Puech, *S. Jean Chrysostome et les Moeurs des son Temps*, p. 203.

<sup>28</sup> Puech, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> *Hom. 46*, in *Matt.*; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 205, and Vacandard, *L'Inquisition*, p. 25.



no churches within the city, the sectaries were accustomed to assemble twice a week, on Saturday and Sunday, in the public squares and near the city gates, where they formed processions and marched, singing hymns, to the place outside the walls where they were still allowed to hold public worship. On their way home at night after services the Arians were usually in an aggressive mood, and loudly proclaimed their defiance of the orthodox by "making use of insulting expressions in relation to the Homoeousians." This was too much for the Bishop, who, besides regarding these demonstrations as offensive to Catholics, feared that some of the weaker of his own flock might be contaminated by bad example. He therefore, with the zealous coöperation of the Empress Eudoxia and one of her eunuchs named Briso, organized counter nocturnal demonstrations, which far surpassed in display those of the Arians. The result was what might have been anticipated—violent encounters between the rival demonstrators, which brought about the intervention of the civil authorities. The Arian processions were interdicted, and thus the scandal ended.

The view of heresy and heretics set forth above is that which prevailed in the Western Church down to the thirteenth century. Pope Leo the Great, indeed, has been accused of favoring the infliction of the death penalty for heresy, but an impartial reading of the letter on which this charge is based does not substantiate this indictment. Writing to the Bishop of Asturia in Spain on the errors of the Priscillianists, Pope Leo refutes in detail the doctrines of this sect, as they had been developed by the middle of the fifth century. The Pope regarded this heresy as very bad indeed; it synthetized, he claimed, the worst features of every heresy that had thus far appeared in Christendom, and therefore its continued existence would constitute a serious danger to both Church and State. The Priscillianists, he states, were little, if at all, better than heathens. Their religious doctrines, and especially their peculiar views with regard to demons, were practically a denial of human responsibility. For the logical deduction from their belief was that "no reward will be due for virtues, no punishment for faults and all the injunctions not only of human laws, but of divine constitutions, will be broken down." "No criterion of good or bad actions" will be possible "if a fatal necessity drives the impulses of the mind to either side, and all that men can do is through the agency not of men, but of stars." This being the case, the Pope commends the contemporaries of Priscillian for their efforts towards the extirpation of so fatal a heresy. And "even the leaders of the world," he adds, "so abhorred this profane folly that they laid low its originator, with most of his disciples, by the sword of the public laws. For they saw that all

desire for honorable conduct was removed, all marriage ties undone, and the divine and the human law simultaneously undermined, if it were allowed for men of this kind to live anywhere under such a creed." This rigorous treatment of the Priscillianists was "for long a help to the Church's law of gentleness, which, although it relies upon the priestly judgment and shuns blood-stained vengeance, yet is assisted by the stern decrees of Christian princes, since fear of corporal punishment may be a means of inducing such offenders to seek a spiritual remedy."<sup>80</sup>

In this portion of his letter referring to the dealings of the civil power with the Priscillianists the Pope's idea is, apparently, that the civil authorities were justified, as the guardians of social order, in condemning to death the leaders of a sect whose teachings would undermine the very foundations of the State. Furthermore, while the State was thus attending to a matter that concerned itself, the punishment which it inflicted on the Priscillianists was indirectly helpful to the Church. The Church's own tribunal would, it is true, have pronounced a milder sentence. Yet for all this, the State's judgment was in strict accordance with the law, which being so, the Church by the enforcement of the law was aided indirectly, though she herself had no responsibility for the execution of the guilty parties. But, as is evident from other references in this Pope's writings, St. Leo did not sanction the death penalty for heresy alone. In a letter to Bishop Julian of Cos, for example, he instructs his representative at the imperial court to confer with the Emperor Marcian on the subject of heresy, which, although it should be repressed, yet in so doing the extreme penalty of death should never be resorted to (*non gladium evaginantes ad necem*.)

Such were the most important developments in the course of the century following the conversion of Constantine in the matter of dealing with heresy. From the earliest Christian times heresy was universally regarded as the most heinous of sins. The heretic, St. Paul instructs Titus, shall be admonished a first and a second time of the grave character of his offense; if he will not heed, he must be avoided by Christians as a man in evident bad faith, who stands self-condemned.<sup>81</sup> St. John, Eusebius informs us, would not even for a moment voluntarily remain under the same roof as Cerinthus, "the enemy of the truth," fearing lest the mere presence of the heretic would bring instant disaster on the edifice. His disciple, St. Polycarp, was no less severe when he saluted the heretic Marcion as the "first-born of Satan."<sup>82</sup> The idea that a heretic might really

<sup>80</sup> St. Leo, M., Ep. XV., 1. *Dum ad spiritale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium qui timent corporeale supplicium.*

<sup>81</sup> Titus, III., 10, 11.

<sup>82</sup> Eusebius, H. E. IV., 14.

believe what he taught was entertained by no one; a heretic was a person who deliberately taught a doctrine he knew to be false, in contradiction of the infallible teaching of the Church. Heretics were consequently cut off from all association with the faithful, who must hold no relations with them so long as they obstinately refuse to heed the official remonstrances of the Church authorities. Thus, indirectly, excommunication involved a certain degree of temporal punishment, which in the case of the poor accustomed to receive alms from the Church treasury, may have been of serious moment.<sup>33</sup> But apart from the loss of communion and its consequences no ecclesiastical writer before Constantine entertained the idea of any more serious punishment than this for heresy. The Donatist schismatics were responsible for the introduction of a new precedent when they appealed from the decision of two ecclesiastical courts to the tribunal of the Emperor. Too late they realized their mistake, for Constantine not only decided against them, but ordered their churches to be seized, their leaders exiled and their property confiscated.

Five Arian chiefs were punished with exile, also by this Emperor, because of their refusal to accept the decisions of the Council of Nice, and all who possessed heretical books were ordered to destroy them under penalty of death.<sup>34</sup> The Bishops of the council seem, at least tacitly, to have sanctioned this decree of the civil ruler, the first part of which, indeed, signified little more than the enforcement by the Emperor of what was involved in the sentence of excommunication. But in the latter years of Constantine's reign, as well as in the reigns of Constantius and Valens, the orthodox became themselves the victims of the repressive measures adopted by the State for the purpose of compelling the universal assent of Christians to the creeds sanctioned by the civil authorities. Eventually the tide turned again in favor of orthodoxy, in the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius. By this time the principle of a civil sanction for religious dissent was universally accepted by Christians. Yet to the credit of the triumphant Catholics it must be said that they were far more moderate in victory than had been their Arian adversaries. This was especially true of the West, as is evident from the general approval with which the spirited protests of St. Martin of Tours were received. The Emperor Theodosius, indeed, enacted severe laws against heretics, and his successor in the West, Honorius I., prohibited heretical assemblages under pain of death. Yet so far at

<sup>33</sup> Cf. De Cauzons, *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, I, 143, sqq., who discusses in a very satisfactory manner the whole question of heresy in the first and second periods of Church history as an introduction to his principal subject.

<sup>34</sup> Sozomen, *H. E.* I, 21.

least as concerns Theodosius, Sozomen tells us that his enactments were not at all strictly enforced. "The Emperor had no desire to persecute his subjects; he only wished to enforce uniformity of view about God through the medium of intimidation."<sup>85</sup> But whatever may have been the intentions of the civil authorities in their laws against heresy, the unanimous opinion of the greatest Bishops at the end of the fourth and in the early part of the fifth century was that while heretics deserved punishment, this punishment should be of a comparatively mild order. St. Martin stood for excommunication only, with its corollary, the expulsion of heresiarchs from churches in their possession. St. Augustine, while admitting in principle that heresy was the greatest of offenses against Christian society, and as such a capital crime, yet, as is clear from his protests quoted above against extreme severity, he was totally opposed to the infliction of capital punishment even in the case where religious dissent was closely connected with so grave a crime as murder. The reason for this attitude St. Augustine states in his letter to Marcellinus; as a Christian Bishop he could not entertain the idea that the shedding of blood for any offense, however grave, against religion would harmonize with the teachings of Christ. Yet at the same time he maintained that heresy in a Christian State is a capital crime. The future was destined to produce generations of Christians more logical, if less tolerant, than the great Bishop of Hippo.

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## THE NATURE OF SACRIFICE.

CATHOLIC theologians, in discussing the nature of sacrifice, usually take for granted the definition of this rite as "an oblation or offering of some sensible object to God by man." Differences of opinion between them exist in connection with the mode of offering and the precise ends for which the sacrifice is offered rather than with the fundamental notion. But according to the principles of those essentially modern branches of study, the sciences of anthropology and comparative religion, an entirely new way of regarding the rite has arisen and one that altogether upsets the traditional teaching on the subject, both Catholic and non-Catholic. According to this new theory the notion of offering is practically eliminated and a sacrifice is described simply as a sacred meal or banquet in which gods and men feast together as a sign of their

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<sup>85</sup> Sozomen, H. E. VII., 12.

friendship and their desire to communicate with one another. Its origin is due to the simple, childlike ideas of primitive man, for whom to join together at a feast was the recognized symbol of amity. Man, being ever prone to translate his religious sentiments into analogies of ordinary life, gave to this purely human custom a religious signification—hence the rite of sacrifice. Most of those, however, who uphold this theory are ready to admit that this conception of a meal shared with the Divine Powers has not been preserved unchanged throughout the history of religion.

With the advance of civilization and the acquisition of personal property the change from the savage to the nomadic stage and from that again to the agricultural stage, a sacrifice gradually came to be regarded as a gift offered by man to the gods, a gift taken from his own property and offered in token of homage and to obtain the favors of heaven. The banquet fell into the background as the gift-idea developed and became more prominent, but it never altogether disappeared and was preserved in certain classes of sacrifice as at least an integral part of the rite.

The "totem theory" of Professor W. R. Smith,<sup>1</sup> at one time enjoying a certain amount of popularity, is not now generally in favor among students of religion, since further research tends to lessen the importance attributed to Totemism as a factor in primitive religion and even to deny it any religious significance whatever, at least in its origin.<sup>2</sup>

Most people prefer the less complicated theory of a banquet pure and simple, or else explain the sacred character attributed to the victim as the result of its use in the ritual rather than that of a permanent characteristic as in the Totem theory. Dr. L. R. Farnell, in a most interesting article in the *Hibbert Journal*, discusses the mystical and sacramental character of sacrifice in the ancient Greek religion. He believes this to be due to the fact that the victim or oblations by being offered on the altar received a special consecration whereby they were charged with the divine influence and even "possessed" by the deity to whom they were offered. To feast then on the flesh of the sacrificial victim or to eat the sacred cakes presented to the god was to feast on the god himself, or at least to become intimately united with him.<sup>3</sup> This theory seems to possess much truth, and in it the element of oblation holds a more important place than in the banquet theory as it has been called. It may also be regarded as, in its own way, a curious foreshadowing of the Holy

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<sup>1</sup> "Religion of the Semites," by W. Robertson Smith.

<sup>2</sup> "Hastings' Dict. of the Bible," Vol. IV., Art. "Sacrifice," pp. 331 and 332; also "The Secret of the Totem," Andrew Lang.

<sup>3</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1904, "Sacrificial Communion in Greek Religion," L. R. Farnell.

Eucharist and as a testimony to the felt need of human nature for a close and real union with the Divinity it worships—a need that can be satisfied in the religion of Christ alone.

Other writers prefer to regard sacrifice as essentially a gift offered to the gods in token of homage, to obtain their favor or avert their wrath. The origin of this custom is, however, placed either in that of offering food and drink to the spirits of the dead (from whom all gods have been evolved) or simply in the notion that the gods, like men, need or are at least refreshed and pleased by the offerings of food and drink set before them by their human subjects.<sup>4</sup>

Theories such as these are all based upon the same assumption—that the early religious ideas of man must necessarily have been of a low material nature, an assumption entirely disregarding any idea of Revelation and one that is not in reality borne out by the evidence of facts. The earliest ideas of man regarding religion, as far as history can show us, are not by any means his poorest. The evolution of religion from fetichism, ghost-worship, totemism and all the other superstitions through which it is supposed to have passed, is an hypothesis in reality lacking in solid foundation. Superstitions such as these are degenerations of religion and not the lower phases through which it has crept up to higher things.<sup>5</sup> The history of religion in general, apart from revelation, can only be judged by that of religions in particular, and in these, the religions of Israel and of Jesus Christ alone excepted, degeneration, not progress, seems to be the law. The older theories on the nature of sacrifice no doubt depend too much on a priori considerations and too little on those historical and critical. But, on the other hand, modern theories do not seem to be altogether free from this fault. Instead of theory being always dependent upon fact, as science proclaims it should be, the process is often reversed and fact is colored by preconceived theory. No one, in reality, is so dogmatic in his pronouncements, so intolerant in his opinions as the modern critic or man of science. In comparative religion and its sister science, anthropology, this is especially noticeable. Yet it cannot be denied that both these sciences have done much in the way of throwing light on the problems of the history of religion and all connected with it, such, for example, as the subject of the present paper.

The study of sacrifice and its ritual in the various religions of the world is a most valuable means of throwing light on sacrifice in general, and indeed a necessary means if a true idea of its nature

<sup>4</sup> "Hastings' Dict. of the Bible," Vol. IV., Art. "Sacrifice." "Primitive Culture," Tylor.

<sup>5</sup> "The Problem of the Old Testament," by J. Orr, D. D. (Bross Library, Vol. III.), p. 496, Note A, to p. 128, "Early Ideas of God;" also, "The Making of Religion," by Andrew Lang, *passim*.

is to be discovered. The marvelous similarity, even in accidentals, in ceremonies and ritual, found in every known religion leads to the hope of discovering the essential idea which expresses itself everywhere in the same or practically the same way. This question, apart from its own immediate interest, can hardly fail to be an important one for Catholic theology.

The Holy Eucharist in all its aspects may be called the theological question of the day. But of these aspects, perhaps the one that demands more direct attention than any other is the sacrificial aspect. To discover precisely what it is in the Mass that constitutes it a sacrifice is the great object of modern theological speculation, and it is clear that to attain this satisfactorily it must first be necessary to discover what the notion of sacrifice itself implies. The unquestionable difficulty of this is no doubt largely due to the complex nature of the rite, which renders it no easy task to obtain a clear all-round view of that which has so many different sides.

Nowadays, among Catholic theologians, theories on this question are mainly reducible to two, commonly known as the "Destruction" and "Oblation" theories. The first represents more or less the teaching of the older theologians, and is found in most manuals of dogmatic theology. The second is practically the outcome of modern thought, the word "modern" being used, not in the sense of "modernist," but simply as opposed to ancient.

This latter theory can, however, quote authorities in its behalf from the past, especially among a certain French school of the seventeenth century, and it relies to a great extent upon the authority of theologians anterior to the time of Vasquez.\* The point at issue between these rival theories is whether the destruction of the object offered by means of slaying, burning or any other way is an essential element of sacrifice as such. Both theories agree in regarding sacrifice as fundamentally an offering made by man to God, but they differ greatly when they come to describe the exact nature of this offering, the mode whereby it is offered and the ends for which it is offered. The question is chiefly concerned, in fact, with the "form" of sacrifice, to use scholastic terminology. The "matter," however, ought not to be neglected. It may be that this has not always received the attention it demands, and that this neglect is at least a partial cause of the obscurity in which the whole question is involved. According to the destruction theory, the principal object of sacrifice is to offer worship to God by the recognition of His supreme power over the life and death of His creatures and His power to dispose of all things. By presenting to Him in sacrifice some one of His

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\* "Manual of Catholic Theology" (Wilhelm & Scannell), Vol. II., Chap. II., par. 209.

creatures either animate or inanimate and destroying it in an appropriate manner, the nothingness of all creation as compared to its Creator and His power to dispose of everything, even life itself, as He wills, is symbolized in a striking way. Hence the essential point in the sacrifice is the slaying or destruction of the object as such—of course, for the symbolical reasons mentioned above.

According to the oblation theory, while destruction in some form is admitted as forming part, and an important part, of sacrificial ritual, this destruction is only the means whereby the end of sacrifice is attained, that end being the handing over and surrender of the oblation to God. The destruction of the offering takes effect as far as man is concerned, but it is thereby all the more effectually given up to the Divine Powers, being now removed entirely from the dominion of its human owner. In this we have but another example of the ultimate inadequacy of all human symbols. To destroy what belonged to him and thus render it useless for his own purposes, was the best way in which man could express his desire to give it up completely to God, since no man can actually approach Him. The essential point of sacrifice, in this view, is not the destruction of the oblation, but the offering of it to God, the entire surrender of it to Him. The slaying is preparatory to the sacrifice, the necessary condition, but it is not in itself the sacrifice. This consists in the outpouring of the life-blood on or about the altar or other place set apart for the purpose. In this action was symbolized the offering and surrender of the victim's life to God, since in accordance with ancient ideas the life was contained in the blood. It is a fact worth noticing in connection with this that in the sacrificial ritual of most religions, while the actual slaying could be performed by any one—either he who brought the sacrifice or some lay official appointed for the purpose—the outpouring of the blood and also the burning of the flesh on the altar, when this was done, were acts reserved to the priest alone. The offerer of the sacrifice had done his part in presenting the victim and in slaying it, thus surrendering his own right over its life. It was for the priest, the intermediary between God and man, to bring the victim near to God, to effect what the offerer desired, by presenting the "life in the blood" at the very altar itself which represented God or was even believed to denote His actual presence. In the case of offerings of bread, meal or wine, the whole act of sacrifice was contained in the burning and outpouring on or about the altar. But, as in the case of living victims, the object was not to destroy the offerings, but to convey them to God. This rite of burning symbolized partly the entire surrender of the offerings, partly their acceptance by God, for the sacrificial fire was really a symbol of His presence, while the



outpouring of the libations was analogous to that of the victim's blood.<sup>7</sup>

The fault of the destruction theory seems to lie in this, that by making destruction as such the essential object of sacrifice, the element of offering is practically eliminated and a sacrifice becomes merely a dramatic ceremony symbolizing the Divine power over life and death. It is taken for granted that sacrifice is an oblation, and it is so spoken of over and over again in treatises on the subject—as an oblation offered by means of destruction. But it is never clearly explained in what sense destruction can be called a means of offering, and it is difficult to see how an object that is destroyed can be said to be offered. The only explanation the present writer has as yet come across that seems to reconcile these two contradictory ideas in a satisfactory manner is that given in an interesting article by the Rev. P. Sexton which appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for August, 1898, under the same title as the present essay.<sup>8</sup> According to this writer sacrifice is the most perfect outward expression of two important truths of religion: (1) That all things in creation belong to God and depend upon Him for their very existence. (2) That nevertheless God has no need of any of them, being all-sufficient in Himself.

In the sacrificial rite two elements must be distinguished, one positive, the other negative, symbolizing respectively the positive and negative ideas expressed above. In the act of presentation, of bringing the victim before God and offering it to Him, God is recognized as the author of all things and as having supreme dominion over all. In the destruction which follows, His entire independence of all the works of His hands is strikingly shown forth.

Clear and reasonable as this explanation sounds, it may be questioned whether it really answers to the conception of sacrifice found in either revealed or ethnic religion. If it did, we ought to find the whole ritual of sacrifice concentrated round the act of immolation, the slaying of the victim, the burning of its flesh, and so on. On the contrary, however, we find that the central point of a sacrifice was the offering and application of the victim's blood, in which its life was offered to the Deity, the bonds of union between Him and His people renewed and the purifying virtue attaching to the sacrificial blood applied to the offerers. The burning of its flesh caused the victim to ascend in the cloud of smoke from the altar "as a sweet savour" before the throne of God. This seems clear in the sacrifices of the Old Testament, in which we find no word of destruction symbolizing the wrath of God or His power over life and death.

<sup>7</sup> "The Temple: Its Ministry and Services" (Dr. Edersheim), Chap. V., pp. 90 and 91.

<sup>8</sup> "The Nature of Sacrifice," by P. Sexton, S. T. L.

In the religions of the pagan world the same ritual and the same symbolism is found as in the revealed religion of Israel, but far less coherent and mingled with much superstition.

The objection to the oblation theory, in the eyes of the writer quoted above, an objection which he considers justifies his own views, is that in the contention that the whole object of sacrifice was to offer up, hand over and consecrate the victim or oblation entirely to God, the element of destruction is not sufficiently accounted for. If this "handing over" of the victim to God formed the whole ratio of sacrifice, we ought to find in the sacrifices offered, as they often were in ancient times, to deified Kings and heroes still living, that the element of destruction was absent, since the offering could be placed entirely in their power by the mere fact of presenting it to them. Yet such sacrifices formed no exception to the general rule. Victims were slain, offerings were burnt and libations poured out in honor of Kings just as they were in honor of the gods. To this objection it may be briefly answered that in most cases it was not so much the King or ruler himself that was worshiped as the Divine spirit by which he was supposed to be "possessed." Sacrifice was offered not to the man, as ordinary gifts might have been offered, but to the god who dwelt or manifested himself in the man.\*

If in some cases, as apparently in the Egyptian religion, Kings were actually worshiped in themselves as living gods, it must be remembered that such a form of worship is a comparatively late development in the history of religion—a stage in its downward progress. When men came to be looked upon or treated as gods from motives of fear or merely out of compliment, the recognized service paid to the Divine powers from time immemorial was transferred bodily to them without much thought of adaptation to different circumstances or realization of its inner meaning.<sup>10</sup> It is well known to students of comparative religion that ritual in the old religions was for the most part mere external formalism, kept up by religious conservatism even when its real significance had been entirely lost. The ritual had been handed down by tradition from age to age as the proper service of the gods, revealed to men by the gods themselves, and thus far too sacred to be changed or tampered with in any way. To carry out the prescribed ceremonial according to the prescribed method in accordance with the will of the gods was enough; it was unnecessary and even dangerous to inquire too closely into its meaning. On the whole, the oblation theory seems to be the one that best "colligates the facts," as Mr. Andrew Lang would put it. Its chief fault is that, being practically a reaction

\* *"The Mysteries of Mithra,"* Professor Cumont.

<sup>10</sup> *"Hastings' Dict. of the Bible,"* extra volume, "Religion of Egypt," p. 187, as far as Egyptian "king-gods" are concerned.

against the older view, it is perhaps inclined to fall into the fault of all reactions and to rush to the opposite extreme. In combatting the excessive importance attached by its rival theory to the element of destruction, the oblation theory is disposed to minimize too far its real importance in the sacrificial idea. The whole essence of the latter being considered to lie in the consecration and handing over to God of that which is offered, it is maintained that any act whereby this result could be effectually secured or fittingly symbolized would be sufficient. While destruction, therefore, is no doubt the usual mode of offering sacrifice, it cannot be said to be the only or essential mode. The great Jesuit theologian Suarez, in his treatise on sacrifice "in communi," says that any action whereby an oblation was consecrated and in some sense changed from its former state (*actio consecrativa et immutativa*) would be sufficient to fulfill the ratio of sacrifice without any immolation or destruction being necessary.<sup>11</sup> He suggests, as an example of this, the offering of the shew bread or loaves of proposition in the Jewish ritual of both tabernacle and temple. This rite has, however, always been the subject of controversy, and the question whether or not it can be called a sacrifice in the strict sense is disputed. The shew bread consisted of twelve unleavened loaves, or rather cakes, which were laid upon a golden table in the sanctuary on the north side of the altar of incense. On these loaves was placed pure frankincense (Vulg. *thus lucidissimum*). According to the directions given in Levit. xxiv., 5-9, the rite of offering simply consisted in laying out the loaves on the table on the Sabbath day, where they remained till the next Sabbath. They were then eaten by the priests within the precincts of the temple, the incense having first been burnt on the altar of holocausts.

From the terms applied to it in the Bible the shew bread certainly seems to have been looked upon as forming part of the regular sacrificial system. The word used in connection with it in Hebrew means a burnt-offering. On the other hand, it is clear that no part of the oblation itself was burnt; it remained whole and entire on the golden table until it was eaten by the priests in the sacred banquet. Some consider that the burning of the superimposed incense, together with the consumption of the loaves by the priest, constituted the necessary act of destruction required in a sacrifice.<sup>12</sup> Others deny that this is sufficient, for the incense formed no integral part of the oblation, and the act of eating the shew bread cannot be regarded as the destruction of the offering, but rather as an act of communion with Him to whom it was offered.

Others, again, who uphold the oblation theory defend the strict

<sup>11</sup> Suarez, De Sacramentis, Pars 1a, Disp. lxxiii., par. v. Qualls esse debeat res vel actio quae in sacrificio ad significandum imponitur.

<sup>12</sup> Franzellin, Tractatus de SS. Euch. Sacram. and Sacrific., c. 1., Thesis 1j.

sacrificial character of the shew bread, while they point to the absence of any destruction as proof of their own contentions. The sacrificial action, they contend, consisted merely in the presentation of the loaves in the holy place—actually “before the Lord.” In this way they received a special consecration, changing them from common to sacred bread, and were more completely handed over to God than any of the other sacrifices consumed on the altar without.

Against this, however, it may be remarked that in the text the shew bread, while spoken of as a sacrifice, is so called only in virtue of the incense offered with it and afterwards burnt on the altar in the outer court. In verse 7 it is said that this incense was placed on the loaves that it might be “to the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the Lord.”

The word translated “memorial” in the English version (Vulg. *monimentum*) is applied to that portion of the offerings that was actually burnt on the altar. The part thus burnt was a substitute for the whole, since the whole really belonged to God, and it was a “memorial” of the sacrifice in the sense of representing it or witnessing to the fact that it was being offered to Him.

In the case of the shew bread, of which for special reasons no part could be burnt, the incense took the place of the memorial portion. The objection that it was not an integral part of the oblation, as in the case of the other similar offerings described in Leviticus, can hardly hold good when the essentially substitutionary character of sacrifice is remembered. Moreover, the plain words of Scripture on this point can hardly be gainsaid by any *a priori* considerations. The argument that the special consecration received by being offered in the sanctuary itself constituted for the shew bread the necessary “*actio sacrificandi*” will not in reality suffice. It is true that the shew bread is spoken of as “most holy . . . of the offerings of the Lord made by fire” (R. V. Levit. xxiv., 9), but these identical words are used with reference to the other offerings of bread or meal, the so-called “meat offerings” prescribed in the earlier chapters of the book, and also with reference to the sacrifices for sin.<sup>13</sup>

Again, the shew bread was not the only sacrifice that was brought into the sanctuary. In certain sin-offerings, after the victim had been slain in the outer court, the priest carried its blood into the holy place, sprinkled it seven times before the veil of the Holy of Holies, and finally anointed with it the horns of the altar of incense.<sup>14</sup> Again, on the Day of Atonement the High Priest carried the blood of the goat offered “for Yahweh” into the very Holy of Holies

<sup>13</sup> *Vide* Levit. ii., 3, 10; vi., 17; x., 12; also vi., 25, 29; vii., 46. With regard to the class of sacrifices called “most holy,” *cf.* Edersheim, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> Levit. iv., 4-8.

itself.<sup>18</sup> This seems to indicate that the shew bread merely belonged to that class of sacrifices reckoned as "most holy," and not that it possessed any exclusive holiness as a species apart. But its exact significance and the interesting questions that arise in connection with the Holy Eucharist, of which it is so striking a type, would require an article to itself.

Another example sometimes quoted in favor of sacrifice without destruction is the sacrifice of Melchisedech described in Genesis xiv., 18-19. From the text it would appear that the ritual merely consisted in "bringing forth," that is, offering or presenting, the oblations of bread and wine to God. But this is hardly a safe text on which to found an argument. For, in the first place, granting that the action of Melchisedech in this case was in reality a sacrifice, the fact that no account of any sacrificial action other than that of presentation is found, is no proof that such did not exist. The writer of this passage was writing for his own times, and would not think it necessary to go into minute descriptions of a rite so well known and understood by every one in his day. In the second place, however, it is not at all certain that this "bringing forth" of bread and wine by Melchisedech was sacrificial. Catholic tradition has, it is true, always held that it was, and has always regarded it as an evident type of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Just as Melchisedech, the priest-king of the ancient sacred city of Jerusalem, brought forth offerings of bread and wine as priest of the Most High God, so Jesus Christ, Priest after the order of Melchisedech, brought forth on the night of His Passion the Bread of Life and the Chalice of Salvation—He who was Priest and King not only of Jerusalem and the Jews, but of the whole earth. So, too, in imitation of her Divine Master, and in obedience to His expressed commands, the Church daily brings forth these sacred offerings wherein honor is paid to the Most High God and man is strengthened with the Food of Eternal Life. Modern criticism, however, sees in the offerings of the priest-king of Salem nothing more than an act of hospitality shown to Abraham and his soldiers after their victory over the rivals of the King of Sodom. The particle *enim* (for) which in the Vulgate connects the offerings of bread and wine with the priestly character of Melchisedech, is in the Hebrew version represented by the conjunction *vau*, which merely means *and*, and hence deprives the sentence of its significance.

The question is too long a one to enter upon in this place, but it may be remarked in passing that *vau* copulative often introduces a causal or explanatory clause and is then to be rendered by *for* or *now*. For example, Exod. xxiii., 9.

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<sup>18</sup> Levit. xvi., 15.

The chief fault of the oblation theory, as we have seen, is that it is inclined to minimize the importance attaching to the sacrificial immolation or destruction, and to place the whole essence of sacrifice in the handing over and consecration to God of the oblation. But, as Bishop Hedley remarks, "the broad features of universal tradition and of Old Testament revelation force us to recognize that the impressive word Sacrifice covers a human impulse, whether a natural impulse merely or one inspired or fostered by the Holy Spirit, that has urged men to kill, to burn and to destroy in the worship of the Deity. That impulse, put into execution upon millions of altars in every region of the world throughout all ages and consecrated by the ordinance and the gracious acceptance of God, especially in the worship of the temple, is what men mean when they talk of sacrifice."<sup>16</sup>

The truth is that defenders of the oblation theory when arguing against their opponents are inclined to wander from the actual state of the case to the ideal notion of sacrifice. They argue, and justly, against the destruction theory that expiation for sin is not the primary end for which sacrifice is offered. But they further argue from this that the death or destruction of the sacrifice is necessary only as consequent upon this special aspect of the rite and is no part of its essential idea. This, in a sense, is perfectly true; homage paid to God as the author of all things, and especially of life, thanksgiving for favors received and intercession for others desired are the ends for which sacrifice could and no doubt would have been offered had sin never entered into the world. Death and destruction, the wages of sin, would also without doubt have been absent, and the mere act of presentation to God, of solemn consecration to His service would have sufficed to constitute a sacrifice. But the question on hand is not what sacrifice would have been or might have been, but what it actually is and always has been, and it is a fact that whatever the nature of a sacrifice or of the ends for which it was offered, the death of the victim or the destruction of the offering has always entered into the ritual as an essential part of it.

While expiation for sin is not the primary or root-idea of sacrifice, it is certainly in the present dispensation the most prominent one. This is only natural after all, for sinful man cannot approach God or offer Him a pleasing worship unless he first acknowledge his sins and endeavor to atone for them. In the ritual of the Old Testament when several sacrifices were to be offered the sin-offering always preceded the holocaust, or the peace-offering. So, too, in every sacrifice the victim must be slain and its life-blood shed. Even the offerings of food and drink must be burnt or poured out in order to

<sup>16</sup> "The Holy Eucharist," Chap. IX.; "The Eucharistic Sacrifice," p. 160.

be offered. In every sacrifice man must be reminded of his fall—his “sin must be ever before him.” It is not for a moment maintained that these ideas were explicitly and consciously held even in the revealed religion of Israel, and still less among the darkness and errors of paganism. But they were latent there, only waiting to be brought to the surface in the supreme fulfillment of all sacrificial types, the Sacrifice of the Cross. Considerations such as these will be appreciated only by those who believe in the divinity of our Lord and in the atoning sacrifice offered by Him on the Cross and continued till the end of time on the altars of His Church. Only those who accept the full Christian position can grasp the real significance of sacrifice.

But although the death of the victim is to be looked on as the punishment for the sins of the offerer, undergone by the victim in his stead, this does not form the complete idea of sacrifice even in the case of those sacrifices offered especially for sin. The sacrifice, as we have seen above, did not come to an end with the death of the victim; this was only a means towards an end, that end being the shedding and sprinkling of the blood. By means of this the life of a pure unspotted creature was given up to God as a pleasing substitute for the evil life of the offerer, and its atoning virtue consequent on his gracious acceptance of it was applied to wash away the stain of sin. Its object was not only to satisfy the divine anger by the death of the victim, but to give pleasure to God and reconcile Him once more to man by offering Him a gift pleasing in itself. The idea of merit must be joined with that of satisfaction in order to make up the complete notion of expiatory sacrifice.

Here again the essentially typical character of sacrifice is plainly shown, for no animal, no mere human being even, however pure and spotless, could in itself be pleasing to God or suffice to wash away the sins of man in its blood. The sin-offerings of Israel and those offered throughout the world all pointed to the One who was alone to bear the transgressions of His people, and in His Precious Blood to cleanse them from their sins.

The idea that lies at the very root of sacrifice and appears not only in the offerings for sin, but in all its different species and in every religion is that of vicarious substitution. Whatever it is that is offered and for whatever end, it is offered instead of something else; either one thing is offered in the place of another, or the part instead of the whole.

The motive that prompts this act, so sacred in the eyes of all peoples and ever regarded as the most important of all religious rites, is the conception of the supreme dominion or over-lordship of God over man and all he possesses. This conception can be found alike

in all religions, revealed or ethnic, savage or civilized, however the divine nature may be otherwise conceived. Man has never worshiped in the true religious sense of the word any being as divine whom he has not also regarded as far superior to himself in dignity and power and also as demanding such worship from him as a right.<sup>17</sup> Since God has supreme dominion over everything, man himself included, nothing in the world belongs immediately to man. On the other hand, he knows instinctively that the world and all it produces exists for him and was made for him, hence he has a right to take the things he sees around him for his own use. But before he does so he must be careful to acknowledge the prior right of God, to show that he recognizes that all he possesses is his only by virtue of the divine will, and that he holds these things in his possession as a tenant from his over-lord. Universal tradition has taught man to do this by offering or rather abandoning a part of all he possesses or is about to make his own to the divine powers, in the belief that the latter will accept the part for the whole, and, pleased by the act of homage and submission, will allow the free use of what remains for human purposes.

Sacrifice is then a vicarious oblation, but not every vicarious oblation is a sacrifice. There are two points wherein a sacrifice is distinguished from all other oblations as a species apart—namely, the nature of that which is offered in the sacrifice and the way in which it is offered. In other words, the “matter” and “form.” The form has already been dealt with, and consisted, as we have seen, in the slaying and shedding of the victim’s blood when a living victim was offered, or in the destruction by means of burning or outpouring of the offerings of food and drink. As to the “matter,” the merest acquaintance with sacrificial ritual in the different religions of the world makes it clear that in a sacrifice strictly so-called it was always a living creature and (with very rare exceptions) one that belonged to the class that serves in the support of human life, that is, domesticated animals. Offerings of food and drink, cakes, wine, incense, too, and other sweet perfumes, the usual accompaniments of festive banquets in ancient times, and especially in the East, were also presented to the gods in sacrifice. It is noticeable, however, that these “unbloody” oblations were usually offered together with the living victim, forming one sacrifice with it. They were sometimes offered independently, but generally as substitutes only for the animal sacrifices. The “matter” of the sacrifice is thus, properly speaking, a life, or at least that which is so intimately connected with life that it may serve as a fitting symbol of it. Among primi-

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<sup>17</sup> “*Études sur les religions Sémitiques*” (Lagrange), Chap. VII, “*Le Sacrifice*,” also, “*The Making of Religion*” (A. Lang).



tive races, whether nomadic or cultivators of the soil, nothing is so precious as are the flocks and herds that serve them for food and clothing and are the chief source of their livelihood. Over these the Divine Powers have dominion as over everything else, but in a more special way, since they have life, and the life of both man and beast is especially sacred to God. Just as the first fruits of the harvest, and indeed of everything else that belongs to man, so the firstlings of the flocks must be set aside and dedicated to His service. This, in the case of living creatures, could only be carried out effectually by slaying the victim chosen to represent its fellows, and thus putting it out of the power of its immediate owner and rendering it useless to him. Apart from all idea of sin and the punishment due to it, under the existing condition of things the death of the victim was the only means whereby its life could be really and effectually surrendered to God. Temples, lands, offerings of gold and silver could all be dedicated to God's service, and such a dedication and consecration was certainly a religious act acceptable to God, but it was not a sacrifice. Such oblations could be offered to God by any one, whether layman or priest, but a sacrifice, the offering of a life, could in normal circumstances be made to God through the medium of a priest alone.<sup>18</sup> Sacrifice, as its very name implies, is *the* sacred act par excellence. The reason of this is not difficult to see. Life has always been looked upon as something mysterious and "awful," as something belonging in a special way to the Deity.

While sacrifice, as a regular institution of public worship, demands a certain degree of civilization and presupposes an organized system of external cultus, it is most probable that in early ages all slaughter was sacrificial and every meal wherein the flesh of animals was eaten was at the same time a sacrifice.<sup>19</sup> Meals such as these were and still are comparatively rare occurrences among simple races, especially in the East, and were always occasions of great solemnity and general rejoicing. If an animal is required for food it must be slain; but if it is slain, this must be done in honor of the god and its life offered to him in the blood. To interfere with that which belongs in so special a manner to the Supreme Power, is an act fraught with danger to man if it be not protected by the safeguards of religion. But the divine rights having been recognized by the act of oblation and the outpouring of the victim's blood, the feast might proceed without fear of danger. From this preliminary consecration the banquet that followed was itself considered a sacred

<sup>18</sup> Instances may occur, and, in fact, do occur in the O. T. of sacrifices offered by laymen, but these are extraordinary cases—the exceptions which prove the rule. It is from the normal course of things that the nature of a rite like sacrifice must be judged.

<sup>19</sup> "Hastings' Dict. of the Bible," Vol. I., Art. "Blood," p. 307.

action. Those who partook of it sat as it were at the table of their God, since they were feasting on the provisions of His bounty.

Such is the origin of the sacrificial banquet, so prominent a feature of a certain class of sacrifices, and in fact an integral part of the very idea, since it betokens the end for which all sacrifice is offered, communion and friendship with God—the end of religion itself. Understood in this sense, the “banquet theory” of sacrifice is perfectly legitimate. Among modern Arab tribes the slaughter of animals for food is still invested with a religious character, and the blood is always carefully poured out in the name of Allah.<sup>20</sup> The Israelites, too, while in the desert were commanded in their ritual law to slay all animals, even those required for ordinary food, at the door of the tabernacle, and to pour out the blood in that sacred spot.<sup>21</sup>

In its origin, or at least in its earliest form as far as this can be discovered, sacrifice was negative rather than positive in character. It was a surrender rather than an offering in the actual sense. But as civilization progressed and the sense of possession became more marked, man felt himself more in the position of offering gifts to his God. Not that these gifts were believed to supply a want—even the lowest of modern savages have instinctively a higher conception of the Divine Nature than that<sup>22</sup>—but because it was believed that God would accept them as tokens of homage and gratitude or in expiation of offenses committed against Him; or, again, they were offered as an inducement to gaining the favors of His bounty. In much the same way subjects in Eastern countries approach their sovereign with gifts of all kinds; children, among ourselves as well, give presents to their father and mother, on whom they know they are dependent for everything.

With the growth and organization of external worship a regular system of sacrifices at stated times and for various purposes came into being, and the different species of sacrifice, sin-offerings, peace-offerings and holocausts were developed. But in all of these the fundamental ideas are found unchanged. The shedding and application of the victim's blood is in each the central pivot on which all else turns. According to ancient ideas, as we have seen, the life both of man and of beast was supposed to reside in the blood, the principle of life. Hence the mysterious character and efficacy attributed to blood in all ancient religions, and hence, too, the various rules and “tabus” regarding its use, especially as food.<sup>23</sup> In Holy Scripture, as we know, it was strictly forbidden to eat the blood with

<sup>20</sup> “*Encycl. Biblica*,” Art. “Sacrifice,” Vol. IV., col. 4,185.

<sup>21</sup> *Levit. xvii.*, 3 and 4.

<sup>22</sup> “*The Making of Religion*,” A. Lang.

<sup>23</sup> Art. “Blood” in “*Hastings’ Dict. of Bible*,” Vol. I.

the flesh, because, in the words of the Law, "the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement by reason of the life."<sup>24</sup>

Besides symbolizing the oblation of the victim's life to God, and in the sin-offerings the cleansing away of the stain of sin, the shedding and sprinkling of the sacrificial blood betokened a species of covenant between God and man. The blood of the sacrifice represented both that of God and that of His worshipers and served as a medium of communication between them.<sup>25</sup>

The origin of sacrifice, whether, that is, it is due immediately to direct revelation from God or whether it is to be ascribed in the first instance to the promptings of natural religion alone, must, as far as history is concerned, ever remain a mystery. But whether it is directly due to the primal revelation or must be put down to the natural instinct of religious man, sacrifice must always remain an essential element of true religion. In sacrifice the attitude of man towards his Creator is clearly and impressively set forth, and even in the degraded forms found in the religions of the pagan world its true significance is not altogether lost. The sense of dependence on a higher Power, the feeling that sin is evil and displeasing to Him who rules the universe, the desire to show gratitude, to ask for help and favor, these are all true religious sentiments, however dark and obscure they may have become, and all find expression in the rite of sacrifice. Even human sacrifice is a striking witness to the truth that besides that of animals, the highest form of life as well belongs to God, and further that it is owing to Him in expiation for man's sin. The first born offered for its parents—"the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul"<sup>26</sup>—the human scapegoat for the city or State, all testify to this ineradicable persuasion of fallen man, and point, as does every sacrifice, to that Divine Victim in whose Precious Blood all honor and glory is offered to God and every sin is washed away.

In Jesus Christ sacrifice finds its true fulfillment. In His self-oblation on the Cross to His Heavenly Father, all that the old sacrifice—The Nature of Sacrifice strove to express is realized in the fullest sense. This supreme oblation has taken the place of all those ancient rites that were but "shadows of better things to come."

But sacrifice has not come to an end with the Sacrifice of the Cross. Offered once in blood, the Saviour of the world continues still to offer Himself on the altars of His Church in the "Mystery

<sup>24</sup> Levit. xvii., 11.

<sup>25</sup> "Études," Lagrange, Chap. VII., p. 260.

<sup>26</sup> Micah vi., 7.

of Faith." The old prophecy is now fulfilled, for "in every place there is sacrifice, and in every place is offered to God's name a clean oblation."<sup>27</sup>

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## H. C. LEA ON ST. JEROME AND SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION.

**A**MONG the fathers cited by Lea in his "History of Confession and Indulgences" to prove that the power of the keys was not recognized in the early Church, or at least that private, auricular confession was held in disfavor, St. Jerome, perhaps, stands out most prominently. In the course of the seventh chapter of his work the author refers no less than four or five times to the "damaging testimony" of this great Doctor—a testimony which, he assures us, "proved a veritable stumbling-block to theologians until they concluded to ignore it." In this connection it should be borne in mind, first of all, that the opinion of one or two fathers of any age or country is not sufficient either to establish or to overthrow a doctrine. In either case we are justified in demanding, if not a practical unanimity or consensus of opinion, at least a majority or preponderance, whether in numbers or weight of authority. In the second place—it seems almost superfluous to mention it—we do not claim that the tenets of our creed were as thoroughly understood or as clearly defined in the first centuries as they are at the present day, and private confession is no exception to the rule. In theology, as in the natural sciences, there has been a growth, an evolution. When Christ compared the growth of His Church to the growth of the mustard seed He had in mind not only its numerical, but its doctrinal and moral development likewise. Nearly every one knows this nowadays, and thus far we find no difficulty in agreeing with Lea. But as regards the nature of that growth we disagree with him in toto. This is the parting of the ways. It is not, as he would have it, a growth from without, a growth by accretion or addition, like the growth of a snow man or a pile of stones; on the contrary, it is the growth of a living organism, the natural and healthy development of the living germ, the outcome of a vital principle within, just as we find in the evolution of the plant or of man himself. In short, the teaching of the Church to-day anent sacramental confession is nothing more than a logical deduction from the

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<sup>27</sup> Malach. i., 11.

sound premises contained in the teaching of Christ Himself and His Apostles. If Lea had taken the trouble to read carefully and with unbiased mind Cardinal Newman's "Development of Doctrine," he could easily have informed himself on this point. And now, applying our principles to the testimony of St. Jerome, we arrive at two conclusions: First. That we must not expect to find in his writings the clear and explicit utterances of modern theologians, the more so as he nowhere professedly treats of the Sacrament of Penance. Secondly. That, even were his testimony as damaging as Lea would have us believe, it would not of itself afford a sufficient reason for rejecting the dogma. With these facts before us, let us endeavor to ascertain the views which St. Jerome really held on this subject and the value of the grounds on which Lea bases his claims.

Glancing over the eighty-third epistle or letter of the saint, we note that he considered the confession of faults an excellent practice in itself, since he terms it "a second plank after shipwreck." We cannot, however, attach any great importance to this passage, for the context does not warrant the belief that he is speaking of sacramental confession, either public or private. He is just after acknowledging some of his own youthful follies by way of atonement or reparation, and the words which he employs would seem in the circumstances to mean nothing more than our English expression: "An open confession is good for the soul." In the tenth chapter of his "Commentary on Ecclesiastes," however, we find something more definite: "If any one infected with the poison of sin remains silent, does not perform penance, *and is unwilling to lay bare his wound to his brother and master*, the brother and master who has a tongue to cure him cannot easily be of any avail to him. For, if the sick man is ashamed to disclose his wound to the physician, medicine cannot remedy an evil whose existence is unknown." Evidently the force of the testimony found in this passage depends on the signification of the words "brother and master." If St. Jerome used them to designate the priest, we have here a clear enough proof of the existence of auricular confession; and not only of its utility, but also of its absolute necessity. And that such was his meaning is highly probable from the passage itself, and *certain* from subsequent utterances which I shall quote. Had he mentioned only the word "brother" we might reasonably conclude that he spoke of Christians in general, but the addition of "master" throws light on the passage and gives it an altogether new aspect. And, as far as the strength of the argument is concerned, it is not a matter of great moment whether the two words relate to the same or to different persons, though the use of "brother *and* master" rather than "brother *or* master" seems to indicate one and the same individual—

"brother" in the faith, "master" in the spiritual life. The important point to be considered is that there is no choice in the matter. To obtain a cure it is absolutely necessary to confess to the "master." And who is this "master?" He "who has a tongue to cure"—not merely to alleviate present suffering or prevent future ills by his advice, but to effect, moreover, a genuine, radical cure. In a word, the priest, the spiritual physician, whose medicine—the absolution given in God's name—is powerful enough to wipe out the very source of the evil. That such was St. Jerome's meaning appears sufficiently clear. In fact, Lea himself admits in a half-hearted way, in Volume I, page 179 of his work, that this passage refers to private or sacramental confession. But should anything more be needed, the following excerpts will, I think, fully bear out our interpretation. In his forty-first epistle (ad Marcellam), written for the purpose of refuting the Montanists, who wished to limit or restrict the power of forgiving sins, the saint says: "With us Bishops hold the place of the Apostles. They (the Montanists) close the doors of the Church for almost every sin, while we read daily in the Scripture: 'I will not the death of the sinner, but rather that he be converted and live.' They are rigid, not that they may not be guilty of worse sins. But the difference between us is this: They are ashamed to confess their sins, as though they were just, while we do penance (by confessing), and thus more easily obtain pardon." Again, in his fourteenth epistle (ad Heliodorum Monachum) he says: "Far be it from me to speak ill of those who have succeeded the Apostles and who, having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, judge in a manner before the Day of Judgment."

Commenting on these words, Lea remarks: "It is true that in one passage he speaks of Bishops as succeeding to the Apostles and as holders of the keys of heaven, judging after a fashion before the Day of Judgment; but he qualifies this by adding that all Bishops are not Bishops. 'There was Peter, but there was also Judas. It is not easy to hold the place of Peter and Paul, and the salt that has lost its savor is useless, save to be cast out.' Ordination evidently conferred no power on those unworthy of it." Here at least we have an admission, all the more valuable because it is so grudgingly given, that Bishops are successors of the Apostles, have the power of the keys and judge before the Day of Judgment. As far as the existence of the pardoning power in the Church is concerned (and that is all we are contending for—we are not dealing here with the reasons for which that power was delegated to priests) we should scarcely require a clearer or a stronger proof from an orthodox Roman Catholic theologian of the twentieth century. But what about the words that follow, "All Bishops are not Bishops," etc.?

We freely concede that Lea's translation is correct; there is no mistake in it, and no fault to be found with it; but, unfortunately for the author himself and for the many others whom his erroneous conclusions are apt to lead astray, there is wanting something far more important than mere accuracy of translation, to wit, the shrewdness and critical ability necessary to grasp the real meaning or thought of St. Jerome. Had he read between the lines, had he caught the drift of the passage; nay, had he but paused a moment to consider some of the idioms of his own mother tongue, he would not have been so crude in his interpretation. How often do we ourselves use such expressions as, "There are priests and priests; there are lawyers and lawyers," etc., to signify that some priests and some lawyers are richly endowed with the priestly or legal requirements, while others are deficient in them, though, as a matter of fact, we do not for an instant intend to deny that both classes possess the requisite sacerdotal or legal character and powers. The sense of St. Jerome in the above quoted passage is manifestly the same. Not all who are Bishops possess the virtues of their high calling; some are unfaithful to their sacred trust. And to make himself better understood, he immediately adds: "There is Peter, but there is Judas likewise. You see Stephen, but look also at Nicholas." Does he mean to imply that Judas was not an Apostle or Nicholas a deacon? Certainly not. His meaning is that both fell far below the requirements of their state, and that their exalted position or holy vocation was of itself by no means sufficient to save them. The whole passage is a treatise on the obligation of clerics to live up to the duties of their state and to remember that "to whom much is given, of him much will be exacted." No one who reads the quotation with unbiased mind can draw any other sensible meaning from it. It in no wise limits the powers of all validly consecrated Bishops; it in no wise diminishes the force of his testimony that Bishops hold the place of the Apostles, have the keys of the kingdom of heaven and judge in a certain manner even before the Day of Judgment. But perhaps one of the clearest indications of St. Jerome's views on the subject, and one of the strongest proofs of the existence of sacramental confession in his day, is found in the very passage which Lea so triumphantly flaunts in our faces. The most "damaging" part of the "damaging testimony" to which he so often refers, the part which, according to him, has proved for ages the "pons asinorum" of Catholic theologians, is found in St. Jerome's commentary on the tenth chapter of St. Matthew ("I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," etc.), and runs as follows: "Bishops and priests, not understanding the force of this passage, assume to themselves something of Pharisaic supercilious-

ness, *insomuch that they think they can condemn the innocent or release the guilty*, while God considers not so much the sentence of the priest as the life of the accused. We read in Leviticus that lepers were ordered to show themselves to the priests, not that the priests could make them clean or unclean, but because they had a knowledge of leprosy and could distinguish the clean from the unclean. So likewise the Bishop or priest here binds or looses, not those who are innocent or guilty, *but, in accordance with his office, when he has heard the different kinds of sins* he knows who should be bound and who should be loosed." Now where, I ask, in the name of common sense is the insurmountable difficulty in this passage? The closing words are an explicit declaration that the Bishop or priest has the right, "in accordance with his office," to hear the varieties, or "*different kinds of sins*," and pronounce judgment accordingly. No Catholic theologian, no Catholic layman even who is at all acquainted with Catholic tradition and imbued with Catholic sentiments would think for a single instant of interpreting these words as an arraignment of sacramental confession, and that not because of any favorable prejudice or preconceived notions on the subject, but because he cannot fail to see at a glance that the principles laid down by St. Jerome are in perfect harmony with the spirit and teachings of his Church. If Lea has failed to hit the mark, as he certainly has, it is because he is out of his element. Beyond the influence of that strong current of Catholic life and feeling which enables us to understand our co-religionists and to be, in turn, understood by them, he can no more enter into the spirit and meaning of a passage like this than could a Roman historian like Tacitus or Suetonius into the religious life and notions of the Jews of old.

Who among us can fail to see that St. Jerome is inveighing, not against the power of the keys, which he expressly admits ("*cum audierit varietates peccatorum*—when he has heard the different kinds of sins"), but against the *abuse of that power* by certain Bishops and priests who imagined themselves supreme judges, and without taking into consideration the dispositions of the penitent gave or refused absolution according to their own whims and caprices? Such ignorant and high-handed ministers he very justly likens to the Pharisees, and informs them that their arbitrary mode of acting is not sanctioned by Almighty God; that their unjust sentence will not be ratified in heaven, since they act not as the representatives of a just God and in accordance with His laws, but rather under the promptings of their own base passions. Hence their decision, irrespective as it is of the penitent's good or evil dispositions, can neither justify nor condemn. Which of us would not say the very same to-day? There is not a Catholic theologian living



who does not agree with St. Jerome. Consider, too, the analogy between the priest and the leper in the Old Dispensation and the priest and the penitent in the New. It is the self-same idea which St. Jerome wishes to convey to us. As under the Old Law the priest was tied to the facts in the case and could neither make a man clean nor unclean by his mere word, so also in the new order of things the priest, independently of the penitent's dispositions, cannot by his mere sentence render him either just or unjust. His part or office is simply to pass judgment on the facts presented to him. He is to hear "*the varietates peccatorum* or different kinds of sins," to judge of the penitent's dispositions and pass sentence accordingly.

Perhaps after reading Lea's confident and apparently well-grounded assertions, and even after a first hurried glance over the passages which he cites, one will count on finding in St. Jerome very little in favor of the practice of private or auricular confession. Of course, if he believes in the orthodoxy of the fathers he will scarcely expect to find St. Jerome inimical to the belief and practice of the early Church, but as far as positive proof is concerned he is likely to aim rather low. The very admissions of Lea—seemingly so candid and truth-loving—will only serve to strengthen this impression. But on closer examination, after accumulating and comparing the various utterances of the saint, after studying them in the light of the context, the occasion, the end he had in view and the general drift of the writings in which they are found, he must come to the conclusion that the learned "historian" is not the painstaking investigator that he professes to be; that he is not a skillful interpreter or even an impartial reviewer or narrator of facts, but, on the contrary, a special pleader, holding a brief against the doctrine and practice of auricular confession. In short, he must be convinced that Lea had a thesis to defend, and in order to do it found himself obliged to adapt the facts to his theory. The admissions, of which he makes so light, are the very marrow of St. Jerome's teaching anent private confession, while the "stumbling-block," the "damaging testimony" or "*the pons asinorum*" rests on a misinterpretation utterly unworthy of a man who makes any pretensions to critical acumen. If this is a case in which Virgil's "*ab uno disce omnes*" holds good—and we greatly fear it is—most assuredly we cannot place much reliance on Mr. Lea as a historian.

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## LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

PIUS PP. X.

*Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem:*

COMMUNIUM rerum inter asperas vices additasque nuper domesticas calamitates quibus animus Noster dolore premitur, plane recreat ac reficit christiani populi universi recens conspiratio pietatis, quae adhuc esse non desinit "spectaculum mundo et angelis et hominibus" (I. Cor. iv., 9), a praesenti facie malorum forte excitata promotius, sed ab una denique causa profecta, Iesu Christi Domini Nostri caritate. Quum enim huius nominis digna virtus nulla in terris exstiterit nec possit esse nisi per Christum, Ipsi uni accepti referendi sunt fructus qui ab ea dimanant inter homines etiam in fide remissiores aut religioni infensos, in quibus si quod exstat vestigium verae caritatis, id omne humanitati a Christo illatae debetur, quam ipsi totam exuere et a christiana societate propulsare nondum valuerunt.

Hac tanta contentione quaerentium Patri solatia et fratribus opem in communibus et privatis aerumnis, commotis Nobis vix verba suppetunt, quibus grati animi sensus exprimamus. Quos etsi non semel singulis testati sumus, haud remorari voluimus gratiae publice referendae officium exsequi, apud vos primum, Venerabiles Fratres, et per vos apud fideles omnes quicumque sunt vigilantiae vestrae concrediti.

Sed libet etiam gratum animum profiteri palam filiis carissimis, qui, ex omnibus terrarum orbis partibus, tot ac tam praeclaris amoris et observantiae significationibus quinquagenariam sacerdotii Nostri memoriam sunt prosequuti. Quae quidem humanitatis officia, non tam Nostra, quam Religionis et Ecclesiae causa delectarunt, quod impavidae fidei testimonium exstiterint et quasi publica honoris significatio Christo Ecclesiaeque debiti, per obsequium ei exhibitum, quem Dominus familiae suae praepositum voluit. Sed et aliidem genus fructus haud mediocris causam laetitiae attulerunt. Nam et saecularia solemnia institutarum in America Septemtrionali diocesium occasionem obtulerunt immortales Deo gratias agendi ob additos catholicae Ecclesiae tot filios; et Britannica insula nobilissima spectaculo fuit ob instauratum suos intra fines pompa mirifica honorem

Eucharistiae sanctissimae, adstante Venerabilium Fratrum Nostorum corona cum ipso Legato Nostro ac populo confertissimo; et in Galliis afflicta Ecclesia lacrimas detergit mirata splendor Augusti Sacramenti triumphos Lourdensi maxime in urbe, cuius celebritatis origines gavisus sumus quinquagenario apparatu solemniter fuisse commemoratas. Ex his aliisque norint omnes persuasumque habeant catholici nominis hostes, splendidiore quodam ceremonias exhibitum Augustae Dei Matri cultum, honores ipsos Pontifici Summo tribui solitos, eo tandem spectare ut in omnibus magnificentetur Deus; ut sit "omnia et in omnibus Christus" (Coloss. iii., 11); ut, regno Dei in terris constituto, sempiterna comparetur homini salus.

Exspectandus divinus hic de singulis ac de universa hominum societate triumphus non alius est nisi aberrantium a Deo ac Ipsum reversio per Christum, ad hunc autem per Ecclesiam suam; quod quidem Nobis esse propositum, vel primis Nostris Apostolicis Litteris "E supremi Apostolatus Cathedra" (Encyclica, diei 4 Octobris, MDCCCIII), et saepe alias, aperte declaravimus. Hunc reditum cum fiducia suspicimus; ad hunc maturandum consilia Nostra sunt et vota conversa, tamquam ad portum, in quo praesentis etiam vitae procellae conquiescant. Atque hoc nimirum quod publice redditi Ecclesiae honores velut indicio, Deo bene iuvante, sint redeuntium gentium ad Christum et Petro Ecclesiaeque arctius adhaerentium, officia humilitati Nostrae persoluta libenti gratoque animo excepi-

Haec autem cum Apostolica Sede caritatis necessitudo etsi non eodem semper aut ubique se gradu prodidit nec uno significationis genere, nihilominus divinae Providentiae consilio factum videtur, ut ea devinctior exstiterit, quo iniquiora, uti modo sunt, tempora sive sanae doctrinae sive sacrae disciplinae, sive Ecclesiae libertati decurrerunt. Coniunctionis id genus exempla sancta viri praeberunt iis tempestatibus, quum aut exagitaretur Christi grex, aut aetas vitiis diffunderet; quibus malis opportune Deus obiecit illorum virtutem atque sapientiam. Ex iis unum commemorare hisce Litteris maxime iuvat, cuius in honorem hos ipso anno apparantur saecularia solemnities, expleto a beatissimo eius exitu octavo saeculo. Is est Augustanus doctor Anselmus, catholicae veritatis adsertor et sacrorum iurium propugnator acerrimus, tum qua monachus et Abbas in Gallia, tum qua Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus et Primas in Anglia. Nec alienum esse arbitramur, post acta splendido ritu solemnities doctorum Gregorii Magni et Ioannis Chrysostomi quem alterum occidentalis, alterum orientalis Ecclesiae iubar admirati suspicimus aliud intueri sidus, quod, si a prioribus "differt in claritate" (I. Cor. xv., 41), illorum tamen progressionem aemulando,

haud infirmiolem lucem exemplorum doctrinaeque diffundit. Quin etiam eo potentiolem quodammodo dixeris, quo nobis propior Anselmus aetate, loco, indole, studiis, et quo magis accedunt ad horum similitudinem temporum sive luctate genus, sive pastoralis, actionis forma ab ipso in usum deducta, sive instituendi ratio, per se, per discipulos tradita et scriptis maxime confirmata, ex quibus habita est norma "ad defensionum christianae religionis, animarum profectum, et omnium theologorum, qui sacras litteras scholastica methodo tradiderunt." (Breviar Rom., die 21 Aprilis.) Quare sicut in noctis caligine aliis occidentibus stellis, aliae ut mundum illustrent oriuntur, sic ad Ecclesiam illustrandam Patribus filii succedunt, inter quos beatus Anselmus velut clarissimum sidus effulsit.

Ac vere quidem in media aevi sui caligine, vitorum errorumque laqueis impliciti, optimo cuique inter aequales visus est suae fulgore doctrinae ac sanctitatis praelucere. Fuit enim "fidei princeps et decus Ecclesia . . . gloria pontificalis," qui sui temporis "omnes vicerat electos egregiosque viros." (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi.) Idem "et sapiens et bonus et sermone refulgens, ingenio clarus" (In Epitaphio), cuius fama eo usque progressa est, ut merito scriptum sit, non fuisse in terris quemquam, "qui dicere vellet: me minor Anselmus est similisve mihi" (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi); acceptus ob haec, regibus, principibus, Pontificibus Maximis. Nec suis modo sodalibus ac fidei populo, sed "carus habebatur hostibus ipse suis." (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi.) Ad eum eiam tum Abbatem litteras existimationis et benevolentiae plenas misit magnus ille ac fortissimus Pontifex Gregorius VII., quibus "se et Ecclesiam catholicam eius orationibus commendabat." (Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis.) Eidem Urbanus II. "religionis ac scientiae praerogativam adseruit." (In libro II. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 32.) Pluribus, iisque amantissimis litteris, Paschalis II. "reverentiam devotionis, fidei robur et piaae sollicitudinis instantiam" extulit laudibus, eius auctoritate "religionis ac sapientiae" (In lib. III. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 74 et 42) facile adductus ut fraternitatis suae postulationibus annueret, quem praedicare non dubitavit omnium Angliae episcoporum sapientissimum ac religiosissimum.

Nec tamen aliud esse sibi videbatur nisi contemptibilis homuncio, ignotus homunculus, homo parvae nimis scientiae, vita peccator. Cumque de se tam demisse sentiret, non hoc tamen impediabatur quominus alta cogitaret, contra ea quae malis moribus opinionibusque depravati homines iudicare solent, de quibus sacrae litterae: "Animalis . . . homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus Dei." (I. Cor. ii., 14.) Illud vero plus habet admirationis, quod eius magnitudo animi et invicta constantia, tot molestiis, impugnationibus, exsiliis tentata, ea cum lenitate fuit et gratia coniuncta, ut vel

ipsorum iram frangeret qui ei succenserent, eorumque sibi benevolentiam conciliaret. Ita, "quos eius causa gravabat," laudabant tamen "quod bonus ipse foret." (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi.)

Fuit igitur in eo admirabilis quaedam earum partium conspiratio et consensus quas plerique falso arbitrantur secum ipsas necessario pugnare nec ullo pacto posse componi; nudo candori consociata granditas, animo excelso modestia, fortitudini suavitas, pietas doctrinae; adeo ut quemadmodum in instituti sui tirocinio ita etiam in omni vita, "mirum in modum tamquam sanctitatis et doctrinae exemplar ab omnibus haberetur." (Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis.)

Neque vero duplex haec Anselmi laus intra domesticos parietes aut magisterii se fines continuit, sed, quasi e militari tabernaculo, processit in solem et pulverem. Sancto enim quae diximus tempora, pro iustitia et veritate fuit ei dimicandum acerrime. Cumque naturae vi ad ea studia ferretur maxime quae in rerum contemplatione versantur, in plura et gravia negotia coniectus est, et, sacro assumpto regimine, in medium devenit rerum certamen atque discrimen. Et qui miti ac suavi erat ingenio, studio tuendae doctrinae ac sanctitatis Ecclesiae compulsus est a tranquillae vitae iucunditate recedere, principum virorum amicitiam gratiamque deserere, dulcissima vincula, quibus cum sodalibus religiosae familiae sociisque laboris episcopis, iungebatur, abrumpere, diuturnis conflictari molestiis, omne genus angustias premi. Gravissimis enim odiis ac periculis circumseptum locum expertus est Angliam, ubi enixe illi obsistendum fuit regibus ac principibus, quorum arbitrio erant Ecclesiae sortes gentiumque permissae; ignavis aut indignis officio sacro ministris; optimatibus plebique rerum omnium ignaris atque in pessima quaeque vitia ruentibus; imminuto nunquam ardore, quo fidei, morum, Ecclesiae disciplinae ac libertatis, eiusque propterea doctrinae ac sanctitatis exstitit vindex; plane dignus hoc altero memorati Pachalis praeconio: "Deo autem gratias, quia in te semper episcopalis auctoritas perseverat, et inter barbaros positus, non tyrannorum violentia, non potentum gratia, non incensione ignis, non effusione manus a veritatis annuntiatione desistis." Et rursus: "Exultamus," inquit, "quia gratia Dei tibi praestante auxilium, te nec minae concutiunt nec promissa sustollunt." (In lib. III. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 44 et 74.)

Ex his omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, aequum est Nos etiam cum Decessore Nostro Paschali, lapsis ab illa aetate saeculis octo, laetitiam percipere, eiusque voci resonare, gratias Deo persolventes. Simul vero cohortari vos iuvat ad hoc sanctitatis doctrinaeque lumen intuendum, quod, in Italia ortum vallis effudit plus annos triginta; Anglis supra quindecim; Ecclesiae denique universae communi praesidio ac decori fuit.

Quod si *opere et sermone* excelluit Anselmus, hoc est, si vitae pariter doctrinae quae palaestra, si contemplandi vi et agendi alacritate, si dimicando fortiter et sectando pacem suaviter, splendor Ecclesiae triumphos comparavit et insignia in civilem societatem beneficia contulit, haec omnia ex eo sunt repetenda, quod in omni vitae cursu doctrinaeque ministerio Christo et Ecclesiae quam firmissime adhaeserit.

Haec mentibus defigenda curantes in tanti Doctoris commemoratione solemni praeclara inde hauriemus, Venerabiles Fratres, et quae admiremur et quae imitemur exempla. Plurimum quoque ex ea contemplatione accedet roboris ac solatii ad sacri ministerii partes, arduas plerumque ac sollicitudinis plenas, viriliter explendas, ad impense curandum ut omnia instaurentur in Christo, ut in omnibus "formetur Christus" (Galat. iv., 19), maxime in iis, qui in spem sacerdotii succrescunt; ad constanter propugnandum Ecclesiae magisterium, ad obnitendum strenue pro Christi sponsae libertate, pro sancitate iuris divinitus constituti, pro iis denique omnibus, quaecumque sacri Principatus defensio postulat.

Nec enim vos latet, Venerabiles Fratres, quod saepe Nobiscum complorastis, quam tristitia sint in quae incidimus tempora, et rerum Nostrarum quam sit iniqua conditio. Ipsius doloris, quem ex publicis infortuniis incredibilem cepimus, refricatum est vulnus probrosis criminatibus clero conflatis, quasi segnem, adiutorem in ea se calamitate praeberit; interiectis impedimentis ne benefica Ecclesiae virtus pateret miseris filiis; eius ipsa materna cura et providentia contempta. Alia plura silemus, quae in Ecclesiae perniciem aut versute et callide agitata sunt, aut nefario ausu patrata, publici violatione iuris, atque omni naturalis aequitatis et iustitiae lege despecta. Idque iis in locis accidisse gravissimum est, in quae illatae ab Ecclesia humanitatis abundantior amnis influxit. Quid enim tam inhumanum quam ut e filiis, quos Ecclesia quasi primogetos aluit fovitque in ipso suo vel flore vel robore non dubitent quidam in Matris amantissimae sinum sua tela converlere.

Nec est cur admodum recreet aliarum conditio regionum, ubi varia quidem belli facies est, furor idem, aut iam exardescens, aut ex occultae coniurationis tenebris mox erupturus. Hoc enim est consiliorum ultimum, apud gentes in quas maiora christianae religionis beneficia promanarunt, omnibus iuribus Ecclesiam despoliare; cum ipsa sic agere, quasi non sit genere ac iure perfecta societas, qualem naturae nostrae Reparator instituit; huius regnum excindere, quod etsi praecipue ac directo animos attingit, haud minus ad horum sempiternam salutem quam ad civilis utilitatis incolumitatem pertinet; omnio moliri, ut imperantis Dei loco effrena dominetur, mentito liberatis nomine licentia. Dumque id assequantur, ut per

dominatum vitiorum et cupiditatum pessima omnium instauretur servitus, ac praecipiti cursu cives ad extrema delabantur; "miseros autem facit populos peccatum" (Prov. xiv., 34), clamitare non cessant: "nolumus hunc regnare super nos." (Luc. xix., 14.) Hinc religiosorum sodalium sublatae familiae, quae magno semper Ecclesiae praesidio atque ornamento fuerunt, et humanitatis doctrinaeque sive inter barbaras gentes sive inter excultas provehendae principes exstiterunt hinc prostrata et afflicta christianae beneficentiae instituta; hinc habitus ludibrio sacri ordinis viri, quibus aut ita obsistitur ut eorum plane concidant vires, aut ad publica magisteria vel omnino intercluditur vel satis impeditur iter; aut in institutione iuventutis nullae relictæ sunt partes; hinc christiana omnis actio publicae utilitatis intercepta; egregii e populo viri catholicam fidem apertius profitentes, nullo in honore numerove positi, procacibus iniuriis lacessiti, exagitati quasi genus infimum atque abiectissimum, serius ocus visuri diem, quo, recrudescente hostili vi legum, nec sibi licebit in rebus ullis misceri, quibus publica vitae actio continetur. Huius interim auctores belli, tam atrociter calideque suscepti, non alia dictitant se causa moveri, nisi libertatis amore ac studio provehendae humanitatis, quin etiam patriae caritate, haud secus mentiti atque ipsorum parens, qui "homicida erat ab initio," qui "cum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur, quia mendax est" (Igan. viii., 44), et in Deum atque in hominum genus inexpiabili odio succensus. Protervae sane frontis homines, qui verba dare nituntur et incautis auribus insidias facere. Nec enim eos dulcis amor patriae aut anxia de populo cura, aut ulla recti honestique species ad nefarium bellum impellunt, sed vesanus in Deum furor in eiusque admirandum opus, Ecclesiam. Ex concepto eiusmodi odio, tamquam ex venenato fonte, sclerata illa consilia erumpunt Ecclesiae opprimendae summovendaeque a coniunctione societatis humanae; inde ignobiles voces clamitantium eam esse demortuam, quam nihilominus oppugnare non desinunt; quin etiam eae audaciae insaniaeque procedunt, ut omni libertate spoliata criminari non dubitent quod in hominum genus, quod in rempublicam utilitatis conferat nihil. Idem infensus animus efficit, ut illustriora Ecclesiae atque Apostolicae Sedis beneficia vel astute dissimulent, vel silentio praetereant; forte etiam occasionem arripiant iniiciendae suspicionis et influendi callido artificio in aures animosque multitudinis acta dictave singula Ecclesiae aucupantes eaque traduentes quasi totidem impendentia civitati pericula, quum contra dubitari non possit, quin germanae libertatis et exquisitoris humanitatis incrementa a Christo maxime per Ecclesiam, profecta sint.

In huius impetum belli, ab externis hostibus illati, a quibus "alibi quidem acie aperta dimicatione, astu alibi abstrusis insidiis,

attamen ubique Ecclesiam oppugnari conspiciamus," ut vigiles essent curae vestrae conversae, Venerabiles Fratres, quum saepe alias tum vos praecipue monuimus allocutione in sacro Consistorio habita XVII. Cal. Ianuarias anno MDCCCCVII.

Verum haud severe minus quam dolenter denuntiandum cohibendumque Nobis est aliud belli genus, intestini quidem ac domestici, sed eo funestioris quo latet occultius. Hanc machinati sunt pestem perditum quidam filii, in ipso Ecclesiae sinu delitescens ut eum dilacerent. Horum tela in Ecclesiae animam, tamquam in trunci radicem, coniiciuntur ut certo ictu ac destinato feriant. Est enim ipsis propositum christianae vitae doctrinaeque turbare fontes; sacrum fidei depositum diripere; per pontificiae auctoritatis et episcoporum contemptum divinae institutionis fundamenta convellere; novam Ecclesiae formam imponere, novas leges, nova iura describere, prout pessimarum quas profitentur opinionum portenta desiderant; totam denique divinae Sponsae deformare faciem vano fulgore percussi recentioris cuiusdam humanitatis, hoc est, falsi nominis scientiae, a qua cavere iterato nos iubet Apostolus his verbis: "Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi et non secundum Christum." (Colos. ii., 8.)

Hac philosophiae specie atque inani eruditionis fallacia, ad ostentationem parata et cum summa iudicandi audacia coniuncta, capti nonnulli "evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis (Rom. i., 21), et, "bonam conscientiam . . . repellentes, circa fidem naufragaverunt" (I. Tim. i., 19); alii ancipiti cogitatione distracti, opinionum quasi fluctibus obruantur, nec ipsi sciunt ad quod litus appellant; alii otio et litteris abutentes, difficiles nugae inani labore consecantur; quo fit ut a studio rerum divinarum et a sinceris doctrinae fontibus abducantur. Neque vero exitiosa ista labes, quae ab incensa morbosae novitatis libidine *modernismi* nomen accepit, etsi denuntiata saepius, et ipsa fautorum intemperantia suis integumentis nudata, cessat gravi detrimento esse christianae reipublicae. Latet virus inclusum in venis atque in visceribus huius nostrae societatis, quae a Christo et ab Ecclesia descivit; maxime vero *uti cancer* serpit inter succrescentem soborem, cui et rerum experientia minima est et insita ingenio temeritas. Nam, cur ita se gerant, non ea sane causa est quod solida polleant exquisitaque doctrina; siquidem rationem inter et fidem nulla potest esse vera dissensio (Concil. Vatic. Constit. Dei filius, cap. 4) sed quod ipsi de se mirabiliter sentiunt; quod pestifero quodam huius aetatis afflati spiritu, sup impuro quasi caelo crassoque vivunt; quod rerum sacrarum cognitionem, quam aut nullam habent aut confusam atque permixtam, stulta cum arrogantia coniungunt. Cui contagioni fovendae sublata in Deum fides ab eoque defectio



alimenta suppeditant. Nam quos caeca ista novarum rerum libido transversos agit, ii facile putant satis esse sibi virium, ut, vel aperte vel simulate, iugum omne divinae auctoritatis excutiant et religionem sibi fingant iuris naturae finibus fere circumscriptam ac suo cuiusque ingenio accommodatam, quae christianae speciem nomenque mutuetur, re autem ab ipsius vita et veritate quam longissime abest.

Atque ita ex aeterno bello adversus divina omnia suscepto nova bella seruntur, mutata dimicandi ratione; idque eo periculosius, quo callidiora sunt arma fictae pietatis, ingenui candoris, incensae voluntatis, qua factiosi homines nituntur amice componere res disiunctissimas, hoc est labilis humanae scientiae deliramenta cum fide divina, et cum saeculi nutantis ingenio Ecclesiae dignitatem atque constantiam.

Haec Nobiscum conquesti, Venerabiles Fratres, non idcirco animum despondetis nec spem omnem abiicitis. Compertum vobis est, quam gravia christianae reipublicae certamina remotiores aetates, quamquam huic nostrae dissimiles, attulerint. Qua in re iuverit in Anselmi tempora mentem animumque referre, quantum ex annalibus constat, sane difficillima. Fuit enim vere dimicandum pro aris et focus, hoc est, pro publici sanctitatis iuris, pro libertate, humanitate, doctrina, quarum rerum tutela uni erat Ecclesiae commissa; cohibenda principum vis, quibus commune erat ius et fas omne miscere; extirpanda vitia, excolendae mentes, ad civilem cultum revocandi homines, veteris immanitatis nondum obliti; excitanda cleri pars aut remissius agentis aut intemperantius; cuius ordinis haud pauci, principum arbitrio et pravis artibus electi, horum dominatui tamquam servi subesse atque in omnibus morigerari solerent.

Hic erat rerum status in iis maxime regionibus, quibus in iuvandis maiorem Anselmus operam curaque collocavit, sive doctoris magisterio, sive exemplo religiosae vitae, sive Archiepiscopi ac Primatis assidua vigilantia et industria multiplici. Eius namque singularia beneficia in primis expertae sunt Galliae provinciae ac Britannicae insulae, paucis ante saeculis illae in potestatem redactae Normanorum hae in sinum Ecclesiae receptae. Utraque gens, crebris agitata seditionibus externisque bellis divexata, causam relaxandae disciplinae, quum principibus eorumque imperio subiectis, tum clero populoque attulerunt.

His de rebus graviter queri numquam destiterunt eius aevi summi viri, quo in numero vetus Anselmi magister idemque in Cantuariensi sede decessor, Lanfrancus; at potissimum Romani Pontifices, quorum unum commemorasse sit satis, invicto animi robore virum, iustitiae propugnatorem impavidum, Ecclesiae iurium ac libertatis constantem adsertorem, per vigilem disciplinae cleri custodem ac

vindicem, Gregorium septimum. Horum studia et exempla aemulatus Anselmus, doloris vocem altius attollens, ad suae principem gentis, qui ipso propinquo et amico gloriari solebat, haec scribit: "Videtis, mi charissime domine, qualiter mater nostra Ecclesia Dei, quam Deus pulchram amicam et dilectam sponsam suam vocat, a malis principibus conculcatur; quomodo ab his, quibus ut advocatis ad tuitionem a Deo commendata est, ad eorum aeternam damnationem tribulatur; qua praesumptione in proprios usus ipsi usurpaverunt res eius; qua crudelitate in servitutem redigunt libertatem eius; qua impietate contemnunt et dissipant legem et religionem eius. Qui cum dedignantur Apostolici decretis (quae ad robur christianae religionis facit) esse obedientes, Petro utique apostolo, cuius vice fungitur, imo Christo, qui Petro commendavit suam Ecclesiam, se probant esse inobedientes. . . . Omnes namque qui nolunt subiecti esse legi Dei, absque dubio deputantur inimici Dei." (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 65.) Haec Anselmus; cuius utinam voces pronis auribus exceperent, non modo qui fortissimo illi principi successerunt, eiusque nepotes, verum etiam alii reges ac populi, quos tanto amore complexus est, tot praesidiis communivit ac beneficiis exornavit.

Tantum interim abfuit ut in eum excitatae molestiarum procellae, direptiones, exsilia, conflictationes, praesertim in episcopi munere, virtutis eius nervos eliderent, ut ipsum Ecclesiae atque Apostolicae Sedi arctius devinxerint. Quare ad memoratum Pontificem Paschalem scribens, angustiis pressus curisque distentus: "non timeo," inquit, "exilium, non paupertatem, non tormenta, non mortem, quia ad haec omnia. Deo confortante, paratum est cor meum pro Apostolicae Sedis obedientia et Matris meae Ecclesiae Christi libertate." (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 73.) Ad patrocinium et opem Cathedrae Petri confugit, eo consilio, "ne umquam religionis ecclesiasticae et apostolicae auctoritatis constantia aliquatenus per me aut propter me debilitetur," prout litteris datis ad illustres Ecclesiae Romanae antistites duos ipse significat. Rationem autem causamque subiicit, in qua pastoralis fortitudinis ac dignitatis conspicua Nobis eminet nota: "Malo enim mori et, quamdiu vivam, omni penuria in exilio gravari, quam ut videam honestatem Ecclesiae Dei, causa mei aut meo exemplo, ullo modo violari." (Epist., lib. iv., ep. 47.)

Ecclesiae igitur honestas illa, libertas, integritas, tria haec dies noctesque sancti Viri observantur animo; pro harum incolumitate Deum effusis lacrimis, precibus, sacrificiis fatigat; his provehendis vires omnes intendit et resistendo acriter et patiendo viriliter; haec actione, scriptis, voce tuetur. Ad eam defensionem sodales religiosos, antistites, clerum populumque fidelem suavis iisque gravibus excitat verbis (usus etiam severioribus in eos principes, qui

Ecclesiae iura et libertatem ingenti cum sua suorumque iactura proculcarent.

Nobiles illae sacrae libertatis voces, quum valde hoc tempore opportunaee, tum dignae plane sunt iis, quos "Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei" (Act. xx., 28), ne tum quidem fructu vacuae quum, vel ob intermortuam fidem vel collapsos mores vel praeiudicatas opiniones, obseratis auribus excipiuntur. Ad nos potissimum, Venerabiles Fratres, uti probe nostis, divina illa monitio refertur: "Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam" (Isai lviii., 1); idque maxime ubi etiam "Altissimus dedit vocem suam" (Ps. xvii., 14, per naturae fremitum terrificasque calamitates, expressam; vocem "Domini concutientis terram;" ingratam nostris auribus vocem alte insonantem, quod aeternum non sit, nihil esse; "Non enim habemus his manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus" (Hebr. xiii., 14); iustitiae vocem pariterque misericordiae, devias nationes ad recti bonique tramitem revocantis. In huiusmodi publicis infortuniis altius nobis extollenda vox est; grandia fidei documenta non infimis modo inculcanda, sed summis et beate viventibus et gentium arbitris et adscitis in consilia regendarum civitatum; proponendae omnibus firmissimae illae sententiae, quarum veritatem cruentis historia notis confirmavit, cuius generis haec: "Miseros autem facit populos peccatum." (Prov. xiv., 34.) "Potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur (Sap. vi., 7); atque item quod est in Ps. II.: "Et nunc reges intelligite, erudimini qui iudicatis terram. . . . Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de via iusta." Harum autem comminationum exitus expectandi sunt acerbissimi, quum publica grassatur iniquitas, quum ab iis qui praesunt et a reliquis civibus in eo delinquitur maxime, quod e medio pellitur Deus et a Christi Ecclesia desciscitur; qua ex duplici aversione rerum omnium perturbatio sequitur et infinita prope miseriarum seges quum singulis tum universae reipublicae.

Quod si talium scelerum affines esse silendo et acquiescendo possumus prout non raro fit etiam a bonis sacri pastores sibi quisque dicta putent aliisque opportune commendent quae ad potentissimum Flandriae principem ab Anselmo scripta leguntur: "Precor, obsecro, moneo, consulo, ut fidelis animae vestrae, mi Domine, et ut in Deo vere dilecte, ut nunquam aestimetis vestrae celsitudinis minui dignitatem, si sponsae Dei et matris vestrae Ecclesiae amatis et defenditis libertatem; nec putetis vos humiliari, si eam exaltatis, nec credatis vos debilitari si eam roboratis, Videte, circumspicite; exempla sunt in promptu; considerate principes qui illam impugnant et conculcant, ad quid proficiunt, ad quid deveniunt? Satis patet; non eget dictu." (Epist., lib iv., ep. 12.) Quod idem luculentius etiam expressit, pari vi ac suavitate verborum, his ad Balduinum regem.

Hierosolymitanum scriptis: "Ut fidelissimus amicus precor vos, moneo obsecro et Deum oro quatenus sub lege Dei vivendo voluntatem vestram coluntati Dei per omnia subdatis. Tunc enim vere regnatis ad vestram utilitatem, si regnatis secundum Dei voluntatem. Ne putetis vobis, sicut multi mali reges faciunt, Ecclesiam Dei quasi domino ad serviendum esse datam, sed sicut advocato et defensori esse commendatam. *Nihil magis diligit Deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem ecclesiae suae.* Qui ei volunt non tam prodesse quam dominari, procul dubio Deo probantur adversari. Liberam vult esse Deus sponsam suam, non ancillam. Qui eam sicut filii matrem tractant et honorant, vere se filios eius et filios Dei esse probant. Qui vero illi quasi subditae dominantur, non filios, sed alienos se faciunt, et ideo iuste ab haereditate et dote illi promissa exhaeredantur." (Epist., ep. 8.) Ita e sancto viri pectore fervidus in Ecclesiam amor erumpit; ita eminet studium libertatis tuendae, qua nihil est magis in gerenda christiana republica necessarium, nihil Deo carius, ut ab eodem egregio Doctore affirmatum est brevi illa et vibranti sententia: "*nihil magis diligit Deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem Ecclesiae suae.*" Nec est quidquam, Venerabiles Fratres, quo mens animusque Noster pateat apertius, quam verborum quae retulimus crebra usurpatio.

Ab ipso pariter mutuari monita libet ad principes proceresque conversa. Sic enim ad reginam Angliae Matildam scribit: "Si recte, si bene, si efficaciter ipso actu vultis reddere grates, considerate reginam illam quam de mundo hoc sponsam sibi illi placuit eligere. . . . Hanc, inquam, considerate . . . hanc exaltate, honorate, defendite, ut cum illa et in illa sponsa Deo placeatis et in aeterna beatitudine cum illa regnando vivatis." (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 57.) Tum vero maxime quum in filium aliquem terrena potestate inflatum incideritis, aut amantissimae Matris oblitum, aut suave eius imperium detrectantem, haec memoria ne excidant: "Ad vos pertinet . . . ut haec et huiusmodi . . . frequenter opportune importune suggeratis; et ut non dominum, sed advocatum, non privignum, sed filium se probeat esse Ecclesiae consulatis." (Epist., ep. 59.) Nostri namque muneris est, idque praecipue nos decet, alia haec nobili paternoque sensu ab Anselmo dicta suadere atque in hominum animis defigenda curare: "Cum audio aliquid de vobis quod Deo non placet et vobis non expedit, si vos monere negligo, nec Deum timeo, nec vos diligo sicut debeo." (Epist., lib. iv., ep. 52.) Si autem auditum sit nobis "quia ecclesias, quae in manu vestra sunt, aliter tractatis quam illis expediat et animae vestrae," tunc, Anselmum imitati, debemus iterum rogare et consulere et monere, "ut haec non negligenter mente pertractetis, et si quid vobis conscientia vestra in his corrigendum testabitur, corrigere festinetis."

(Epist., lib. iv., ep. 32.) "Nihil enim est contemnendum quod corrigi possit, quid Deus exigit ab omnibus, non solum quod male agunt, sed etiam quod non corrigunt mala quae corrigere possunt. Et quanto potentiores sunt ut corrigant, tanto districtius exigit ab illis Deus, ut secundum potestatem misericorditer impensam bene velint et faciant. . . . Si autem non omnia simul potestis, non debetis propter hoc quin a melioribus ad meliora studeatis proficere, quia bona proposita et bonos conatus Deus solet benigne perficere et beata plenitudine retribuere." (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 142.)

Haec aliaque id genus, ab ipso fortiter sapienterque regum et potentissimorum hominum auribus inculcata, sacris pastoribus Ecclesiaeque principibus apprime conveniunt, quibus veritatis, iustitiae, religionis est commissa defensio. Multa quidem attulit impedimenta dies, totque Nobis injecti sunt laquei, ut iam vix reliquus sit locus ubi liceat expedite ac tuto versari. Dum enim impunitae rerum omnium licentiae fraena remittuntur, acri pertinacia compedibus Ecclesia constringitur, et, retento ad ludibrium libertatis nomine, novis in dies artibus omnis vestra clerique actio praepeditur, ita ut nihil habeat admirationis, *quod non omnia simul potestis* ad homines ab errore et vitiis revocandos, ad malas consuetudines removendas, ad veri rectique notiones in mentibus inserendas, ad Ecclesiam denique tot pressam angustiis relevandam.

Sed est cur animum erigamus. Vivit enim Dominus efficietque ut "diligentibus Deum omnia cooperentur in bonum." (Rom. viii., 28.) Ipse a malis bona derivabit, eo splendidiore largiturus Ecclesiae triumphos, quo pervicacius nisa est opus Eius intercipere humana perversitas. Est hoc admirabile divinae Providentiae consilium; hae sunt in praesenti rerum ordine "investigabiles vestrae, viae meae, dicit Dominus" (Rom. xi., 33), ut "meae cogitationes vestrae, neque viae vestrae, viae meae, dicit Dominus" (Isai. lv., 8), ut ad Christi similitudinem Ecclesia in dies propius accedat et expressam referat Ipsius imaginem, tot ac tanta perpessi, ita ut quodammodo adimpleat "ea quae desunt passionum Christi." (Coloss. i., 24.) Quocirca eidem in terris militanti haec est divinitus constituta lex, ut contentionibus, molestiis, angustiis perpetuo exerceatur, quo vitae genere queat "per multas tribulationes . . . intrare in regnum Dei" (Act. xiv., 21), et Ecclesiae in caelo triumphanti tandem aliquando se adiungere.

Ad rem Anselmus Matthaei locum illum: "Compulit Iesus discipulos suos ascendere in naviculam," sic explanat: "Iuxta mysticam intelligentiam summatim describitur Ecclesiae status ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad finem saeculi. . . . Navis igitur *in medio maris iactabatur fluctibus*, dum Iesus in montis cacumine moraretur; quia ex quo Salvator in caelum ascendit, sancta Ecclesia magnis

tribulationibus in hoc mundo agitata est, et variis persecutionum turbinibus pulsata, ac diversis malorum hominum pravitatibus vexata, vitiisque multimode tentata. *Erat enim ei contrarius ventus*, quia flatus malignorum spirituum ei semper adversatur, ne ad portum salutis perveniat; obruere eam nititur fluctibus adversitatum saeculi, omnes quas valet contrarietates ei commovens." (Hom. iii.)

Vehementer igitur errant qui Ecclesiae statum sibi fingunt ac sperant omnium perturbationum expertem, in quo, rebus ad voluntatem fluentibus, nullo repugnante sacrae potestatis auctoritati atque imperio, frui liceat quasi otio iucundissimo. Turpius etiam decipiuntur qui, falsa et inani spe ducti potiundae huiusmodi pacis, Ecclesiae res et iura dissimulant, privatis rationibus postponunt, iniuste demineant, mundo, qui *totus in maligno positus est* assentantur per speciem captandae gratiae fautorum novitatis et conciliandae iisdem Ecclesiae, quasi lucis cum tenebris aut Christi cum Belial ulla possit esse conventio. Sunt haec aegri somnia, quorum vanae species fingi nunquam desierunt, nec desinent quamdiu aut ignavi milites erunt, qui, simul ac viderint hostem, abiecto scuto fugiant, aut proditores, qui festinent cum inimico pacisci, hoc est in re nostra, cum Dei atque humani generis hoste insensissimo.

Vestrum igitur est, Venerabiles Fratres, quos christianae plebis pastores ac duces divina Providentia constituit, curare pro viribus ut in pravum hunc morem prona aetas omittat, flagrante tam saevo in Religionem bello, turpi socordia torpescere, neutris in partibus esse, per ambages et compromissa divina atque humana iura pervertere, insculptamque in animo retineat certam illam ac definitam Christi sententiam: "Qui non est mecum, contra me est." (Matth. xii., 30.) Non quod paterna caritate abundare minime oporteat Christi ministros, ad quos maxime pertinent Pauli verba: "omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos" (I. Cor. ix., 22), aut quod nunquam deceat paullum etiam de suo iure decedere, quantum liceat et animorum postulet salus. Offensionis huius nulla cadit in vos certe suspicio, quos Christi caritas urget. Verum aequa ista deditio nullam habet violati officii reprehensionem, atque aeterna veritatis et iustitiae fundamenta ne minimum quidem attingit.

Sic nempe factum legimus in Anselmi, seu potius in Dei Ecclesiaeque causa, pro qua, illi tamdiu fuit ac tam aspere dimicandum. Itaque, composito tandem diuturno dissidio, Decessor Noster, quem saepe memoravimus, Paschalis, his cum verbis extollit: "Hoc nimirum tuae caritatis gratia tuarumque orationum instantia factum credimus, ut in hac parte populum illum, cui tua sollicitudo praesidet, miseratio superna respiceret." De paterna vero indulgentia, qua idem Summus Pontifex fontes excepit, haec habet: "Quod autem . . . adeo condescendimus, eo affectu et compassione factum

noveris, ut eos qui iacebant erigere valeamus. Qui enim stans iacenti ad sublevandum manum porrigit, nunquam iacentem eriget, nisi et ipse curvetur. Ceterum, quamvis casui propinquare inclinatio videatur, statum tamen rectitudinis non amittit." (In libro iii., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 140.)

Haec Nobis vindicantes a piissimo Decessore Nostro ad Anselmi solatium prolata, dissimulare nolumus tamen anxias animi dubitationes, quibus vel optimi inter sacros pastores aliquando distinentur in ancipiti consilio aut remissius agendi aut resistendi constantius. Cuius rei argumento esse possunt angores, trepidationes, lacrimae sanctissimorum hominum, quibus magis explorata erat animorum regiminis gravitas receptique in se periculi magnitudo. Luculentum vero testimonium Anselmi vita suppeditat, cui a grato pietatis et studiorum secessu, ad amplissima munia, difficillimis temporibus, ut diximus, adscito, fuerunt acerbissima quaeque subeunda. Cumque tot curis esset implicitus, nihil magis verebatur, quam ne suae populi saluti, Dei honori, Ecclesiae dignitati satis foret per se consultum. His autem cogitationibus conflictatum animum, eundemque propter defectionem plurimorum, e numero etiam sacrorum antistitem, gravi dolore incensum nihil magis recreabat, quam collocata in Dei ope fiducia et quaesitum in Ecclesiae sinu perfugium. Itaque "in naufragio positus . . . procellis irruentibus, ad sinum matris Ecclesiae" confugiebat, a Romano Pontifice petens "pium et promptum adiutorium et solamen." (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 37.) Divino autem fortasse consilio factum est, ut singulari sapientia et sanctitate vir tot adversis urgeretur. Per eas enim aerumnas exemplo ac solatio nobis esse potuit in sacro ministerio laborantibus et in maximas difficultates coniectis, ita ut unicuique nostrum liceat idem sentire ac velle quod Paulus: "Libenter . . . gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi. Propter quod placeo mihi in infirmitatibus meis . . . ; cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum." (II. Cor. xii., 9, 10.) His non aliena sunt quae ad Urbanum II. scribit Anselmus: "Sancte Pater, doleo me esse quod sum, doleo me non esse quod fui. Doleo me esse episcopum, quia peccatis meis facientibus non ago episcopi officium. In loco humili aliquid agere videbar; in sublimi positus praegrandi onere pressus, nec mihi fructum facio, nec utilis alicui existo. Oneri quidem succumbo, quia virium, virtutum, industriae, scientiae tanto officio competentium inopiam, plusquam credibile videatur, patior. Curam importabilem cupio fugere, pondus relinquere; Deum e contrario timeo offendere. Timor Dei illud me suscipere compellit, timor idem onus idem me retinere compellit. . . . Nunc, quia voluntas Dei me latet, et quid agam nescio, errabundus suspiro, et quem rei finem imponere debeam ignoro." (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 37.)

Divinae sic bonitati placuit, vel eximiae sanctitatis viros non ignorare, quae sua sit naturalis infirmitas, ut persuasum sit omnibus, si quid ipsi praeclare egerint, id supernae virtuti esse totum tribuendum, atque ut per animi demissionem adducantur homines ad Ecclesiae auctoritatem impensiore studio colendam. Id Anselmo alisque contigit episcopis pro Ecclesiae libertate ac doctrina dimicantibus, duce Sede Apostolica; qui obedientiae suae hunc fructum retulerunt, ut ex certamine victores discederent, suoque exemplo divinam sententiam confirmarent: "vir obediens loquetur victoriam." (Prov. xxi., 28.) Consequendi autem huiusmodi praemii spes maxima illis affulget, qui Christi personam gerenti sincero animo pareant in iis omnibus, quae aut regimen animorum spectent aut administrationem christianae reipublicae aut alia cum his aliqua ratione coniuncta; "quoniam de Sedis Apostolicae auctoritate pendent filiorum Ecclesiae directiones et consilia." (Epist., lib. iv., ep. 1.)

Hoc genere laudis Anselmus quantum praestiterit, quo ardore, qua fide coniunctionem cum Petri Sede retinuerit, ex his licet colligere, quae ad eundem Paschalem Pontificem ab eo scripta leguntur: "Quanto studio mens mea Sedis Apostolicae reverentiam et obedientiam pro sua possibilitate amplectatur, testantur multae et gravissimae tribulationes cordis mei, soli Deo et mihi notae. . . . A qua intentione spero in Deo, quia nihil est quod me retrahere possit. Quapropter in quantum mihi possibile est, omnes actus meos eiusdem auctoritatis dispositioni dirigendos, et ubi opus est, corrigendos volo committere." (Epist., lib. iv., ep. 5.)

Eandem viri firmissimam voluntatem acta eius omni et scripta testantur, in primisque litterae illae suavissimae, quas "caritatis calamo scriptas" (In lib. iii., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 74) dicit memoratus Decessor Noster Paschalis. Nec vero suis ipse litteris pium modo "adiutorium et solamen implorat (In lib. iii., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 37) sed non intermissas preces adhibiturum se Deo pollicetur, ut cum ad Urbanum II. Beccensis Abbas scriberet his verbis amantissimis usus: "Pro vestra et Romanae Ecclesiae tribulatione, quae nostra et omnium vere fidelium est, non cessamus orare Deum assidue, ut mitiget vobis a diebus malis, donec fodiatur peccatori fovea. Et certi sumus, etiam num nobis moram videatur facere, quoniam non relinquet virgam peccatorum super sortem iustorum; quia haereditatem suam non derelinquet, et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam." (In libro ii., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 33.)

Quibus aliisque id genus ab Anselmo scriptis mirifice delectamur, tum ob instauratam viri memoriam, quo nemo sane huic Apostolicae Sedi devinctior, tum ob excitatam recordationem coniunctissimae voluntatis vestrae, Venerabiles Fratres, in dimicationis non dispari genere, litteris aliisque officiis quamplurimis declaratae.



Mirum profecto quantum roboris ac firmitatis accepit, de saevientibus longo saeculorum cursu in christianum nomen procellis, coniunctionis ista necessitudine, qua sacrorum antistites et fidelis grex arctius in dies Romano Pontifici adhaeserunt ad haec usque tempora, quibus ardor ille adeo succrevit, ut divino quodam prodigio videantur voluntates hominum in tantum consensum potuisse coalescere. Quae quidem amoris et obsequii conspiratio dum Nos plurimum erigit planeque confirmat, Ecclesiae decori est ac praesidio validissimo. Sed hoc nempe maior in nos antiqui serpentis invidie conflatur, quo praestantius est delatum beneficium; eoque graviores in nos irae colliguntur impiorum hominum, quo acrius hi rei novitate percelluntur. Nec enim simile quidquam in reliquis consociationibus admirantur, nec facti rationem cernunt ullam, sive a publicis causis sive ab alia quavis humana re petitam, nec secum reputant sublimem Christi precationem, cum discipulis postremum discumbentis, eventu comprobata.

Summa igitur ope niti oportet, Venerabiles Fratres, ut apte cohaerentia cum capite membra solidiore in dies nexu obstringantur, divinarum rerum ratione habita, non terrestrium, ita ut omnes *unum simus* in Christo. Ad hunc finem si velis remisque contendemus, functi erimus optime delato nobis officio provehendi Christi operis et regni eius in terris dilatandi. Huc spectat suavis illa petitio, qua Ecclesia caelestem Sponsum urget assidue, in qua Nostrorum summa votorum continetur: "Pater sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo, quos dedisti mihi, ut sint unum sicut et nos." (Ioan. xvii., 11.)

Haec autem industriae propositam habent defensionem, non modo contra externas impugnationes in acie dimicantium ut Ecclesiae iura et libertatem labefactent, sed etiam contra domestici atque intestini belli pericula cuius rei superius incidit mentio, quum dolumus esse genus hominum quoddam, qui subdolis opinionum commentis nitantur Ecclesiae formam ac naturam ipsam immutare penitus, doctrinae integritatem violare, disciplinam omnem pessumdare. Serpit adhuc per hos dies memoratum illud virus infectique non paucos, etiam sacri ordinis homines, praesertim iuvenes, inquinato, uti diximus, quasi aere afflatos, quos effrenata novitatis libido praecipites agit ac respirare non sinit.

Sunt etiam in his qui, tardioris ingenii et intemperantis animi spectaculum exhibentes, quidquid affert incrementi dies iis disciplinis quae in adspectabilis naturae investigatione versantur et ad praesentis vitae utilitatem aut commoditatem pertinent, ea, tamquam nova tela, in veritatem divinitus traditam, per summam astutiam et arrogantiam intorqueant. Hi meminerint, incautae novitatis fautorum quam variae fuerint ac discrepantes sententiae de rebus ad agnitionem animi et ad moderandam vitam plane necessariis, cogno-

scantque, hanc esse humanae superbiae constitutam poenam, ut constent sibi nunquam, et in ipso cursu ante obruantur, quam portum veritatis conspicerere potuerint. Sed hi fere ne ipso quidem sui exemplo didicerunt de se tandem sentire demissius atque amovere "consilia . . . et omnem altitudinem extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei, et in captivitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi." (II. Cor. x., 4, 5.)

Quin etiam a nimia arrogantia in contrarium vitium delapsi sunt, eam philosophandi rationem secuti, quae, de omnibus dubitando, quasi noctem quandam rebus offundit, et *agnosticismum* professi cum errorum comitatu multiplici atque infinita prope sententiarum varietate inter se mire pugnantium; quo opinionum conflictata "evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis . . . dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt." (Rom., i., 21, 22.)

Grandibus interim ac fucatis istorum verbis, novam sapientiam quasi caelo delapsam reconditasque discendi vias pollicentium, iuvenum pars labare paulatim atque averti coepit; quod idem olim accidit Augustino, manicheorum fraudibus circumvento. Verum de funestis hisce insanientis sapientiae magistris, de ipsorum ausibus, deceptionibus, fallaciis satis diximus in Encyclicis Litteris datis die VIII. mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXVII., quarum initium *Pascendi dominici gregis*.

Illud hoc loco animadvertisse iuverit, quae memoravimus pericula, graviora quidem nunc esse atque imminere propius; non tamen iis penitus absimilia quae Anselmi tempore Ecclesiae doctrinae impendebant. Considerandum praeterea pari propemodum nobis praesidio ac solatio esse posse Anselmi doctrinam ad tutelam veritatis, atque apostolicum eius robur ad Ecclesiae iurium ac libertatis defensionem.

Atque heic persequi omittentes quaenam remotae illius aetatis fuerit humanitatis, qui cleri populisque cultus, breviter attingemus creatum eo tempore ingeniis periculum duplex, eo quod in opposita extrema decurrerint.

Fuerunt enim inepti homines et vani, qui leviter ac permixte eruditi, cognitionum indigesta mole gloriarentur, inani philosophiae vel dialecticae specie decepti. Hi quidem per inanem fallaciam scientiae nomine obtectam, spernebant sacras auctoritates, "nefanda temeritate audent disputare contra aliquid eorum quae fides christiana confitetur, . . . et potius insipienti superbia iudicant nullatenus posse esse quod nequeunt intelligere, quam humili sapientia fateantur esse multa posse quae ipsi non valeant comprehendere . . . Solent enim quidam cum coeperint quasi cornua confidentis sibi scientiae producere, nescientes quod si quis aestimat se scire aliquid, nondum cognovit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire, antequam habeant per soliditatem fidei alas spiritales, praesumendo

in altissimas de fide quaestiones assurgere. Unde fit ut dum . . . praepostere prius per intellectum conantur escendere, in multimodos errores per intellectus defectum cogantur descendere." (S. Anselm., De Fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.) Atque horum similia exempla complura hodie quoque versantur ante oculos.

Alii contra, remissioris animi, multorum casu perculsi qui naufragium in fide fecerunt, et periculum veriti scientiae quae *inflat*, eo devenerunt ut omnem philosophiae usum, forte etiam solidam quamvis de sacris rebus disputationem defugerent.

Media inter utramque partem catholica consuetudo consistit, aequae aversata et priorum arrogantiam, a Gregorio IX. aevo insequenti reprehensam, qui "spiritu vanitatis ut uter distenti . . . fidem conantur plus debito ratione adstruere naturali . . . adulterantes verbum Dei philosophorum figmentis" (Gregor. IX., Epist. "Tacti dolore cordis." ad theologos Parisien, 7 Iul., 1228), et horum negligentiam, qui nulla investigandi veri cupiditate trahuntur, neque curant "per fidem ad intellectum proficere" (In libro II. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 41), praesertim si eorum officii ratio postulet catholicae fidei contra tot congestos errores defensionem.

Ad quam suscipiendam divinitus excitatus videtur Anselmus, ut exemplo, voce, scriptis tutum iter ostenderet, christianae sapientiae latices ad commune bonum derivaret, duxque esset ac norma doctoribus, qui post ipsum "sacras litteras scholastica methodo tradiderunt" (Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis), quorum ipse praecursor merito est nuncupatus et habitus.

Quamquam haec non ita sunt accipienda quasi Augustanus doctor primo statim gressu fuerit philosophiae ac theologiae fastigia consequutus aut ad summorum virorum Thomae ac Bonaventurae famam processerit. Horum enim sapientiae seriores fructus multa dies et coniunctus magistrorum labor maturarunt. Ipsemet Anselmus, quae erat modestia sapientium propria, non minus quam celeritate ac subtilitate mentis, nihil a se scriptum edidit nisi oblata occasione, aut aliorum auctoritate compulsus, monetque constanter: "si quid diximus quod corrigendum sit, non renuo correctionem" (Cur Deus homo, lib. ii., cap. 23); quin etiam, ubi rescitra fidem posita sit et in quaestione versetur, non vult discipulum "sic his quae diximus inhaerere ut ea pertinaciter teneas, si quis validioribus argumentis haec destruere et diversa valuerit astruere; quod si contigerit, saltem ad exercitationem disputandi nobis haec profecisse non negabis." (De Grammatico, cap. 21 sub finem.)

Nihilominus multo plura est adeptus quam aut ipse speraret aut alius quisquam de se polliceretur. Adeo namque profecit, ut eorum qui sequuti sunt gloria nihil eius laudi detraxerit, ne ipsius quidem Thomae nobilitas, quamvis huic non omnia probata fuerint ab ipso

conclusa, alia etiam retractata sint planius atque perfectius. Anselmo tamen hoc maxime tribuendum, quod is investigationi straverit, viam, timidiorum suspiciones diluerit, incautos a periculis tutos praestiterit, pertinacium cavillatorum damna propulsaverit, qui ab ipso sic iure designantur: "illi . . . nostri temporis dialectici, imo dialectice haeretici" (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2), quorum intellectus esset suis deliramentis et ambitioni mancipatus.

De extremis hisce ait: "Quumque omnes, ut cautissime ad sacrae paginae quaestiones accedant, sint commonendi, illi utique nostri temporis dialectici . . . prorsus a spiritualium quaestionum disputatione sunt exsufflandi." Quam vero subdit ratio, apte cadit in hodiernos eorum imitatores, a quibus absurda illa recinuntur: "In eorum quippe animabus ratio, quae et princeps et iudex omnium debet esse quae sunt in homine, sic est in imaginationibus corporalibus obvoluta, ut ex eis se non possit evolvere nec ab ipsis ea, quae ipsa sola et pura contemplari debet, valet discernere." (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.) Nec aliena videntur huic tempori verba, quibus id genus philosophos ridet, "qui quoniam quod credunt intelligere non possunt, disputant contra eiusdem fidei a sanctis Patribus confirmatam veritatem; velut si vespertilliones et noctuae non nisi in nocte caelum videntes, de meridianis solis radiis disceptent contra aquilas solem ipsum irreverberato visu intuentes." (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.) Quapropter et hoc loco et alibi (In libro Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 41) depravatam eorum opinionem reprehendit, qui philosophiae plus aequo concedentes, ius illi adserebant theologiae campum pervadendi. Huic insaniae se opponens egregius Doctor suos cuique fines constituit utrique disciplinae, ac satis monet, quodnam sit munus et officium rationis naturalis in rebus quae doctrinam divinitus revelatam attingunt: "Fides . . . nostra," inquit, "contra impios ratione defendenda est." At quomodo et quousque? Verba quae sequuntur aperte declarant: "illis . . . rationabiliter ostendendum est quam irrationabiliter nos contemnant." (In libro Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 41.) Philosophiae igitur munus est praecipuum, in perspicuo ponere fidei nostrae *rationabile obsequium*, et, quod inde consequitur, officium adiungendae fidei auctoritati divinae altissima mysteria proponenti, quae plurimis testata veritatis indiciis, *credibilia facta sunt nimis*. Longe aliud ab hoc theologiae munus est, quae divina revelatione nititur et in fide solidiores efficit eos qui christiani nominis honore se gaudere fatentur; "nullus quippe christianus debet disputare quomodo, quod catholica Ecclesia corde credit et ore confitetur, non sit; sed semper eandem fidem indubitanter tenendo, amando et secundum illam vivendo, humiliter quantum potest, quaerere rationem quomodo sit. Si potest intelligere, Deo gratias agat; si non potest, non immittat cornua ad ventilan-

dum, sed submittat caput ad venerandum." (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.)

Quum igitur vel theologi quaerunt vel fideles petunt de fide nostra rationes, non his fundamentis, sed revelantis Dei auctoritate nituntur, hoc est, ut habet Anselmus: "sicut rectus ordo exigit ut profunda christianae fidei," quae mysteria dicuntur, "credamus priusquam ea praesumamus ratione discutere, ita negligentia mihi videtur, si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere." (Cur Deus homo, lib. i., cap. 2.) De illa profecto intelligentia loquitur, de qua Vaticana Synodus (Constit. Dei filius, cap. 4); alio enim loco sic disserit: "Quamvis post Apostolos, sancti Patres et Doctores nostri multi tot et tanta de fide nostrae ratione dicant, . . . non omnia quae possent, si diutius vixissent, dicere potuerunt, et veritatis ratio tam ampla tamque profunda est, ut a mortalibus nequeat exauriri; et Dominus in Ecclesia sua, cum qua se esse usque ad consummationem saeculi promittit, gratiae suae dona non desinit impertiri. Et ut alia taceam, quibus sacra pagina nos ad investigandam rationem invitat, ubi dicit: nisi credideritis non intelligetis, aperte nos monet intentionem ad intellectum extendere, cum docet qualiter ad illum debeamus proficere." Nec est praetereunda ratio quam addit extremam: "inter fidem et speciem, intellectum, quem in hac vita capimus, esse medium," ideoque "quanto aliquis ad illum proficit, tanto eum propinquare speciei ad quam omnes anhaelamus." (De fide Trinitatis, Praefatio.)

Solida haec—ut alia praetereamus—per Anselmum philosophiae ac theologiae iacta sunt fundamenta; haec in posterorum usum ab ipso fuit studiorum ratio proposita, quam sequuti deinde sapientissimi viri *Scholasticorum* principes, in quibus maxime doctor Aquinas, magnis incrementis ditaverunt, illustrarunt, expoliverunt, ad eximium Ecclesiae decus atque praesidium. Haec autem de Anselmo commemorasse placuit, Venerabiles Fratres, quod optatam Nobis occasionem attulerunt vos iterum cohortandi ut saluberrimos christianae sapientiae fontes, ab Augustano doctore primum reclusos, ab Aquinate locupletatos uberrime, sacrae iuventuti pervios esse curetis. Qua in re memoria ne excidant quae Decessor Noster fel. rec. Leo XIII. (Encycl. "Aeterni Patris," diei 4 Augusti ann. MDCCCLXXIX.), Nosque ipsi documenta dedimus, quum saepe alias, tum etiam Encyclicis Litteris die VIII. mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXVII., quis initium "Pascendi dominici gregis." Patent heu nimium ruinae, quae, neglectis hisce studiis aut nec certa nec tuta via susceptis, effossae sunt, quum non pauci, etiam e clero, nec idonei nec parati, minime dubitarint "praesumendo in altissimas de fide quaestiones assurgere." (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.) Qua una cum Anselmo lugentes, eius verba usurpamus, ita graviter

monentis: "Nemo ergo se temere immergat in condensa divinarum questionum, nisi prius firmus sit in soliditate fidei, conquisita morum et sapientiae gravitate, ne per multiplicia sophismatum diverticula incauta levitate discurrens, aliqua tenaci illaqueetur falsitate." (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.) Cui levitati si faces accedant cupiditatum, ut fere fit, actum est de studiis gravioribus ac de integritate doctrinae. Inflati enim *insipiente superbia, qualem in haeretice dialecticis dolet* Anselmus, contemptui habent sacras auctoritates, id est divinas Litteras, Patres, Doctores, de quibus verecundioris ingenii iudicium non esse poterit aliud nisi hoc: "Nec nostris nec futuris temporibus ullum illis parem in veritatis contemplatione spe remus." (De fide Trinitatis, Praefatio.) Nec maiore in pretio habent Ecclesiae monita vel Pontificis Maximi, eos ad meliorem frugem revocare conantium, pro rebus dare verba solliciti et in fictum obsequium proni, quo fuco auctoritatem sibi et plurimorum gratiam concilient. Fore autem ut hi ad saniora consilia se referant vix ulla spes affulget, quod ei dicto audientes esse detrectent, cui "domino et Patri universae Ecclesiae in terra peregrinantis . . . divina Providentia . . . vitam et fidem christianam custodiendam et Ecclesiam suam regendam" commisit; ideoque "ad nullum alium rectius refertur, si quid contra catholicam fidem oritur in Ecclesia ut eius auctoritate corrigatur; nec ulli alii tutius, si quid contra errorem respondetur, ostenditur, ut eius prudentia examinetur." (De fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.) Atque utinam perduelles isti, qui se candidos, apertos, omnis officii retinentissimos, usu rerum et religionis praeditos, operosa fide pollentes tam facile profitentur, sapienter ab Anselmo dicta percipiant, eius exemplo institutoque se gerant, idque maxime in animo defigant: "Prius ergo fide mundandum est cor . . . et prius per praeceptorum Domini custodiam illuminandi, sunt oculi . . . et prius per humilem obedientiam testimoniorum Dei debemus fleri parvuli, ut discamus sapientiam. . . . Et non solum ad intelligendum altiora prohibetur mens ascendere sine fide et mandatorum Dei obedientia, sed etiam aliquando datus intellectus subtrahitur et fides ipsa subvertitur, neglecta bona conscientia." (De Fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.)

Quod si turbulenti homines ac protervi pergunt causas errorum ac dissidii serere, doctrinae sacrae patrimonium diripere, violare disciplinam, venerandas consuetudines habere ludibrio, quas "velle convellere genus est haeresis" (S. Anselm., De nuptiis consanguineorum, cap. 1), ipsam denique divinam Ecclesiae constitutionem funditus evertere; iam videtis, Venerabiles Fratres, quam sit Nobis advigilandum ne tam dira pestis christianum gregem, adeoque teneriores foetus, inficiat. Hoc a Deo non intermissis precibus flagitamus, interposito Augustae Dei Matris patrocinio validissimo, deprecatori-

bus etiam adhibitis triumphantis Ecclesiae beatis civibus, praesertim Anselmo, christianae sapientiae fulgido lumine ac sacrorum iurium omnium incorrupto custode strenuoque vindice. Quem gratum est iisdem compellare sanctissimus Decessor Noster Gregorius VII.: "Quoniam fructuum tuorum bonus odor ad nos usque redoluit, quam dignas grates Deo referimus, et te in Christi dilectione ex corde amplectimur, credentes pro certo, tuorum studiorum exemplis Ecclesiam Dei in melius promoveri, et tuis similiumque tibi precibus etiam ab instantibus periculis, Christi subveniente misericordia, posse eripi. . . . Unde volumus tuam tuorumque fraternitatem assidue Deum orare, ut Ecclesiam suam et Nos, qui ei licet indigni praesidemus, ab instantibus haereticorum oppressionibus eripiat, et illos, errore dimisso, ad viam veritatis reducat." (In libro II. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 31.)

Talibus freti praesidiis et studio vestro confisi, apostolicam benedictionem, caelestis auspicem gratiae et singularis Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, universoque clero et populo singulis commisso peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, in festo S. Anselmi, die XXI. mensis Aprilis anno MDCCCCIX, Pontificatus Nostri sexto.

PIUS PP. X.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER  
PIUS X.

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE.

TO ALL THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND  
OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE  
APOSTOLIC SEE.

PIUS X. POPE.

*Venerable Brothers, Health and the Apostolic Benediction.*

**A**MID the general troubles of the time and the recent disasters at home which afflict us, there is surely consolation and comfort for us in that recent display of devotion of the whole Christian people which still continues to be "a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men" (I. Cor. iv., 9), and which, if it has now been called forth so generously by the advent of misfortune, has its one true cause in the charity of Our Lord Jesus Christ. For since there is not and there cannot be in the world any charity worthy of the name except through Christ, to Him alone must be attributed all the fruits of it, even in men of lax faith or hostile to religion, who are indebted for whatever vestiges of charity they may possess to the civilization introduced by Christ, which they have not yet succeeded in throwing off entirely and expelling from human society.

For this mighty movement of those who would console their Father and help their brethren in their public and private afflictions, words can hardly express our emotion and our gratitude. These feelings we have already made known on more than one occasion to individuals, but we cannot delay any longer to give a public expression of our thanks first of all to you, Venerable Brothers, and through you to all the faithful entrusted to your care.

So, too, we would make public profession of our gratitude for the many striking demonstrations of affection and reverence which have been offered us by our most beloved children in all parts of the world on the occasion of our sacerdotal jubilee. Most grateful have they been to us, not so much for our own sake as for the sake of religion and the Church, as being a profession of fearless faith and as it were a public manifestation of due honor to Christ and His Church, by the respect shown to him whom the Lord has placed over His family. Other fruits of the same kind, too, have greatly rejoiced us—the celebrations with which dioceses in North America have commemorated the centenary of their foundation, returning everlasting thanks to God for having added so many children to the Catholic Church; the splendid sight presented by the most noble island of Britain in



the restored honor paid with such wonderful pomp within its confines to the Blessed Eucharist, in the presence of a dense multitude and with a crown formed of our Venerable Brothers and of our own Legate, and in France, where the afflicted Church dried her tears to see such brilliant triumphs of the august Sacrament, especially in the town of Lourdes, the fiftieth anniversary of whose origin we have also been rejoiced to witness commemorated with such solemnity. In these and other facts all must see, and let the enemies of the Catholicism be persuaded of it, that the splendor of ceremonial and the devotion paid to the august Mother of God, and even the filial homage offered to the Supreme Pontiff, are all destined finally for the glory of God, that Christ may be all and in all (Coloss. iii., 11), that the kingdom of God may be established on earth and eternal salvation gained for men.

This triumph of God on earth, both in individuals and in society, is but the return of the erring to God through Christ, and to Christ through the Church, which we announced as the programme of our Pontificate both in our first apostolic letters, "*E supremi Apostolatus Cathedra*" (Encyclica die 4 Octobris MDCCCIII.), and many times since then. To this return we look with confidence, and our plans and hopes are all designed to lead to it as to a port in which the storms even of the present life are at rest. And this is why we are grateful for the homage paid to the Church in our humble person as being, with God's help, a sign of the return of the nations to Christ and a closer union with Peter and the Church.

This affectionate union, varying in intensity according to time and place, and differing in its mode of expression, seems in the designs of Providence to grow stronger as the times grow more difficult for the cause of sound teaching, of sacred discipline, of the liberty of the Church. We have examples of this in the saints of other centuries, whom God raised up to resist by their virtue and wisdom the fury of persecution against the Church and the diffusion of iniquity in the world. One of these we wish especially in these letters to commemorate, now that the eighth centenary of his death is being solemnly celebrated. We mean the Doctor Anselm of Aosta, most vigorous exponent of Catholic truth and defender of the rights of the Church, first as monk and abbot in France, and later as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate in England. It is not inappropriate, we think, after the jubilee feasts, celebrated with unwonted splendor, of two other Doctors of Holy Church, Gregory the Great and John Chrysostom, one the light of the Western, the other of the Eastern Church, to fix our gaze on this other star which if it "differs in brightness" (I. Cor. xv., 41) from them, yet compares well with them in their course, and sheds abroad a light of doctrine and exam-

ple not less salutary than theirs. Nay, in some respects it might be said even more salutary, inasmuch as Anselm is nearer to us in time, place, temperament, studies, and there is a closer similarity with our own days in the nature of the conflicts borne by him, in the kind of pastoral activity he displayed, in the method of teaching applied and largely promoted by him, by his disciples, by his writings, all composed "in defense of the Christian religion, for the benefit of souls, and for the guidance of all theologians who were to teach sacred letters according to the scholastic method." (Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis.) Thus as in the darkness of the night, while some stars are setting others rise to light the world, so the sons succeed to the fathers to illumine the Church, and among these St. Anselm shone forth as a most brilliant star.

In the eyes of the best of his contemporaries Anselm seemed to shine as a luminary of sanctity and learning amid the darkness of the error and iniquity of the age in which he lived. He was in truth a "prince of the faith, an ornament of the Church, . . . a glory of the episcopate, a man outranking all the great men of his time" (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi), "both learned and good and brilliant in speech, a man of splendid intellect" (In Epitaphio), whose reputation was such that it has been well written of him that there was no man in the world then "who would say: Anselm is less than I, or like me" (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi)—and hence esteemed by Kings, Princes and Supreme Pontiffs, as well as by his brethren in religion and by the faithful, nay, "beloved even by his enemies." (Epicedion in obitum Anselmi.) While he was still abbot the great and most powerful Pontiff Gregory VII. wrote him letters breathing esteem and affection and "recommending the Catholic Church and himself to his prayers" (Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis); to him also wrote Urban II. recognizing "his distinction in religion and learning" (In libro II. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 32); in many and most affectionate letters Paschal II. extolled his "reverent devotion, strong faith, his pious and persevering zeal, his authority in religion and knowledge" (In lib. III. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 74 et 42), which easily induced the Pontiff to accede to his requests and made him not hesitate to call him the most learned and devout of the Bishops of England.

And yet Anselm in his own eyes was but a despicable and unknown good-for-nothing, a man of no parts, sinful in his life. Nor did this great modesty and most sincere humility detract in the least from his high thinking, whatever may be said to the contrary by men of depraved life and judgment, of whom the Scripture says that "the animal man understandeth not the things of the spirit of God." (I. Cor. ii., 14.) And more wonderful still, greatness of soul and

unconquerable constancy, tried in so many ways by troubles, attacks, exiles, were in him blended with such gentle and pleasing manners that he was able to calm the angry passions of his enemies and win the hearts of those who were enraged against him, so that the very men "to whom his cause was hostile" praised him because he was good. (*Epicedion in obitum Anselmi.*)

Thus in him there existed a wonderful harmony between qualities which the world falsely judges to be irreconcilable and contradictory—simplicity and greatness, humility and magnanimity, strength and gentleness, knowledge and piety, so that both in the beginning and throughout the whole course of his religious life "he was singularly esteemed by all as a model of sanctity and doctrine." (*Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis.*)

Nor was this double merit of Anselm confined within the walls of his own household or within the limits of the school—it went forth thence as from a military tent into the dust and the glare of the highway. For, as we have already hinted, Anselm fell on difficult days and had to undertake fierce battles in defense of justice and truth. Naturally inclined though he was to a life of contemplation and study, he was obliged to plunge into the most varied and important occupations, even those affecting the government of the Church, and thus to be drawn into the worst turmoils of his agitated age. With his sweet and most gentle temperament he was forced, out of love for sound doctrine and for the sanctity of the Church, to give up a life of peace, the friendship of the great ones of the world, the favors of the powerful, the united affection, which he at first enjoyed, of his very brethren in religion and in the episcopate, to live in daily trials, in troubles of all kinds. Thus, finding England full of hatred and dangers, he was forced to oppose a vigorous resistance to Kings and Princes, usurpers and tyrants over the Church and the people, against weak or unworthy ministers of the sacred office, against the ignorance and vice of the great and small alike; ever a valiant defender of the faith and morals, of the discipline and liberty, and therefore also of the sanctity and doctrine, of the Church of God, and thus truly worthy of that further encomium of Paschal: "Thanks be to God that in you the authority of the Bishop ever prevails, and that, although set in the midst of barbarians, you are not deterred from announcing the truth either by the violence of tyrants or the favor of the powerful, neither by the flame of fire or the force of arms; and again: "We rejoice because by the grace of God you are neither disturbed by threats nor moved by promises." (*In lib. III. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 44 e 74.*)

In view of all this, it is only right, Venerable Brothers, that we, after a lapse of eight centuries, should rejoice like our predecessor,

Paschal, and echoing his words return thanks to God. But at the same time it is a pleasure for us to be able to exhort you to fix your eyes on this luminary of doctrine and sanctity who, rising here in Italy, shone for over thirty years upon France, for more than fifteen years upon England, and finally upon the whole Church, as a tower of strength and beauty.

And if Anselm was great *in works and in words*, if in his knowledge and his life, in contemplation and activity, in peace and strife, he secured splendid triumphs for the Church and great benefits for society, all this must be ascribed to his close union with Christ and the Church throughout the whole course of his life and ministry.

Recalling all these things, Venerable Brothers, with special interest during the solmen commemoration of the great Doctor, we shall find in them splendid examples for our admiration and imitation; nay, reflection on them will also furnish us with strength and consolation amid the pressing cares of the government of the Church and of the salvation of souls, helping us never to fail in our duty of coöperating with all our strength in order that all things may be restored in Christ, that "Christ may be formed in all souls" (Galat. iv., 19), and especially in those which are the hope of the priesthood, of maintaining unswervingly the doctrine of the Church, of defending strenuously the liberty of the Spouse of Christ, the inviolability of her divine rights and the plenitude of those safeguards which the protection of the Sacred Pontificate requires.

For you are aware, Venerable Brothers, and you have often lamented it with us, how evil are the days on which we have fallen, and how iniquitous the conditions that have been forced upon us. Even in the unspeakable sorrow we felt in the recent public disasters, our wounds were opened afresh by the shameful charges invented against the clergy of being behindhand in rendering assistance after the calamity, by the obstacles raised to hide the beneficent action of the Church on behalf of the afflicted, by the contempt shown even for her maternal care and forethought. We say nothing of many other things injurious to the Church, devised with treacherous cunning or flagrantly perpetrated in violation of all public right and in contempt of all natural equity and justice. Most grievous, too, is the thought that this has been done in countries in which the stream of civilization has been most abundantly fed by the Church. For what more unnatural sight could be witnessed than that of some of those children whom the Church has nourished and cherished as her first-born, her flower and her strength, in their rage turning their weapons against the very bosom of the Mother that has loved them so much? And there are other countries which give us but little cause for consolation, in which the same war, under a different

form, has either broken out already or is being prepared by dark machinations. For there is a movement in those nations which have benefited most from Christian civilization to deprive the Church of her rights, to treat her as though she were not by nature and by right the perfect society that she is, instituted by Christ Himself, the Redeemer of our nature, and to destroy her reign, which, although primarily and directly affecting souls, is not less helpful for their eternal salvation than for the welfare of human society; efforts of all kinds are being made to supplant the kingdom of God by a reign of license under the lying name of liberty. And to bring about by the rule of vices and lusts the triumph of the worst of all slaveries and bring the people headlong to their ruin—"for sin makes peoples wretched (Prov. xiv., 34)—the cry is ever raised: "We will not have this man reign over us." Thus the religious orders, always the strong shield and the ornament of the Church and the promoters of the most salutary works of science and civilization among uncivilized and civilized peoples, have been driven out of Catholic countries; thus the works of Christian beneficence have been weakened and circumscribed as far as possible, thus the ministers of religion have been despised and mocked, and, wherever that was possible, reduced to powerlessness and inertia; the paths to knowledge and to the teaching office have been either closed to them or rendered extremely difficult, especially by gradually removing them from the instruction and education of youth; Catholic undertakings of public utility have been thwarted; distinguished laymen who openly profess their Catholic faith have been turned into ridicule, persecuted, kept in the background as belonging to an inferior and outcast class, until the coming of the day, which is being hastened by ever more iniquitous laws, when they are to be utterly ostracized from public affairs. And the authors of this war, cunning and pitiless as it is, boast that they are waging it through love of liberty, civilization and progress, and, were you to believe them, through a spirit of patriotism—in this lie, too, resembling their father, who "was a murderer from the beginning," and "when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar" (Igan., viii., 44), and raging with hate insatiable against God and the human race. Brazen-faced men these, seeking to create confusion by their words and to lay snares for the ears of the simple. No, it is not patriotism, or zealous care for the people, or any other noble aim, or desire to promote good of any kind, that incites them to this bitter war, but blind hatred which feeds their mad plan to weaken the Church and exclude her from social life, which makes them proclaim her as dead, while they never cease to attack her—nay, after having despoiled her of all liberty, they do not hesitate in their brazen folly to taunt her with her powerlessness

to do anything for the benefit of mankind or human government. From the same hate spring the cunning misrepresentations or the utter silence concerning the most manifest services of the Church and the Apostolic See, when they do not make of our services a cause of suspicion, which with wily art they insinuate into the ears and the minds of the masses, spying and travestying everything said or done by the Church as though it concealed some impending danger for society, whereas the plain truth is that it is mainly from Christ through the Church that the progress of real liberty and the purest civilization has been derived.

Concerning this war from outside, waged by the enemy without, "by which the Church is seen to be assailed on all sides, now in serried and open battle, now by cunning and by wily plots," we have frequently warned your vigilance, Venerable Brothers, and especially in the allocution we delivered in the Consistory of December 16, 1907.

But with no less severity and sorrow have we been obliged to denounce and to put down another species of war, intestine and domestic, and all the more disastrous the more hidden it is. Waged by unnatural children, nestling in the very bosom of the Church in order to rend it in silence, this war aims more directly at the very root and the soul of the Church. They are trying to corrupt the springs of Christian life and teaching, to scatter the sacred deposit of the faith, to overthrow the foundations of the divine constitution by their contempt for all authority, pontifical as well as episcopal, to put a new form on the Church, new laws, new principles, according to the tenets of monstrous systems; in short, to deface all the beauty of the Spouse of Christ for the empty glamor of a new culture, falsely called science, against which the Apostle frequently puts us on our guard: "Beware lest any man cheat you by philosophy and vain deceit, according to the traditions of men, according to the elements of the world, and not according to Christ." (Colos. ii., 8.)

By this figment of false philosophy and this shallow and fallacious erudition, joined with a most audacious system of criticism, some have been seduced and "become vain in their thoughts" (Rom. i., 21), "having rejected good conscience, they have made shipwreck concerning the faith" (I. Tim. i., 19); they are being tossed about miserably on the waves of doubt, knowing not themselves at what port they must land; others, wasting both time and study, lose themselves in the investigation of abstruse trifling, and thus grow estranged from the study of divine things and of the real springs of doctrine. This hotbed of error and perdition (which has come to be known commonly as *modernism* from its craving for unhealthy novelty), although denounced several times and unmasked by the

very excesses of its adepts, continues to be a most grave and deep evil. It lurks like poison in the vitals of modern society, estranged as this is from God and His Church, and it is especially eating its way like a cancer among the young generations, which are naturally the most inexperienced and heedless. It is not the result of solid study and true knowledge, for there can be no real conflict between reason and faith. (Concil. Vatic., Constit. Dei filius, capo 4.) But it is the result of intellectual pride and of the pestiferous atmosphere that prevails of ignorance or confused knowledge of the things of religion, united with the stupid presumption of speaking about and discussing them. And this deadly infection is further fomented by a spirit of incredulity and of rebellion against God, so that those who are seized by the blind frenzy for novelty consider that they are all sufficient for themselves, and that they are at liberty to throw off either openly or by subterfuge the entire yoke of divine authority, fashioning for themselves according to their own caprice a vague, naturalistic *individual* religiosity, borrowing the name and some semblance of Christianity, but with none of its life and truth.

Now in all this it is not difficult to recognize one of the many forms of the eternal war waged against divine truth, and one that is all the more dangerous from the fact that its weapons are craftily concealed with a covering of fictitious piety, ingenuous candor and earnestness, in the hands of factious men who use them to reconcile things that are absolutely irreconcilable, viz., the extravagances of a fickle human science with divine faith, and the spirit of a frivolous world with the dignity and constancy of the Church.

But if you see all this, Venerable Brothers, and deplore it bitterly with us, you are not therefore cast down or without all hope. You know of the great conflicts that other times have brought upon the Christian people, very different though they were from our own days. We have but to turn again to the age in which Anselm lived, so full of difficulties as it appears in the annals of the Church. Then, indeed, was it necessary to fight for the altar and the home, for the sanctity of public law, for liberty, civilization, sound doctrine, of all of which the Church alone was the teacher and the defender among the nations, to curb the violence of Princes who arrogated to themselves the right of treading upon the most sacred liberties, to eradicate the vices, ignorance and uncouthness of the people, not yet entirely stripped of their old barbarism and often enough refractory to the educating influence of the Church, to rouse a part of the clergy who had grown lax or lawless in their conduct, inasmuch as not unfrequently they were selected arbitrarily and according to a perverse system of election by the Princes, and controlled by and bound to these in all things.

Such was the state of things notably in those countries on whose behalf Anselm especially labored, either by his teaching as master, by his example as religious or by his assiduous vigilance and many-sided activity as Archbishop and Primate. For his great services were especially accomplished for the provinces of Gaul, which a few centuries before had fallen into the hands of the Normans, and by the islands of Britain, which only a few centuries before had come to the Church. In both countries the convulsions caused by revolutions within and wars without gave rise to looseness of discipline both among the rulers and their subjects, among the clergy and the people.

Abuses like these were bitterly lamented by the great men of the time, such as Lanfranc, Anselm's master and later his predecessor in the See of Canterbury, and still more by the Roman Pontiffs, among whom it will suffice to mention here the courageous Gregory VII., the intrepid champion of justice, unswerving defender of the rights of the Church, vigilant guardian and defender of the sanctity of the clergy.

Strong in their example and rivalling them in their zeal, Anselm also lamented the same evils, writing thus to a prince of his people and one who rejoiced to describe himself as his relation by blood and affection: "You see, my dearest Lord, how the Church of God, our Mother, whom God calls His Fair One and His Beloved Spouse, is trodden underfoot by bad princes, how she is placed in tribulation for their eternal damnation by those to whom she was recommended by God as to protectors who would defend her, with what presumption they have usurped for their own uses the things that belong to her, the cruelty with which they despise and violate her religion and her law. Disdaining obedience to the decrees of the Apostolic See, made for the defense of religion, they surely convict themselves of disobedience to the Apostle Peter, whose place he holds, nay, to Christ, who recommended His Church to Peter. . . . Because they who refuse to be subject to the law of God are surely reputed the enemies of God." (Epist., libro III., epist. 65.) Thus wrote Anselm, and would that his words had been treasured by the successor and the descendants of that most potent prince and by the other sovereigns and peoples who were so loved and counselled and served by him.

But persecution, exile, spoliation, the trials and toils of hard fighting, far from shaking, only rooted deeper Anselm's love for the Church and the Apostolic See. "I fear no exile, or poverty, or torments, or death, because while God strengthens me, for all these things my heart is prepared for the sake of the obedience due to the Apostolic See and the liberty of the Church of Christ, my Mother" (Epist., libro III., ep. 73), he wrote to our predecessor, Paschal,



amid his greatest difficulties. And if he has recourse to the Chair of Peter for protection and help, the sole reason is: "lest through me and on account of me the constancy of ecclesiastical devotion and apostolic authority should ever be in the least degree weakened." And then he gives his reason, which for us is the badge of pastoral dignity and strength: "I would rather die, and while I live I would rather undergo utter penury in exile, rather than see the honor of the Church of God dimmed in the slightest degree on my account or through my example." (Epist., libro IV., ep. 47.)

That same honor, liberty and purity of the Church is ever in his mind; he yearns for it with sighs, prayers, sacrifices; he works for it with all his might both in vigorous resistance and in manly patience, and he defends it by his acts, his writings, his words. He recommends it in language strong and sweet to the brethren in religion, to the Bishops, the clergy and to all his faithful; but with more of severity to those princes who outraged it, to the great injury of themselves and their subjects.

These noble appeals for sacred liberty have a timely echo in our days on the lips of those "whom the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God" (Act. xx., 28)—timely even though they were to find no hearing by reason of the decay of faith or the perversity of men or the blindness of prejudice. To us, as you know well, Venerable Brothers, are especially addressed the words of the Lord: "Cry out, give yourself no rest, raise your voice like a trumpet" (Isai. lviii., 1), and all the more that "the Most High has made His voice heard" (Psalms xvii., 14), in the trembling nature and in tremendous calamities, "the voice of the Lord shaking the earth," ringing in our ears a terrible warning and bringing home to us the hard lesson that all but the eternal is vanity, that "we have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come" (Hebr. xiii., 14), but also a voice not only of justice, but of mercy and of wholesome reminder to the erring nations. In the midst of these public calamities it behooves us to cry aloud and make known the great truths of the faith not only to the people, to the humble, the afflicted, but to the powerful and the rich, to them that decide and govern the policy of nations, to make known to all the great truths which history confirms by its great and disastrous lessons, such as that "sin makes the nations miserable" (Prov. xiv., 34), "that a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule" (Sap. vi., 7), with the admonition of Psalm ii.: "And now, ye Kings, understand; receive instruction, you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord with fear . . . embrace discipline lest at any time the Lord be angry, and you perish from the just way." More bitter shall be the consequences of these threats when the vices of society are being multiplied, when the sin of rulers

and of the people consists especially in the exclusion of God and in rebellion against the Church of Christ—that double social apostasy which is the deplorable fount of anarchy, corruption and endless misery for the individual and for society.

And since silence or indolence on our part, as unfortunately is not unfrequently the case among the good, would incriminate us, too, let every one of the sacred pastors take as said to himself for the defense of his flock, and bring home to others in due season, Anselm's words to the mighty Prince of Flanders: "As you are my Lord and truly beloved by me in God, I pray, conjure, admonish and counsel you, as the guardian of your soul, not to believe that your lofty dignity is diminished if you love and defend the liberty of the Spouse of God and your Mother, the Church, not to think that you abase yourself when you exalt her, not to believe that you weaken yourself when you strengthen her. Look round you and see; the examples are before you; consider the princes that attack and maltreat her. What do they gain by it, what do they attain? It is so clear that there is no need to say it." (Epist., lib. IV., ep. 12.) And all this he explains with his usual force and gentleness to the powerful Baldwin, King of Jerusalem: "As your most faithful friend, I pray, admonish and conjure you, and I pray God that you live under God's law and in all things submit your will to the will of God. For it is only when you reign according to the will of God that you reign for your own welfare. Nor permit yourself to believe, like so many bad Kings, that the Church of God has been given to you that you may use her as a servant, but remember that she has been recommended to you as to an advocate and defender. *In this world God loves nothing more than the liberty of His Church.* They who seek not so much to serve as to rule her are clearly acting in opposition to God. God wills His Spouse to be free and not a slave. Those who treat her and honor her as sons surely show that they are her sons and the sons of God, while those who lord it over her, as over a subject, make themselves not children, but strangers to her, and are therefore excluded from the heritage and the dower promised to her." (Epist., lib. IV., ep. 8.) Thus did he unbosom his heart so full of love for the Church; thus did he show his zeal in defense of her liberty, so necessary in the government of the Christian family and so dear to God, as the same great Doctor concisely affirmed in the energetic words: "*In this world God loves nothing more than the liberty of His Church.*" Nor can we, Venerable Brothers, make known to your our feelings better than by repeating that beautiful expression.

Equally opportune are other admonitions addressed by the saint to the powerful. Thus, for example, he wrote to Queen Matilda of

England: "If you wish in very deed to return thanks rightly and well and efficaciously to God, take into your consideration that Queen whom He was pleased to select for His spouse in this world. . . . Take her, I say, into your consideration, exalt her, that with her and in her you may be able to please God and reign with her in eternal bliss." (Epist., lib. III., ep. 57.) And especially when you chance to meet with some son who puffed up with earthly greatness lives unmindful of his mother, or hostile or rebellious to her, then remember that "it is for you to suggest frequently, in season and out of season, these and other admonitions, and to suggest that he show himself not the master, but the advocate, not the stepson, but the real son of the Church." (Epist., lib. III., ep. 59.) It behooves us, too, us especially, to inculcate that other saying so noble and so paternal of Anselm: "Whenever I hear anything of you displeasing to God and unbecoming to yourselves and fail to admonish you, I do not fear God nor love you as I ought." (Epist., lib. IV., ep. 52.) And especially when it comes to our ears that you treat the churches in your power in a manner unworthy of them and of your own soul, then we should imitate Anselm by renewing our prayers, counsels, admonitions, "that you think over these things carefully, and if your conscience warns you that there is something to be corrected in them, that you hasten to make the correction." (Epist., lib. IV., ep. 32.) "For nothing is to be neglected that can be corrected, since God demands an account from all not only of the evil they do, but also of the correction of evil which they can correct. And the more power men have to make the necessary correction the more rigorously does He require them, according to the power mercifully communicated to them, to think and act rightly. . . . And if you cannot do everything all at once, you must not on that account cease your efforts to advance from better to better, because God in His goodness is wont to bring to perfection good intentions and good effort, and to reward them with blessed plenitude." (Epist., lib. III., ep. 142.)

These and similar admonitions, most wise and holy, given by Anselm even to the lords and Kings of the world, may well be repeated by the pastors and Princes of the Church, as the natural defenders of truth, justice and religion in the world. In our times, indeed, the obstacles in the way of doing this have been enormously increased, so that there is, in truth, hardly room to stand without difficulty and danger. For while unbridled license reigns supreme the Church is obstinately fettered, the very name of liberty is mocked, and new devices are constantly being invented to thwart the work of yourselves and your clergy, so that it is no wonder that "you are not able to do everything all at once" for the correction of the

erring, the suppression of abuses, the promotion of right ideas and right living and the mitigation of the evils which weigh on the Church.

But there is comfort for us; the Lord liveth and "He will make all things work together unto good to them that love God." (Rom. viii., 28.) Even from these evils He will bring good, and above all the obstacles devised by human perversity He will make more splendid the triumph of His work and of His Church. Such is the wonderful design of the Divine Wisdom and such "His unsearchable ways" (Rom., xi., 33) in the present order of Providence, "for my thoughts are not your thoughts, nor my ways your ways, saith the Lord" (Isai. lv., 8), that the Church of Christ is destined ever to renew in herself the life of her Divine Founder, who suffered so much, and in a manner to "fill up what is wanting of the sufferings of Christ." (Coloss. i., 24.) Hence her condition as militant on earth divinely constrains her to live in the midst of contentions, troubles and difficulties, that thus "through many tribulations she may enter into the kingdom of God" (Act. xiv., 21) and at last be united with the Church triumphant in heaven.

Anselm's commentary on the passage of St. Matthew, "Jesus constrained His disciples to enter the boat," is directly to the point: "The words in their mystical sense summarize the state of the Church from the coming of Jesus Christ to the end of the world. *The ship, then, was buffeted by the waves in the midst of the sea,* while Jesus remained on the summit of the mountain; for ever since the Saviour ascended to heaven, holy Church has been agitated by great tribulations in the world, buffeted by various storms of persecution, harassed by the divers perversities of the wicked, and in many ways assailed by vice. *Because the wind was contrary,* because the influence of malign spirits is constantly opposed to her to prevent her from reaching the port of salvation, striving to submerge her under the opposing waves of the world, stirring up against her all possible difficulties." (Hom. iii.)

They err greatly, therefore, who lose faith during the storm, wishing for themselves and the Church a permanent state of perfect tranquillity, universal prosperity and practical, unanimous and uncontrasted recognition of her sacred authority. But the error is worse when men deceive themselves with the idea of gaining an ephemeral peace by cloaking the rights and interests of the Church, by sacrificing them to private interests, by minimizing them unjustly, by truckling to the world, "the whole of which is seated in wickedness" (I. Ioan. v., 19), on the pretext of reconciling the followers of novelties and bringing them back to the Church, as though any composition were possible between light and darkness, between Christ

and Belial. This hallucination is as old as the world, but it is always modern and always present in the world so long as there are soldiers who are timid or treacherous and at the first onset ready to throw down their arms or open negotiations with the enemy, who is the irreconcilable enemy of God and man.

It is for you, therefore, Venerable Brothers, whom Divine Providence has constituted to be the pastors and leaders of the Christian people, to resist with all your strength this most fatal tendency of modern society to lull itself in a shameful indolence while war is being waged against religion, seeking a cowardly neutrality made up of weak schemes and compromises to the injury of divine and human rights, to the oblivion of Christ's clear sentence: "He that is not with Me is against Me." (I. Cor. ix., 22.) Not, indeed, that it is not well at times to waive our rights as far it may lawfully be done and as the good of souls requires. And certainly this defect can never be charged to you who are spurred on by the charity of Christ. But this is only a reasonable condescension, which can be made without the slightest detriment to duty and which does not at all affect the eternal principles of truth and justice.

Thus we read how it was verified in the cause of Anselm, or rather in the cause of God and the Church, for which Anselm had to undergo such long and bitter conflicts. And when he had settled at last the long contest, our predecessor, Paschal II., wrote to him: "We believe that it has been through your charity and through your persistent prayers that the Divine mercy has been persuaded to turn to the people entrusted to your care." And referring to the paternal indulgence shown by the Supreme Pontiff to the guilty, he adds: "As regards the great indulgence we have shown, know that it is the fruit of our great affection and compassion in order that we might be able to lift up those who were down. For if the one standing erect merely holds out his hand to a fallen man, he will never lift him, unless he, too, bends down a little. Besides, although this act of stooping may seem like the act of falling, it never goes so far as to lose the equilibrium of rectitude." (In libro III. Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 140.)

In making our own these words of our most pious predecessor, written for the consolation of Anselm, we would not hide our very keen sense of the danger which confronts the very best among the pastors of the Church of passing the just limit either of indulgence or resistance. How they have realized this danger is easily to be seen in the anxieties, trepidations and tears of most holy men who have had borne in upon them the terrible responsibility of the government of souls and the greatness of the danger to which they are exposed, but it is to be seen most strikingly in the life of Anselm.

When he was torn from the solitude of the studious life of the cloister, to be raised to a lofty dignity in most difficult times, he found himself a prey to the most tormenting solicitude and anxiety, and chief of all the fear that he might not do enough for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his people, for the honor of God and of His Church. But amid all these anxieties and in the grief he felt at seeing himself abandoned culpably by many, even including his brethren in the episcopate, his one great comfort was his trust in God and in the Apostolic See. Threatened with shipwreck and while the storm raged round him, he took refuge in the bosom of the Church, his Mother, invoking from the Roman Pontiff pitiful and prompt aid and comfort. (Epistol., lib. III., ep. 37.) God, perhaps, permitted that this great man, full of wisdom and sanctity as he was, should suffer such heavy tribulation in order that he might be a comfort and an example to us in the greatest difficulties and trials of the pastoral ministry and that the sentence of Paul might be realized in each one of us: "Gladly will I glory in my infirmities that the power of Christ may dwell in me. For which cause I please myself in my infirmities . . . for when I am weak then am I powerful." (II. Cor. xii., 9, 10.) Such, indeed, are the sentiments which Anselm expressed to Urban II.: "Holy Father, I am grieved that I am not what I was, grieved to be a Bishop, because by reason of my sins I do not perform the office of a Bishop. While I was in a lowly position I seemed to be doing something; set in a lofty place, burdened by an immense weight, I gain no fruit for myself and am of no use to anybody. I give way beneath the burden because I am incredibly poor in the strength, virtue, zeal and knowledge necessary for so great an office. I would fain flee from the insupportable anxiety and leave the burden behind me, but on the other hand I fear to offend God. The fear of God obliged me to accept it; the same fear of God constrains me to retain the same burden. Now, since God's will is hidden from me and I know not what to do, I wander about in sighs, and know not how to put an end to it all." (Epist., lib. III., ep. 37.)

Thus does God bring home even to saintly men their natural weakness in order the better to make manifest in them the power of strength from above, and by a humble and real sense of their individual insufficiency to preserve with greater force their obedience to the authority of the Church. We see it in the case of Anselm and of other contemporaries of his who fought for the liberty and doctrine of the Church under the guidance of the Apostolic See. The fruit of their obedience was victory in the strife, and their example confirmed the Divine sentence that "the obedient man will sing victory." (Prov. xxi., 28.) The hope of the same reward shines out

for all those who obey Christ in His Vicar in all that concerns the guidance of souls, or the government of the Church, or that is in any way connected with these objects; since "upon the authority of the Holy See depend the directions and the counsels of the sons of the Church." (Epist., lib. IV., ep. 1.)

How Anselm excelled in this virtue, with what warmth and fidelity he ever maintained perfect union with the Apostolic See, may be seen in the words he wrote to Pope Paschal: "How earnestly my mind, according to the measure of its power, clings in reverence and obedience to the Apostolic See is proved by the many and most painful tribulations of my heart, which are known only to God and myself. . . . From this union I hope in God that there is nothing which could ever separate me. Therefore do I desire, as far as this is possible, to put all my acts at the disposition of this same authority in order that it may direct and when necessary correct them." (Epist., lib. IV., ep. 5.)

The same strong constancy is shown in all his actions and writings, and especially in his letters, which our predecessor, Paschal, describes as "written with the pen of charity." (In lib. III., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 74.) But in his letters to the Pontiff he does not content himself with imploring *pitiful aid and comfort*; he also promises assiduous prayers, in most tender words of filial affection and unswerving faith, as when, while still Abbot of Bec, he wrote to Urban II.: "For your tribulation and that of the Roman Church, which is our tribulation and that of all the true faithful, we never cease praying God assiduously to mitigate your evil days, till the pit be dug for the sinner. And although He seems to delay, we are certain that the Lord will not leave the sceptre of sinners over the heritage of the just, that He will never abandon His heritage, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." (In libro II., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 33.)

In this and other similar letters of Anselm we find wonderful comfort not only in the renewal of the memory of a saint so devoted to the Apostolic See, but because they serve to recall your own letters and your other innumerable proofs of devotion, Venerable Brothers, in similar conflicts and similar sorrows.

Certainly it is a wonderful thing that the union of the Bishops and the faithful with the Roman Pontiff has drawn ever more and more close amid the hurtling of the storms that have been let loose on Christianity through the ages, and in our own times it has become so unanimous and so warm that its divine character is more apparent than ever before. It is indeed our greatest consolation, as it is the glory and the invincible bulwark of the Church. But its very force makes it all the more an object of envy to the demon and of hatred

to the world, which knows nothing similar to it in earthly societies, and finds no explanation of it in political and human reasonings, seeing that it is the fulfillment of Christ's sublime prayer at the Last Supper.

But, Venerable Brothers, it behooves us to strive by all means to preserve this divine union and render it ever more intimate and cordial, fixing our gaze not on human considerations, but on those that are divine, in order that we may be all *one thing alone* in Christ. By developing this noble effort we shall fulfill ever better our sublime mission, which is that of continuing and propagating the work of Christ and of His kingdom on earth. This, indeed, is why the Church throughout the ages continues to repeat the loving prayer, which is also the warmest aspiration of our heart: "Holy Father, keep them in Thy name whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as We also are." (Ioan. xvii., 11.)

This effort is necessary not only to oppose the assaults from without of those who fight openly against the liberty and the rights of the Church, but also in order to meet the dangers from within, arising from that second kind of war which we deplored above when we made mention of those misguided persons who are trying by their cunning systems to overthrow from the foundations the very constitution and essence of the Church, to stain the purity of her doctrine and destroy her entire discipline. For even still there continues to circulate that poison which has been inoculated into many even among the clergy, and especially the young clergy, who have, as we have said, become infected by the pestilential atmosphere in their unbridled craving for novelty which is drawing them to the abyss and drowning them.

Then, again, by a deplorable aberration the very progress, good in itself, of positive science and material prosperity gives occasion and pretext for a display of intolerable arrogance towards divinely revealed truth on the part of many weak and intemperate minds. But these should rather remember the many mistakes and the frequent contradictions made by the followers of rash novelties in those questions of a speculative and practical order most vital for man, and realize that human pride is punished by never being able to be coherent with itself and by suffering shipwreck without ever sighting the port of truth. They are not able to profit by their own experience to humble themselves and "to destroy the counsels and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bring into captivity every understanding even unto the obedience of Christ." (II. Cor. x., 4, 5.)

Nay, their very arrogance has led them into the other extreme, and their philosophy, throwing doubt on everything in darkness,



has involved them; hence the present profession of agnosticism with other absurd doctrines springing from an infinite series of systems in discord with one another and with right reason; so that "they have become vain in their thoughts . . . for professing themselves to be wise they became fools." (Rom. i., 21, 22.)

But unfortunately their grandiloquent phrases and their promises of a new wisdom, fallen as it were from heaven, and of new methods of thought, have found favor with many young men, as those of the Manicheans found favor with Augustine, and have returned these aside, more or less unconsciously, from the right road. But concerning such pernicious masters of an insane knowledge, of their aims, their illusions, their erroneous and disastrous system, we have spoken at great length in our encyclical letter of September 8, 1907, "*Pascendi dominici gregis.*"

Here it is well to note that if the dangers we have mentioned are more serious and more imminent in our own days, they are not altogether different from those that threatened the doctrine of the Church in the time of St. Anselm, and that we may find in his labors as Doctor almost the same help and comfort for the safeguarding of the truth as we found in his apostolic firmness for the defense of the liberty and rights of the Church.

Without entering here in detail into the intellectual state of the clergy and people in that distant age, there was a notable danger in a twofold excess to which the intellects of the time were prone.

There was at the time a class of light-minded and vain men, fed on a superficial erudition, who became incredibly puffed up with their undigested culture and allowed themselves to be led away by a simulacrum of philosophy and dialectics. In their inane fallacy, which they called by the name of science, "they despised the sacred authority, dared with impious temerity to dispute one or other of the dogmas professed by Catholic faith . . . and in their foolish pride considered anything they could not understand as impossible, instead of confessing with humble wisdom that there might be many things beyond the reach of their comprehension. . . . For there are some who immediately they have begun to grow the horns of an overweening knowledge—not knowing that when a person thinks he knows something, he does not yet know in what manner he should know it—before they have grown spiritual wings through firmness in the faith, are wont to rise presumptuously to the highest questions of the faith. Thus it happens that while . . . against all right rules they endeavor to rise prematurely by their intelligence, their lack of intelligence brings them down to manifold errors." (S. Anselm., *De Fide Trinitatis*, capit. 2.) And of such as these we have many painful examples under our eyes!

Others again there were of a more timid nature, who in their terror at the many cases of those who had made shipwreck of the faith, and fearing the danger of the science that puffeth up, went so far as to exclude altogether the use of philosophy, if not of all rational discussion of the sacred doctrines.

Midway between these two excesses stands the Catholic practice, which, while it abhors the presumption of the first class, who "puffed up like bladders with the wind of vanity" (according to the phrase of Gregory XIV. in the succeeding age) "went beyond the true limits in their efforts to establish the faith by natural reason, adulterating the word of God with the figments of the philosopher" (Gregor. IX., Epist. "Tacti dolore cordis" ad theologos Parisien, 7 Jul., 1228), so, too, it condemns the negligence of the second class in their excessive neglect of true investigation and the absence of all desire in them "to draw profit from the faith for their intelligence" (In libro II., Epist. S. Anselmi, ep. 41), especially when their office requires of them to defend the Catholic faith against the errors that arise on all sides.

For this defense it may well be said that Anselm was raised up by God to point out by his example, his words and his writings the safe road, to unseal for the common good the springs of Christian wisdom and to be the guide and rule of those Catholic teachers who after him taught "the sacred letters by the method of the school" (Breviar. Rom., die 21 Aprilis), and who thus came rightly to be esteemed and celebrated as their precursor.

Not, indeed, that the Doctor of Aosta reached all at once the heights of theological and philosophical speculation or the reputation of the two supreme masters, Thomas and Bonaventure. The later fruits of the wisdom of these last did not ripen but with time and the collaboration of many doctors. Anselm himself, with that great modesty so characteristic of the truly wise, and with all his learning and perspicacity, never published any writings except such as were called forth by circumstances or when compelled thereto by some authority, and in those he did publish he protests that "if there is anything that calls for correction he does not refuse the correction" (Cur Deus homo, lib. II., cap. 23), nay, when the question is a debated one and not connected with the faith, he tells his disciple: "You must not so cling to what we have said as to abide by it obstinately, when others with more weighty arguments succeed in overthrowing ours and establishing opinions against them; should that happen, you will not deny at least that what we have said has been of profit for exercise in controversy." (De Grammatico, cap. 21 sub finem.)

Yet Anselm accomplished far more than he ever expected or than

others expected of him. He secured a position in which his merits were not dimmed by the glory of those that came after him, not even of the great Thomas, even when the latter declined to accept all his conclusions and treated more clearly and accurately questions already treated by him. To Anselm belongs the distinction of having opened the road to speculation, of removing the doubts of the timid, the dangers of the incautious and the injuries done by the quarrelsome and the sophistical, "the heretical dialecticians" of his time as he rightly calls them, in whom reason was the slave of the imagination and of vanity. (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.)

Against these latter he observes that "while all are to be warned to enter with the utmost circumspection upon questions affecting the Sacred Scriptures, these dialecticians of our time are to be completely debarred from the discussion of spiritual questions." And the reason he assigns for this is especially applicable now to those who imitate them under our eyes, repeating their old errors: "For in their souls, reason, which should be the king and the guide of all that is in man, is so mixed up with corporal imaginations that it is impossible to disentangle it from these, nor is itself able to distinguish from them the things that it alone and pure should contemplate." (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.) Appropriate, too, for our own times are those words of his in which he ridicules those false philosophers, "who because they are not able to understand what they believe dispute the truth of the faith itself, confirmed by the Holy Fathers, just as if bats and owls who see the heaven only by night were to dispute concerning the rays of the sun at noon, against eagles who gaze at the sun unblinkingly." (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.)

Hence, too, he condemns, here or elsewhere, the perverse opinion of those who conceded too much to philosophy by attributing to it the right to invade the domain of theology. In refuting this foolish theory he defines well the confines proper to each, and hints sufficiently clearly at the functions of reason in the things of divinely revealed doctrine. "Our faith," he says, "must be defended by reason against the impious." But how and how far? The question is answered in the words that follow: "It must be shown to them reasonably how unreasonable is their contempt of us." (*In ligro Epist. S. Anselmi*, ep. 41.) The chief office, therefore, of philosophy is to show us the reasonableness of our faith and the consequent obligation of believing the divine authority proposing to us the profoundest mysteries, which with all signs of credibility that testify to them, are supremely worthy of being believed. Far different is the proper function of Christian theology, which is based on the fact of divine revelation and renders more solid in the faith those who

already profess to enjoy the honor of the name of Christian. "Hence it is altogether clear that no Christian should dispute as to how that is not which the Catholic Church believes with the heart and confesses with the mouth, but even holding beyond all doubt the same faith, loving and living according to it, must seek as far as reason is able, how it is. If he is able to understand, let him return thanks, let him not prepare his horns for attack, but bow his head in reverence." (De Fide Trinitatis, cap. 2.)

When, therefore, theologians search and the faithful ask for reasons concerning our faith, it is not for the purpose of founding on them their faith, which has for its foundation the authority of God revealing; yet, as Anselm puts it, "as right order requires that we believe the profundities of the faith before we presume to discuss them with our reason, so it seems to me to be negligence if after we have been confirmed in the faith we do not strive to understand what we believe." (Cur Deus homo, lib. 1, c. 2.) And here Anselm means that intelligence of which the Vatican Council speaks. (Constit. Dei filius, cap. 4.) For, as he shows elsewhere, "although since the time of the Apostles many of our Holy Fathers and Doctors say so many and such great things of the reason of our faith . . . yet they were not able to say all they might have said had they lived longer; and the reason of the truth is so ample and so deep that it can never be exhausted by mortals; and the Lord does not cease to impart the gifts of grace in His Church, with whom He promises to be until the consummation of the world. And to say nothing of the other texts in which the Sacred Scripture invites us to investigate reason, in the one in which it says that if you do not believe you will not understand, it plainly admonishes us to extend the intention to the intellect, while it teaches us how we are to advance towards it (*aperte nos monet intentionem ad intellectum extendere, cum docet qualiter ad illum debeamus proficere*)."

Nor is the last reason he alleges to be neglected: "in the midst between faith and vision is the intellectual knowledge which is within our reach in this life, and the more one can advance in this the nearer he approaches to the vision, for which we all yearn." (De Fide Trinitatis, Praefatio.)

With these and the like principles Anselm laid the foundations of the true principles of philosophical and theological studies which were other most learned men, the princes of scholasticism, and chief among them the Doctor of Aquinas, followed, developed, illustrated and perfected to the great honor and protection of the Church. If we have insisted so willingly on this distinction of Anselm, it is in order to have a new and much-desired occasion, Venerable Brothers, to inculcate upon you to see to it that you bring back youth, especially among the clergy, to the most wholesome springs of Chris-

tian wisdom, first opened by the Doctor of Aosta and abundantly enriched by Aquinas. On this head remember always the instructions of our predecessor, Leo XIII., of happy memory, and those we have ourself given more than once, and again in the above-mentioned encyclical, "*Pascendi dominici gregis*." Bitter experience only too clearly proves every day the loss and the ruin ensuing from the neglect of these studies, or from the pursuit of them without a clear and sure method; while many, before being fitted or prepared, presumed to discuss the deepest questions of the faith. (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.) Deploring this evil with Anselm, we repeat the strong recommendations made by him: "Let no one rashly plunge into the intricate questions of divine things until he has first acquired, with firmness in the faith, gravity of conduct and of wisdom, lest while discussing with uncautious levity amid the manifold twistings of sophistry he fall into the toils of some tenacious error." (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.) And this same incautious levity, when heated, as so often is the case, at the fire of the passions proves the total ruin of serious studies and of the integrity of doctrine. Because, puffed up with that foolish pride, lamented by Anselm in the heretical dialecticians of his time, they despise the sacred authorities of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Fathers and Doctors, concerning which a more modest genius would be glad to use instead the respectful words of Anselm: "Neither in our own time nor in the future do we ever hope to seek their like in the contemplation of the truth." (*De Fide Trinitatis*, *Praefatio*.)

Nor do they hold in greater account the authority of the Church and of the Supreme Pontiff whenever efforts are made to bring them to a better sense, although at times as far as words go they are lavish of promises of submission as long as they can hope to hide themselves behind these and gain credit and protection. This contempt almost bars the way to all well-founded hope of the conversion of the erring; while they refuse obedience to him "to whom Divine Providence as to the Lord and Father of the whole Church in its pilgrimage on earth . . . has entrusted the custody of Christian life and faith and the government of His Church; wherefore when anything arises in the Church against the Catholic faith to no other authority but his is to be rightly referred for correction and to no other with such certainty as to him has it been shown what answer is to be made to error in order that it may be examined by his prudence." (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.) And would to God that these poor wanderers, on whose lips one so often hears the fair words of sincerity, conscience, religious experience, the faith that is felt and lived, and so on, learned their lesson from Anselm, understood his holy teachings, imitated his glorious example, and above all

took deeply to heart those words of his: "First the heart is to be purified by faith, and first the eyes are to be illuminated by the observance of the precepts of the Lord . . . and first with humble obedience to the testimonies of God we must become small to learn wisdom . . . and not only when faith and obedience to the commandments are removed is the mind hindered from ascending to the intelligence of higher truths, but often enough the intelligence that has been given is taken away and faith is overthrown, when right conscience is neglected." (*De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.)

But if the erring continue obstinately to scatter the seeds of dissension and error, to waste the patrimony of the sacred doctrine of the Church, to attack discipline, to heap contempt on venerated customs, "to destroy which is a species of heresy" (*S. Anselm., De nuptiis consanguineorum*, cap. 1), in the phrase of St. Anselm, and to destroy the constitution of the Church in its very foundations, then all the more strictly must we watch, Venerable Brothers, and keep away from our flock, and especially from youth, which is the most tender part of it, so deadly a pest. This grace we implore of God with incessant prayers, interposing the most powerful patronage of the August Mother of God and the intercession of the blessed citizens of the Church triumphant, St. Anselm especially, shining light of Christian wisdom, incorrupt guardian and valiant defender of all the sacred rights of the Church, to whom we would here, in conclusion, address the same words that our holy predecessor, Gregory VII., wrote to him during his lifetime: "Since the sweet odor of your good works has reached us, we return due thanks for them to God, and we embrace you heartily in the love of Christ, holding it for certain that by your example the Church of God has been greatly benefited, and that by your prayers and those of men like you she may even be liberated from the dangers that hang over her, with the mercy of Christ to succor us." Hence we beg your fraternity to implore God assiduously to relieve the Church and us who govern it, albeit unworthily, from the pressing assaults of the heretics and lead these from their errors to the way of truth." (*In libro II., Epist. S. Anselmi*, ep. 31.)

Supported by this great protection, and trusting in your coöperation, we bestow the Apostolic Benediction with all affection in the Lord, as a pledge of heavenly grace and in testimony of our goodwill, on all of you, Venerable Brothers, and on the clergy and people entrusted to each of you.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the feast of St. Anselm, April 21, 1909, in the eighth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

## Book Reviews

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**CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA.** An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Vol. V.—*Dioc-Fath.*, pp. 795. Illustrated and Illuminated.

The "Catholic Encyclopedia" is progressing splendidly. Volume V. completes one-third of the work. The original high standard of excellence in every department is being preserved and raised a little higher with each succeeding volume. The original plan, excellent in every respect, is being followed out faithfully with the natural development suggested by practical experience. One of the greatest difficulties in a work of this kind is to fill the places of collaborators who are removed by death or by calls to other duties or by disability of any kind. The managers foresaw this difficulty, prepared for it and overcame it. They have studied the Catholic literary world so well that they seem to know every one in it and to be able to command his or her services at the proper moment. In the same connection it is worthy of remark that the field is exhaustless. This is one of the many things which the encyclopedia is teaching us. It is introducing us to the Catholic literary men of the world.

The editors have profited by fair criticism of their work. There has been very little adverse criticism. There is a large field for difference of opinion in a work of this kind, and much that has been said has been by way of suggestion. It is very difficult to decide that some one person is best fitted for a particular article to the exclusion of everybody else; it is also difficult to decide the relative amount of space to be devoted to the different articles; it is not easy at all times to settle the question of what subject shall have independent treatment. There may be difference of opinion as to all these things, and much of the criticism of the encyclopedia has been in this field. Keeping this in mind, an unbiased reader after looking over the whole field will probably be willing to concede that the book is scarcely capable of improvement in these regards.

Many new names appear in the present volume; many subjects of unusual interest are treated; but this is true of every volume, and is hardly worthy of special notice. Glancing over the book, "Education" strikes the eye, and holds it. "England" and "Egypt" rivet the attention. "Excommunication" and "Evolution" invite prompt reading, and many other subjects hardly less interesting confront us.

We are almost tempted to end with a bull and say that the "Catholic Encyclopedia" is as good as ever, and better.

SELECTED SERMONS. By *Rev. Christopher Hughes*, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Fall River, Mass. Introduction by *Walter Elliott*, C. S. P. 12mo., pp. 222. Fr. Pustet, New York.

Father Elliott is so good an authority on preaching, and he has reviewed this book so thoroughly in his introduction, that we prefer to let him speak to our readers about it:

"To aid Catholic pastors in performing rightly their high function of the ministry of the Word of God, Father Hughes has published this volume of sermons, and in our opinion he has done his work well. The test of excellence in a sermon no less than in a preacher is experiment. Himself a good preacher, the author published but a comparatively small number of sermons out of very many actually preached by him, some of them more than once. The clergy are here invited to examine these sermons, chosen from a multitude of others really preached to an average city congregation, and preached over again, and now offered after careful revision. The style, though not unrhetical, is good, clear, forcible English, the sentences short, the matter cleared of all extraneous thought and the manner of all verbiage.

"The sermons are all of them brief, so that they may be readily committed to memory by beginners or serve as outlines for the more practiced, dealing each with one idea of strictly religious value, simply viewed, well illustrated, powerfully advocated and enforced. The tone is at once earnest and priestly, adapted to the altar and the pulpit. Holy Scripture is happily and abundantly quoted. The range of the subject does not expressly tally with the routine of the ecclesiastical year, though the topics chosen are such as to serve practically the same purpose. Some of the sermons are on the critical points of controversy of our times, touching the relation of the religious and the civil states of men, and the bearings of our civilization on the spiritual life. Others of them are such as are not to be found, as far as our knowledge goes, anywhere printed in Catholic publications of this sort, that is to say, those which give utterance to the voice of religion on patriotic occasions, such as Decoration Day, and others again arouse tender memories of the cradle-land of our Irish-American congregations.

"Education, viewed from a standpoint at once American and Catholic, is fully represented in the choice of subjects presented by the author. There is a fine sermon on 'Religious Indifferentism,' and an inspiring one on 'Intemperance,' preached at the opening of the convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union in 1876. Prayer, confession, the Eucharist, sanctifying grace and its effects are treated of with much power, the supernatural gifts of the Christian state being fully displayed. A beautiful sermon for Advent, entitled 'The King's Return,' a very moving and yet practical charity



sermon entitled 'Almsgiving,' one on the 'Uncanonized Saints of Ireland,' one preached at the funeral of priests and others on the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph and St. Patrick—these have impressed us as of particular use for the great body of Catholic preachers. Finally, these sermons, so brief and so plain, and yet so full of instruction and so earnest in tone, are well adapted for the use of persons who are hindered from attending Sunday Mass, or who desire devotional reading for the sick."

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LA RELIGION DES PRIMITIFS. Par Mgr. A. Le Roy Evêque d'Alinda, Supérieur Général des Peres du Saint-Esprit. Libraire Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes, 117, Paris.

This volume of Mgr. Le Roy is the outcome of the course of lectures delivered by the author on "The History of Religions" at the Catholic Institute of Paris in 1907 and 1908. It is not only the best, but the only really and thoroughly good book published until the present moment on these questions. Its statements are supported throughout by well authenticated facts. Most other works written on these matters betray the preconceived ideas of their authors concerning the religious ignorance of the savages and their lack of moral standards. They show particularly the firm belief of their writers concerning the explanation of the origin of their religions, which they assert arise totally from the nature of man. Does not this smack strongly of modernism? The modernist of to-day claims the right to derive all his religion from the demands of his nature, and he imagines that the primitive savages from their origin have made the same claim. If this be true, the modernist and the savage may well claim fellowship with each other, and perhaps of both the savage may find himself to be the less flattered by the comparison.

Mgr. Le Roy spent twenty years in Africa. He brought with him all the ideas commonly entertained in Europe about the dark tribes—people addicted to fetichism, without religion, without morals, without family, besotted worshipers of animals, trees and stones. His missionary experiences soon proved to him the incorrectness of these ideas. He discovered real treasures of moral delicacy amidst strange aberrations—magnificent rites, self-accusation, for instance, by the confession of one's sins in order to be purified from the moral defilement of which they feel conscious. In one part of the volume a whole ceremonial of this confession and absolution is described in detail as it exists in Kikuyu, a district of British East Africa. The author assures us that in these twenty years of his apostolate in Africa not a day passed without adding to his fund of knowledge, correcting an idea, clearing up a doubt, changing an

hypothesis, furnishing an explanation, verifying a fact, abolishing a falsehood, unveiling a discovery. The principal sub-divisions of the work are: "The Primitive in Presence of Nature," "The Primitive and the Family," "Belief," "Morality," "Worship," "Magic," "The Religions of the Primitives Compared," "Christianity in Presence of Human Religions," "The Catholic Religion Coming in Contact with the Primitive Religion."

It is to be hoped that this excellent work will have a large circulation, not only in its original French garb, but also in the many other languages spoken by the missionaries of various nationality who belong to the religious society governed at present by Mgr. Le Roy. A considerable number of the Holy Ghost Fathers exercise their missionary zeal on the American continent. Very probably some amongst them will be found to devote himself to the very useful task of translating into English this deeply interesting and instructive work of the superior general of their society.

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REGESTA PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM Jubente Regia Societate Gottingensi  
 Congessit *Paulis Kehr*. Vol. I, pp. xxvi.+201. Pr., 6 marks. Vol. III.,  
 pp. iii.+482. Pr., 16 marks. Berolini apud Welmannos.

The Royal Society of Göttingen is certainly providing a most effective instrument of historical research by undertaking the publication of these "Regesta" of the Roman Pontiffs. Hitherto the student of history, ecclesiastical or profane, pertinent to the field thereby covered, if unable to consult the original documents, has had to depend upon Jaffé's well-known work on the same subject (Berlin, 1851)—a work which though meritorious and serviceable in its time, leaves much to be desired both as regards comprehensiveness of material and its mechanical make-up—deficiencies which have been in a measure, but by no means adequately made good in the more recent edition gotten out by Wattenbach (1885-88). In the work at hand the editor has endeavored to complete and perfect what Jaffé and the subsequent curators were not in a position to accomplish. The improvements lie in the first place in the insertion of a considerable number of documents which have only recently come to light through the opening out of the archives; and in the second place in the disposition of the material—the chronological order followed by Jaffé being abandoned for that of locality, thus greatly facilitating the task of searching for documents. These features are further perfected by the addition of various indexes and summaries, while the bibliographical references likewise extend the usefulness of the work in no small degree. Three volumes, the first and third of which appear in title above—the second has not reached the

present reviewer—have thus far been published. The scope of the entire undertaking embraces the *regesta* issued by the Holy See down to Innocent III. The first volume contains the concessions of privileges, the letters and other pontifical *acta* addressed to the various churches, monasteries and individual persons of Rome—the city—during that period—namely, from Pius I. to Celestine III., inclusive. The third volume comprises the corresponding documents addressed to the dioceses of Etruria, *i. e.*, Tuscany. The limits of mediæval Tuscany it is difficult to define. It seems to have embraced more than twenty different dioceses. The abundance of the Papal documents relating to the territory is so great that Dr. Kehr has been obliged to distribute them over several volumes. Those concerning nine of the dioceses have been given in the second volume (Latium); those referring to twelve other of the Tuscan dioceses appear in the third volume (Etruria); the remaining are reserved for the fourth volume. It should be noted that the work makes no appeal to the general reader. It interests exclusively the historical student, the one who knows the value of “facts and dates.” Such an one it furnishes with an immense amount of minute original material critically and scholarly edited and authenticated—a source of reference that should find a place in every historical library.

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LEIBNIZ par *Jean Baruzi* avec de nombreux textes inédits. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1909. Pp. 386. Pr., 3½ francs.

In view of the numerous editions of the collected works of Leibniz, published between Dutens' “Opera Leibnitii,” which appeared in Geneva so long ago as 1768, and “Die Philosophischen Schriften,” edited by Gerhardt, which were completed so recently as 1890 (7 vols., Berlin, 1875-1890)—and M. Baruzi quotes at least four intervening editions—to say nothing of the countless republications of special works of the great philosopher, together with the immense literature appertaining to him—in view, I say, of all that has been given to the world, whether by or concerning Leibniz, during the past two and more centuries, it may seem somewhat surprising to be told that prior to 1900 Leibniz was not fully understood. Yet that is what the author of the book at hand affirms—“Leibniz en sa vie totale et en la multipli manifestation de sa pensée était ignoré encore en 1900” (p. 4)—and he rightly signalizes the fact as unique in the history of philosophy. The actual personalities of the other great thinkers—Kant, Descartes, Spinoza—have, it is true, been late to come to their true recognition. The process, however, in their case has been gradual, whereas in the case of Leibniz it

was comparatively sudden. The reason of this has been that Leibniz's correspondence, consisting of some fifteen thousand letters, is practically still unpublished; and it is but recently that serious efforts have been made even to arrange and catalogue the vast material, which has remained almost in its primitive class in the Hanoverian archives. Of those who have done most to make the real Leibniz known by a thorough study of the original data M. Baruzi must be given a prominent if not the first place. His preceding work on Leibniz in Alcan's well-known series ("*Les Grandes Philosophes*," Paris, 1907) is a monument of scholarship as solid as it is expressive.

His recent book—the one here presented—while much smaller, is more general and affords a fuller portrait of its subject than its predecessor, which deals mainly with one special aspect—the philosopher's ideas on the religious organization of the world. Rather, we should say that the present volume happily combines the general with the special. The introduction, which comprises more than a third of the book (pp. 1-135), presents quite an elaborate study of the philosopher's life and mind and work. The remainder of the volume is made up of extracts and fragments, some of them now published for the first time. The material thus gathered together serves to illustrate principally the religious side of the Leibnizian thought and character. This specialization falls in with the relation of the volume to the series to which it belongs, "*La Pensée Chrétienne*"—a series to which the REVIEW has previously alluded as a scholarly and timely apparatus at the service of the student and the enlightened reader. Like its predecessors in the collection, it happily combines the double effect of both instructing and interesting—rich in its matter, it is equally attractive in its form.

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THE REVIVAL OF SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.  
By Joseph Louis Perrier, Ph. D. New York: The Columbia University Press (Macmillan Company), 1909. Pp. viii.+344.

Some two years ago the literature of philosophy in English was enriched by a translation of Dr. De Wulf's, the eminent Louvain professor's "*Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-scholastique*" (Dublin, 1907). The translation was made by Dr. Coffey, of Maynooth, and the academic position of both author and translator assured the merit of the production. The book has doubtless done not a little to make the scholastic philosophy, especially in its recent development, more widely known, certainly amongst Catholics, and, it may be hoped, has served to remove some misunderstandings and dissolve some prejudices amongst non-Catholics. In the volume here introduced we are glad to welcome another auxiliary in the same

field—a welcome which is none the less warm from the circumstance that the book emanates from the press attached to Columbia University, a source from which we have not been accustomed to expect works expository much less laudatory of Catholic philosophy. It may also be added that the book is all the more welcome because it develops its subject from a viewpoint somewhat different from that of its predecessor before mentioned. Professor de Wulf has dealt more at length with the constitutive materials of mediæval scholasticism and has indicated the lines of its development present and prospective. Dr. Perrier has dwelt less upon that side of the subject and has given more in detail the story of the recent revival and growth of scholasticism. After delineating the several parts of the system—Logic, Metaphysics, Cosmology, Psychology, Theodicy, Ethics—he follows the neo-scholastic movement in the various European countries, in the United States and in Canada. The delineation is suggestive both from a critical and a constructive standpoint; the narrative succinct, yet fairly comprehensive, and at the same time sympathetic in tone. On the whole the most valuable feature of the work is the bibliography. The list extends to eighty-seven pages—about one-third of the volume. It would be difficult to find anywhere else so comprehensive a catalogue of the best pertinent books and papers. Indeed, the list if anything is too abundant; it would suffer nothing by some eliminations, while here and there a title might well have been added. This minutia, however, as also a few infelicities of diction and typographical oversights, will no doubt be provided for in a future edition. The book is one which no serious student of philosophy will care to be without, and it certainly should be found in the library of every Catholic seminary and college. Will it get a place in the public libraries? It ought to.

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HANDBOOK OF CANON LAW. For Congregations of Women Under Simple Vows. By *D. I. Lanslots, O. S. B.* 12mo., pp. 280. Frederick Pustet & Co., New York.

The internal discipline of the Church is receiving unusual attention in recent years. It is a healthy sign. It makes for better order and better results, and it indicates a permanent growth. The make-up of the book before us is thus explained:

“Religious communities are the chosen portion of the fold of Christ; in them Christian virtue and evangelical perfection should shine forth in all their splendor. The Church has at various times adopted suitable measures to enable them to continue on that high plane. The multitude of laws and regulations affecting them became, however, in course of time, a source of doubts and difficulties.

It was, above all, necessary for the preservation of order and harmony, which must prevail in every society, that the authority of the superiors of the congregations and that of the Bishops over them should be well defined. In order to respect each other's rights both should know the law.

"In order to prevent all future conflict, Pope Leo XIII. promulgated on December 8, 1900, the constitution, '*Conditae a Christo*,' in which he determines on one hand the rights of the Bishop in regard to institutions of simple vows, whether diocesan or non-diocesan, and on the other hand the rights and duties of superiors towards diocesan authority. This document, of the greatest importance, fixed the canonical legislation as applying to congregations of simple vows, but only in its main outlines, and needed a supplement to regulate the details of a practical organization. This supplement we find in the '*Normae*' or rules which the Sacred Congregation of Regulars is wont to follow in the approbation of new congregations of simple vows.

"The '*Handbook*' principally rests on this double foundation. We have not failed, however, to give the latest decisions of the Roman Congregations. Although written for congregations of women, the '*Handbook*' applies also to congregations of Brothers with simple vows, with the exception of the articles concerning postulants, examinations of candidates by the Bishop before taking the habit and before profession, dowry, extraordinary and ordinary confessors, the enclosure, the parlor, the dwelling of the chaplain, the presidency of the Bishop at the general chapter."

The work is well arranged and easily consulted. Everything is clearly stated, which adds very much to its value, for it is not for canonists only or principally, but rather for those who are not supposed to have any technical knowledge of canon law.

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THE LIFE OF ST. MELANIA. By His Eminence Cardinal Rampolla. Translated by E. Leahy and edited by Herbert Thurston, S. J. 12mo., pp. 164. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

When this book first came from the Vatican Press, with contemporary documents and notes, with Latin and Greek texts, and with facsimiles, etc., it was a work of such erudition as to cause not only admiration, but surprise. Admiration because it was a model of its kind; surprise that its author should possess literary ability equal to his diplomatic power.

To translate the whole monograph in its entirety just as Cardinal Rampolla has given it to the world would require a volume of more than a thousand octavo pages, neither would the vast array of biblio-

graphical references and many of the minute points of erudition upon which the author spends so much space and learning have any interest for the general reader. Those who are keen about investigating such details are usually in a position to study the original for themselves without difficulty. At the same time the illustrious author, amid other matters of diversified interest, has incorporated in his work a straightforward summary of the history of St. Melania and her times, which in the opinion of the translator and friends whom she consulted, it was well worth while to render accessible to an English public. With the generous permission of His Eminence Cardinal Rampolla, this has been attempted in the present volume.

It would be a mistake to suppose, however, that the life as translated is at all incomplete. It is well rounded out. As to its interest there can be no doubt. A glance at the main facts is sufficient to show it.

St. Melania was born in A. D. 383, and died in 439. She spent her early life, of which a full account is given, in Rome, traveled all over the Roman world, and finally settled in Jerusalem, where she met St. Jerome in his declining years. The life consequently belongs to that extraordinarily interesting period of the break up of paganism and the early incursions of the barbarians, the last days of Roman greatness before Constantinople became the permanent centre of empire. The narrator writes as one who had been the devoted servant of the saint, who had accompanied her and her husband in some of their wanderings, and who finally became a priest and inmate of an affiliated religious establishment in Jerusalem, the association embracing both monks and nuns (like the double monasteries of England a few centuries later), of which St. Melania was both foundress and superior.

Father Thurston's preface of ten pages and Cardinal Rampolla's introduction of sixteen are in exceptional harmony with the text, and really add to the value of the book. The whole is a splendid example of biographical history in its best form, and may well serve as a model.

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THE DAWN OF THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND, 1781-1803. By *Bernard Ward, F. R. Hist. S.*, president of St. Edmund's College. In two volumes, 8vo., pp. 370 and 316, illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.

We have here a very important contribution to English church history. Much has been written and much more remains to be written of the planting and growth and decadence and revival of the faith in England. Each new contribution has a special value, and the one before us is unusually important. As the author says:

"The period of nearly a quarter of a century dealt with in the

present volumes may be considered the most important of all, for it was during this time that it may be fairly said that the tide turned when the gradual shrinkage of the Catholic body which had been proceeding steadily for over two centuries ceased, and a future began to open out before the Catholics of England in a manner to which their forefathers had been strangers. This period may therefore be appropriately called the dawn of the Catholic revival which has been proceeding ever since. The number and variety of influences at work, the abolition of the penal laws, the influx of the French refugee clergy, the return of our colleges and convents to English soil and other influences as well, combine to fill it with instructive historical lessons. It has been endeavored to present a history of the English Catholic body in general, together with a detailed account of their development in London and the home counties—the old 'London District,' as it was called. For obvious reasons no attempt has been made to describe the Catholic missions throughout the country. In many cases this has been done by books published locally by priests of the missions they concern; in at least one instance a whole county has been covered in a single book."

Much courage was required on the part of the author who would undertake to review the events of that quarter of a century. Much learning also, and much labor. During that period event crowded event so closely that the chronicler must be a man of sharp vision, cool judgment and clear mind to be able to record them. Mgr. Ward possesses all the qualities for the work in an eminent degree, and therefore he manages his material so well as to produce an admirable history of a momentous period.

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BIOGRAPHIES OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Rev. John Kirk, D. D.* Being part of his projected continuation of "Dodd's Church History." Edited by John Hungerford Pollen, S. J., and Edwin Burton, D. D., F. R. Hist. S. 12mo., pp. 293, illustrated. Burns & Oates, London. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

Here is a splendid addition to Catholic biographical literature, which contains so many names not yet recorded in accessible form. The sketches are necessarily brief, but very interesting and full of surprises. The book will be of immense value to literary men especially. The following account of its history is interesting:

"For those who are at all familiar with the history of the English Catholics in the early years of the last century there will be little, if any need of a formal introduction to the Rev. John Kirk. All our larger Catholic archives preserve papers from his pen, his manuscript collections have been cited by numerous authors, and but for the almost insuperable obstacles of his times, the great his-



tory which he projected might have been carried out and his name as an author might already have been notable for nearly a century.

"From about the year 1776, when as a student in Rome he discovered a copy of Dodd's 'Church History' among the books of the English College, his ambition was to continue that great work from 1688 to his own time. With this object in view, he labored for more than fifty years to gather from all sources information as to the history of the Catholic Church in England during the eighteenth century.

"He wrote and copied, he bound up loose papers, and his MS. series of volumes entitled 'Collectanea Anglo-Catholica' grew to considerable dimensions. Yet he was never able to complete the undertaking he had projected in his youth. He grew old in collecting the material, and the history of the English Catholics in the eighteenth century remains unwritten.

"Yet his labors have not been unproductive of results. To say nothing of his large manuscript collections, an invaluable source for future historians, which but for his industry might have been lost, we have the collection of lives now given to the public. Dodd has included in his history chapters on the 'Lives of Bishops,' 'Lives of Peers,' 'Lives of Secular Clergymen,' etc., and Kirk had not only accepted and somewhat amplified the idea, but actually carried this part of the plan into execution, and was able to write on the last page 'Finis, April 7, 1841.'"

LETTERS ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. (Second Series.) The Seven Sacraments. Part II.—The Sacrament of Extreme Unction and Last Rites, the Sacrament of Holy Orders and the Sacrament of Matrimony. By F. M. De Zulqueta, S. J. 12mo., pp. 275. R. & T. Washbourne, London. Benziger Brothers. New York.

This is indeed an exhaustless subject. We cannot have too many explanations of Christian doctrine, provided that they really explain, and provided that they are suited to the capacity of those for whom they are intended. The previous volumes of the work before us had these two qualities. By way of introduction to the present volume the author says:

"In laying before his many kind readers the second installment of 'Letters' on the Seven Sacraments, the author wishes to remind them once again that these volumes on Christian doctrine in no way pretend to form a complete manual of theology. Although they may prove of use to busy priests by supplying ready materials for instruction to their people, yet their main purpose is to popularize theology for the laity, and particularly for lay or non-priestly instructors.

"In the present volume it has, of course, been necessary to deal

with that increasingly momentous sacrament, Holy Matrimony. The author has been fully conscious of the delicacy of this part of his subject, but not less alive to the slender instructions concerning it so often to be noticed even among Catholics.

"Now, here it would have been quite easy and far more pleasant to deal in mere pious generalities. But such policy seemed utterly useless in a work of practical instruction, and even unconscientious, if not misleading.

"On the whole, then, it seemed to the author that his choice lay not between silence and speech, but between an endeavor on the one hand to convey a sufficient knowledge of Catholic moral principles, and on the other withholding a needful antidote to the false notions that are current at the present time."

He adopted the latter course, and the result justifies his resolution. He has the happy and rare faculty of speaking on delicate subjects without giving offense, and yet in an informing way.

**THOUGHTS OF THE HEART.** By *P. M. Northote, O. S. M.*, author of "Consolamini," "The Bond of Perfection," etc. 12mo., pp. 288. Benziger Brothers, New York.

The book is a collection of short essays which may be used as meditations, or short instructions, or foundations for sermons. They are notable for the wide field which they cover, and also for their originality and unction. The compiler offers this word of explanation:

"The expression 'Thoughts of the Heart' is frequently made use of in Holy Scripture. The phrase is a beautiful one, implying as it does that not only is the mind occupied in ruminating the secret and hidden things of God's wisdom, but furthermore that from the meditation of heavenly truths the heart is awakened to elicit corresponding aspirations towards God.

"These are truly 'Thoughts of the Heart,' for the same consoling and helpful friendship which moved the author to produce his book of meditations entitled 'Consolamini' is responsible also for this new volume, which is in truth but a continuation of the former.

"Moreover, they are essentially 'Thoughts of the Heart' from the manner of their composition, since they are written upon no preconsidered system, but just according as some idea presented itself to the author's mind, calling forth a corresponding elevation of the heart towards the Infinite Being, from whom all light and warmth proceed. In compiling them, however, for publication, I have endeavored where possible to observe some sort of rough sequence.

"Perhaps they are not, strictly speaking, meditations, but rather

short spiritual readings. I have nevertheless, divided the different subjects into three or four points for the sake of those who choose to make use of the book as a manual of meditation."

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TRAVAIL ET FOLIE. Influences professionnelles sur l'étiologie psychopathique. Drs. A. Marie et R. Martial. One vol. in 16. Bibliothèque de Psychologie expérimentale et de métapsychie. Bloud, éditeur, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

The relations subsisting between labor and insanity present a problem which calls in question several notions which though practically considered as settled, are always open to discussion in a philosophical point of view.

The authors of this new book do not maintain that in this or that particular case labor is the cause of insanity. Every disease, whether mental or of another kind, is occasioned by multiple causes, and in each case each of the causes occupies a place of different and variable importance in the totality of causes whence the disorder is derived. What these writers endeavor to decide is what part in the etiological totality of causes giving rise to "psychosis" is to be attributed to manual or intellectual labor on the one hand, and on the other, what is the proportion or percentage of laborers afflicted with "psychosis" as compared with the sum total of laborers in general and as compared with the sum total of laborers in each profession.

This work, then, chiefly consists of the elaboration of documents. But it will comprise in addition some amount of scientific discussion and reasoning, since the etiology of certain psychopathies entails the examination of some opinions accepted or about to be accepted on the subject of vesanic etiology.

This book supplies a want long felt in medico-psychological literature, being the first work that enters deeply into the question at issue, while basing its conclusions on a plentiful amount of observation.

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LA THEOLOGIE SCOLASTIQUE ET LA TRANSCENDANCE DU SURNATUREL. Par H. Ligeard, professeur d'apologétique à l'école de théologie de Lyon-Francheville. One vol. in 16. De viii.+138 pages. Librairie Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes, 117, Paris.

This little volume is devoted to the study of the very difficult, but very actual question of the transcendence or of the immanence of the supernatural. The theologians of the schools had already treated this question from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. In solving it M. Ligeard saw what an advantage would be found in the study of their teaching. The first three chapters deal with the different theories professed on the subject in the Thomist, Scotist.

and Augustinian schools. He easily shows how the scholastic theologians, while admitting a relation of harmony or of mutual sympathy between the natural and the supernatural, are still radically opposed to the doctrine of immanence. This part of the study is very strictly objective; the author confines himself to the task of putting the texts before the reader, and his work, taken from these sources, is therefore from first hand. In the last chapter M. Ligeard endeavors to make use of this doctrine of the school in order to settle the problem of the transcendence of the supernatural. In his opinion it would be a very useful undertaking to draw up a rational and philosophical analysis of the complete activities of man—intelligence, heart and will—with a view to the refutation of the theory of religious immanence and naturalism. Such a work would be in entire conformity with the teaching of the school. It would be a psychological preparation that would serve as an introduction to the objective and historical demonstration of the reality of Revelation. In treating this point the author has taken especial pains to point out with precision his personal views, carefully distinguishing them from what he considers as a mere imitation of previous methods. This book appears as a notable contribution to those apologetic studies which are carried on in a method which is at once progressive and traditional.

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**THE VIA VITAE OF ST. BENEDICT.** The Holy Rule Arranged for Mental Prayer. By *Dom Bernard Hayes*, Monk of the English Benedictine Congregation. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, O. S. B., Bishop of Newport. 12mo., pp. 352. Benziger Brothers, New York.

Those who are accustomed to the ordinary books of meditation, with their carefully mapped out introductions of various kinds, will be surprised when they open this book at its excellence and simplicity. Its excellence is referred to by Bishop Hedley in these words:

"The idea of this book is a good one, and it will be welcomed by many members of the Benedictine family and others. A series of devout meditations on the rule of St. Benedict is virtually a novelty at the present day; for although in past times pious affections and elevations on the holy rule have been given to the world by one or other of its numerous commentators, they are not easily accessible in a form adapted for use. Moreover, the present publication aims at providing the reader with materials for pursuing that 'brief and pure' method of prayer which is recommended by St. Benedict himself."

Its simplicity is accounted for by the absence from St. Benedict's rule of any formal instructions concerning mental prayer or medita-

tion in the ordinary sense of the word. This is a surprise to one who hears it for the first time. And yet it is true.

"The holy Patriarch gives no explicit instruction how to pray. To him as to those Fathers of the Eastern Church and of the desert, whose traditions he carried on, 'prayer' is simply the speech of the heart with God. Vocal prayer or psalmody was to fill up a large portion each day, and mental prayer was to continue as far as possible during all the waking hours not occupied by Divine Office. In St. Benedict's time there was no fixed time for 'meditation'—no hour or half hour in which the whole community knelt in their places in church and devoted themselves to the exercise of mental prayer. A monk, as far as possible, should pray always."

Hence we find the book divided into chapters composed of quotations from the rule in Latin and English, thoughts suggested by the quotations, and prayers. It is a very simple arrangement, and ought to be very effective, for there is no waste or confusion of words. A text, a short, clear analysis of the text, and prayer.

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L'EVOLUTION PSYCHIQUE DE L'ENFANT. Par Dr. Henri Bouquet. One vol. in 16. Bibliothèque de Psychologie expérimentale et de métapsychie. Bloud, éditeur, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

Dr. Henri Bouquet, psychologist and specialist in diseases of children, expounds in this volume the results of his personal experience concerning the evolution of human mentality in the first years of life. The moment of birth and the first sensations of life are analyzed. He then treats of the appearance of the first manifestations of sense-activity—sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. Walking and speaking are mental manifestations of a more complex nature and a more spiritual kind. Finally the author treats directly the psychology of little children—habit, memory, life of the affections, fear, imagination, fetichism, asthetic sense, etc.

This book, filled with the most learned experiences, deals with a question deeply interesting not only to the specialist, but also to fathers and mothers as well as those who are occupied with matters of education or training of infant minds.

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EPITOME EX EDITIONE VATICANA GRADUALIS ROMANI, quod hodiernae musicae signis tradidit Dr. Fr. X. Mathias, Regens Seminarli et Professor Musicae Sacrae in Academia Wilhelmina, Argentiniensi. Neo-Eboraci: Fred. Pustet.

"The Epitomy of the Vatican Edition of the Roman Gradual," by Dr. Francis X. Mathias, recently published by the Pustets, makes a very handsome and satisfying book. It is correct, of course, but in addition to that it should be said that it is correctly made in the material sense, being well printed on good paper of a light weight and strongly bound. It is just the book for practical use.

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

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## FIFTY YEARS OF ITALIAN UNITY.

ON THE 24th of November, 1848, the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius IX., was advised by the French Minister, the Duc de Harcourt, and Bavarian Minister, Count Von Spaur, that it was essential to his personal safety that he should leave Rome and seek some secure place outside where the business of the Church might be carried on without molestation. This event was regarded as the triumph of the Italian revolution by the fall of Rome, and the consummation of the long protracted struggle for Italian "unity." That was the euphemism invented to describe the spoliation of the Papacy and the Church and the forcible wresting of the civil crown from the Papal tiara. But the "unification" did not take place until 1859—after the defeat of Austria by France and Italy. This year the Italians of the Revolutionary party propose to celebrate the event with imposing manifestations in the principal cities and villages throughout the peninsula. Of course, the chief celebration will be that which will be held in the ancient capital of the Papacy, and the triumphant radicals will take as much pains to gloat over the plight of the now helpless Pope, a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, as a band of red Indians dancing around the stake where their victim is fastened to undergo the torture and the fire that is to complete the feast.

It is fitting that a revolution which began with an act of assassination be celebrated by men who believe that assassination is patriotism and private robbery a public service. No fouler crime was ever perpetrated than the murder of Count Rossi, no baser act of ingrati-

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tude than the requital of Pius IX.'s too liberal concessions to popular demands by the defeat of the measures he had taken to inaugurate a *régime* of progress and popular share in the civil government of Rome and the Papal States by the displacements of his Ministers and the filling of his palace with hidden enemies sworn to bury their knives in his body in the same way they had fleshed them in that of his distinguished Minister.

There are thousands of excellent and well-meaning men and women who regard the process employed in the "unification" of the Italian peninsula under the crown of Piedmont and Sardinia as a secondary consideration, so long as the unification itself was accomplished. Such a philosophy is pernicious. The moral element is the first consideration in all movements aiming for the social improvement of the masses. But, even if this were not the case, there still would be the question whether a revolution initiated by foul crimes was justified by the results secured, in the amelioration of the people's condition and their moral and material well-being. We have no proof that such a doubtful justification has been afforded in the case of "united Italy." We have, on the contrary, proof that the reverse has been the case. The people of Italy were never so ground down under a system of cruel taxation as they are under the present rule. A fearful "blood tax" has been imposed upon them by reason of the entry of the Italian Government into the Triple Alliance—a measure necessitated by the danger that a reversal of the events of 1870 would be effected when any new arrangement of the map of Europe would result from the defeat of one of the Great Powers in war, as in the case of the cession of Nice and Savoy to France, and the cession by her, in turn, of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany at the end of the war which ended the Second Empire.

We said in a former article that it was highly probable that the time is not far off when the chaotic condition of morals and politics in Europe would demand, as it previously did demand, after the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo, that the Papacy be restored to its old place in the moral economy. What is going on to-day in every civilized country leads irresistibly to that conclusion. The world is tossing about like a ship that has lost its rudder, or as our globe must do in space were some enormous internal convulsion to cause a shifting of her centre of gravity.

A brief review of the chief events which preceded the process of unification may not be out of order. In the first place, the employment of the word "unification" was an afterthought. It was not in the minds of the conspirators who began the revolutionary movement in various parts of Italy in 1848. It had its birth, it would appear, in the dark and secretive brain of Cavour, and took form when that

statesman induced the King of Sardinia to throw in his handful of an army along with the hosts of Britain, France and Turkey, against the Russian advance, in 1854. This astute step secured the help of Britain when the hour should strike for allowing the conspiracy of Mazzini and Garibaldi to come to an open head. The great French statesman, Guizot, clearly saw what was going on below the surface, and gave the ambitious design its proper title. He preferred, he said, an Italian Confederation to a "Piedmontese domination under the name of Italian unity." Guizot was a Protestant, and yet no Catholic spoke out more fearlessly than he against the hypocritical policy of Cavour and the House of Savoy in fomenting trouble in the Papal States in order to find a pretext for invading the territory to "preserve order." "In order to attain its ends," he wrote in his remarkable book entitled "*L'Eglise et La Société Chrétiennes en 1861*," "Piedmont is obliged to trample under foot the rights of nations in despoiling the Pope of the estates of which he is sovereign, just as it tramples under foot the rights of religious liberty in overturning the constitution of the Catholic Church, of which the Pope is the head. Such necessities are the condemnation of the policy which imposes them." The author was here referring to restrictions of the liberty of the Church within Piedmontese territory, placed on it designedly by the policy of Cavour as a means to an end—the end being to provoke a conflict with the Pope's authority, to be followed up by an act of aggression on the Papal territory. This was the policy pursued in the face of Europe persistently from 1848 until the withdrawal of the French troops in 1870. Then the mask was flung aside, and the perfidious tactics of Cavour and Ratazzi were crowned by the outrageous attack on Rome itself and the onrush of the Garibaldian rabble and the "reduci," to indulge in a riot of murder and robbery in the defenseless streets of the Pope's capital.

All the moral influence of England was put forth in support of this policy of Piedmontese aggression. Cavour was in constant communication with Lord Palmerston. The British press was filled with the most rancorous denunciations of the Papal Government, day after day, week after week. The *Times* openly preached revolution by the dagger—the very doctrine of Mazzini. "Liberty," it said, "was to be fought for by the hatchet and the knife." A member of the Tory Cabinet, Mr. Stansfeld, the Postmaster General, openly avowed his friendship for Mazzini at a public banquet, and approved his revolutionary methods—that is to say, the methods of the assassin; the method employed by James Carey and "No. 1" in the case of the attack on two British officials in the Phoenix Park, outside Dublin, in May, 1882. In that case seven men were hanged



for following the counsel given by the *Times* as to modes in which the battle of liberty should be fought. Those ideas of the *Times* lost nothing in ferocity in the transference into Italian literature which immediately followed their appearance. Guarrazzi, one of the foremost agitators, who was also a novel writer of the new Romantic school, embodied some of them in his romance called "The Siege of Florence." In the preface he wrote:

"I thought it charity to ply all the torments used by the ancient tyrants and by the Holy Office, and to invent others still more atrocious, to excite the sensibility of this land, fallen into miserable lethargy; I wounded it, and poured into the wounds brimstone and burning pitch; I galvanized it, and God only knows the trembling anxiety with which I saw it open its closed eyes and move its livid lips. I chose the part of Prometheus, and wished to animate the statue, even though the vulture shall prey upon my vitals forever."

To the efforts of the novelists to inflame the popular mind to the boiling point were added the harangues of the firebrand orators. Some recreant priests were foremost in this unpriestly work—men like Alessandro Gavazzi, who had no control of either tongue or passion. It was little wonder that the peninsula was soon in such a condition as Cavour and Mazzini desired for the realization of their dreams and their ambitions. Although these two leaders of the whirlwind created and utilized similar agencies in their respective plans, they worked for entirely different ends. Cavour aimed at placing his puppet, Victor Emmanuel, at the head of a single Italian monarchy; Mazzini's grand dream was a triumphant Republic, a reproduction of the ancient classic commonwealth in modern Rome.

Pius IX. had demonstrated that while outside opinion on Italian affairs demanded reform, Cavour and Mazzini worked for other ends. He had given the Romans reform till their applause of his liberality became too vociferous and continuous, and he had to request a cessation. He gave them a constitution; he released men who had been confined in prison for political offenses, and they immediately began to utilize their freedom in the formation of fresh conspiracies against their liberator. Mazzini had for his chief lieutenant in Rome an ambitious and eloquent demagogue named Angelo Brunetti, who, by reason of his oratorical gifts, was popularly known as Ciceruacchio—the second Cicero. This man, by his lavish generosity as well as his enthusiastic sympathy with the popular cause, had obtained a power to sway the multitude as great as that of Cola da Rienzo, "the last of the Tribunes." This power he sedulously utilized for the purpose of carrying out the plans of the revolutionary party, as directed from Paris and London by Giuseppe Mazzini. A game worthy of the sinister genius of

Machiavelli was played, under orders from that arch-revolutionist. The people were to be schooled to applaud every act of concession on the part of the new Pope and his Prime Minister, the popular Cardinal Gizzi, but to resume soon their clamors for fresh concessions, until they had secured control of all the machinery of government as well as the Civic Guard of Rome and the National Guard of the provinces, and eventually got the Pope himself practically a prisoner in his own city and his very palace.

By a "Motu Proprio" of October, 1847, the Holy Father had established a Council of State, consisting of representatives of the people and members of his own Council, to frame laws for the municipality and the administration of the governmental departments. This important concession only made the hungry revolutionists all the more exorbitant in their demands. Events outside had been such as to accelerate the revolutionary programme of the Mazzinians. The occupation of Ferrara by the Austrians, adopted as a measure of precaution against incendiary attacks, aroused the revolutionists to fury. Insurrections broke out in succession in Milan, Palermo and Naples. The Royal forces were driven out of Sicily; the Grand Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were soon driven out, and it was seen clearly enough that Rome would be the next objective of the revolutionary forces. The expulsion of Louis Philippe from France, followed by the proclamation of a new Republic, seemed to have applied the torch to all the inflammable material of Europe. In this alarming crisis the Pope's advisers counselled fresh measures of conciliation, and the advice was speedily acted on. A new and much more liberal Constitution was drawn up by the celebrated jurist and theologian, Father Perrone. But the "party of action" wanted more than a Constitution: they wanted a Republic with a Pope at its head, or else a prisoner at their mercy. The King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, threw his sword now into the scale. As an offset to the Austrian move on Ferrara, he invaded Venice with a large army, and the popular enthusiasm for a war with Austria whirled even the Pope's advisers along with the stream. A great meeting held in the Colosseum demanded that the Pope's army should join in the march on Venice, and General Durando, the Papal commander-in-chief, was instructed to go so far as to lead the troops to the frontier, but on no account to cross into Austrian territory or to commit any hostile act. These orders he rashly violated as soon as he was on the scene of action, and so the Pope was, against his will, committed to a war on a power that had long been a steadfast friend of the Papacy.

The war ended most disastrously for the Sardinian Kingdom. At Custozza its armies were swept away and its fleet at Lissa; and

popular indignation was so great that Charles Albert was forced to make another effort at Novarra. He was again defeated and was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. His first work was to sue for peace with the victorious Austrians. These exciting events coincided with a recrudescence of disorders in Rome, owing to the rapid increase of the revolutionary spirit and the insolence of a party intoxicated with the success of demagogic aggression. When the news of the defeat and downfall of the King reached Rome, the House of Deputies voted a conscription of 12,000 men to aid the Italian army, the enrollment of a Foreign Legion and an assessment of 400,000 dollars on the city of Rome. The Holy Father at once refused to sanction these measures. He clearly foresaw that a continuance of war against Austria meant the ruin of Rome and Italy. His refusal brought about the resignation of Signor Mamiani, the President. He was succeeded in office by Count Fabbri, a wise and moderate progressist, but his great age rendered his fulfillment of the arduous duties of the office too difficult a task; and after a short time the Pope sent for Count Pellegrino Rossi to take charge of the Ministerial portfolio.

Count Rossi bore a very high reputation as a diplomatist and a statesman. He was an Italian born, and sympathized with the aspirations of the greater minds of Italy for a larger national life. He had served France for many years as its representative at the Papal Court, but when the revolution overturned the rule of Louis Philippe he lost his place. He was greatly esteemed by Pope Pius IX. and often consulted by him on matters of moment as between Church and State and the ever-increasing demands of the malcontents. The seals of office he accepted with much reluctance, but once he took them he determined to apply himself to the task of perfecting a system of good government as a high patriotic and Christian duty. His first work was to reorganize all the civil departments of the Papal Government. He was assisted in this by four lay members of the Council of State, whose integrity and ability were well known, as well as by two ecclesiastical ones no less conspicuous for fitness for office—Cardinals Soglio and Vizzarelli. Friends of law and order flocked to his side, and he had liberal offers of monetary help to bring about a restoration of public confidence as the first essential to the commercial welfare in Rome and the provinces. Count Rossi's next act proved him to be a statesman fit to cope with any problem that might present itself in the high task of ruling a State. He projected an Italian Confederacy, in accordance with the views of the Pope and M. Guizot, as well as other thoughtful statesman, with the Pope as Honorary President. This Confederacy was designed for the purpose of securing each

independent Italian State against outside aggression—like the ancient Achæan League, the Hanseatic League, the Confederation of the Rhine, and similar defensive alliances. To bring this idea to a practical phase Count Rossi opened negotiations with the Governments of Naples, Florence and Turin. The design did not by any means accord with the ambitions of the House of Savoy, and when it was broached steps were taken, secretly and openly, to prevent its ever bearing practical fruit. Meanwhile Count Rossi took measures to repress the rabies of revolutionary firebrands in the capital. He had Gavazzi arrested and jailed for preaching rebellion, and took steps to moderate the ardor of the revolutionary editors in Rome as well as bring about quiet and security in the streets of Rome, by night as well as by day. The revolutionists perceived immediately that a firm hand was now grasping the tiller, and, as this was the last condition they regarded as likely to arise, they determined to make that hand firmer—in the rigidity of death. It were illogical had they resolved otherwise. To such a culmination had all the lessons they had been sedulously taught for the previous half century progressively led up. They took their measures carefully, so that there might be no hitch in the working out of the programme.

We would here desire to pause for a moment to survey the Janus-like character of the propaganda which brought about the tragedy of the Roman Revolution. One of the excuses put forward for Piedmontese intermeddling in the affairs of the Papal States was that "the Pope had ceased to govern." The same equivocation was used fifty years before 1848 by Napoleon and his instruments, after they made it hard, by means of French invasion and consequent anarchy, for the Pope to govern. The cry, "the Pope is incapable of governing" was set up before the Pope showed by his action that he was quite capable and willing to govern—to govern *aright*, if left alone. But this was not what these apologists for robbery and murder wanted. They wanted power as Macbeth and Richard the Third wanted it—for the sake of power and the worldly things it brings to people in politics. The movement against the Temporal Power of the Papacy originated, insisted the *North British Review* and other English and Scottish mouthpieces of anti-Catholic spleen, *within the Papacy*. And yet the same wall-eyed organs proceeded to defend in grandiloquent terms the long planned, organized, relentless, unscrupulous conspiracy against the Papacy, gotten up by Mazzini and Garibaldi, secretly fomented and aided by Cavour and the Piedmontese Government. It was granted by the *North British Review*—we write with a copy before us—to be a movement "marked throughout by that logic *which stifles justice and reason*"

(the italics are ours) ; and "it designed the destruction of the Papacy because it was opposed to its ideal schemes." There never was an example of cynical contempt of consistency in argument so gross as the British howl against the Papacy: first charging it with impotency to wield the sceptre of power, and then with deserving the dagger of the assassin when it put forth the hand of the policeman to seize and lock up the villains and cut-throats whom it found endeavoring to frustrate its efforts to maintain order and promote prosperity. And to add to the recklessness of this cynicism, there was not even a pretense of concealment of its object. The *North British Review*, already referred to, openly avowed that its purpose, in printing the furious outbursts of such writers as Azeglio, was to excite the horror and indignation of the outside world against the Papal Government. Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning was the poetical pythonesse of that campaign of blind hatred and jaundiced bigotry. Her poems, "Casa Guidi Windows," reeked with open incitements to revolt and assassination, alternated with ribald derision of the Papacy, such as this:

Peter, Peter! he does not speak;  
 He is not as rash as in old Galilee:  
 Safer a ship, though it toss and leak,  
 Than a reeling foot on a rolling sea!  
 And he's got to be round in the girth, thinks he.  
 Peter, Peter, thou fisher of men,  
 Fisher of fish wouldst thou live instead?  
 Haggling for peace with the other Ten,  
 Cheating the market at so much a head,  
 Gripping the bag of the traitor dead

The gentle lady did not hesitate to encourage even the Atheist to rise up and murder, with the hope of ultimate pardon, should he fall in the attempt, from that Deity whom he spurned as the imposture of crafty priests, by such hortations as the following lines, culled from the "Last Poems and Other Works of Mrs. Browning:—"

Peace, you say—yes, peace in truth:  
 But such a peace as the ear can achieve  
 'Twixt the rifle's click and the rush of the ball,  
 'Twixt the tiger's spring and the crunch of the tooth,  
 'Twixt the dying Atheist's negative  
 And God's face—waiting after all!

It were easy to imagine the effect of such an incitement and such an encouragement on the mind of an Irish Attorney General like Whiteside, and an Irish Judge like Keogh, had the poem been written by one of the Fenian leaders and published in an Irish organ, at a time of political ferment. The English language would be too poor to give utterance to their feelings of horror at the impiety.

The remarkable fact about the encouragement given by English politicians and poets to the revolutionary movement in Italy was their obtuseness to the parallel that existed between the case of

Ireland under British rule and the case of Italians under Austrian rule. We see no such parallel in the case of Italians under Papal rule: it was government of Italians by Italians, and for the benefit of Italians. It may have been bad government in some respects, in so far as its operation and results were concerned, at times; but it was not out of hatred for the people that it was bad, nor out of any desire but for their welfare; there was no other government animated by love for the people and solicitude for their wellbeing as the Papal Government was. But the oppression of Ireland by the British Government had its source in the malice of the oppressor, who never can forgive the enemy whom he wrongs and has wronged. All the infamy attributed to the Austrian system of repression was characteristic of the British system in Ireland, in regard to the detection and repression of revolutionary designs. Espionage, employment and encouragement of informers, holding out of rewards for those who would betray comrades in political enterprises, suspensions of constitutional procedure and trial by special commissions of Judges appointed by the Crown; arrest and imprisonment on suspicion; barbarous treatment of prisoners; impoverishment of the people by exorbitant and illegal taxation; frightful punishment by "transportation" on convict ships of those accused of "treason-felony"—a newly-invented crime, by means of which the patriot was degraded to the level of the murderer and the cutpurse or burglar. All this oppression, worse than Egyptian over Israelites in many respects, was carried on under a government with a headship that differed from the Papacy, in its claims in spirituals and temporals, only in degree and absence of divine sanction. Britain's sovereign was the head of Britain's Church, and made and unmade Bishops and prebends without the help of Cardinals, but only on the word of a Prime Minister! The English Protestant Church, planted by force and fraud upon the Catholic soil of Ireland, maintained itself by the forcible extortion of tithes from the Catholic tillers of the soil, often at the cost of human life and barbarous scenes of bloodshed. The peasantry had been driven from their homes, to fly across the ocean, by tens and hundreds of thousands, to escape death by famine, by a system of barbarous land laws, introduced by England, in substitution for their native laws, which gave the peasant as much right in the soil, proportionately, as the chief. The only British poet or prosist who dared British opprobrium by lifting up voice or pen on behalf of the miserable Irish victims of that Philistine barbarity were the Rev. Sydney Smith and Lord Byron.

There was hardly an attempt to disguise the real motive that underlay the propaganda in England. Sympathy with the Italian

patriots was the fine flower of hatred of Popery and the Papacy. We have mentioned the name of Whiteside. He was a lawyer who subsequently became a Judge, and one of those whose writings and speeches breathed the True Blue spirit in every passage. He contributed not a little to the venom of the pro-Italian propaganda. A book of his on Italy reached at least five editions. It was crammed with stories copied after the style of the Decameron; and even so rabid an anti-Papal magazine as the *North British Review* did not hesitate to tell the author that it strongly suspected that he knew that some of the tales were no more authentic than the old fables called "The Seven Champions of Christendom." Italian writers like Zobi, Azeglio, Gualterio, Guerrazzi, Farini and others of the inventive tribe, filled the public ear, at the same period, with tales of the immorality of the clergy and sisters in Italy, linking this somehow with the misgovernment of the political rulers—just as some of our own writers sought to do a few years ago with regard to the religious orders in the Philippines. The cry was raised in England that the Pope had banned the Bible, and an army of Bible-readers (as the proselytizers were popularly called in Ireland, where they had previously been employed to buy the faith of the starving peasantry with gold from Exeter Hall) was let loose on the Italian peninsula, to ply their insidious arts in the cities outside Rome. It was boasted in the English press that the principles of Protestantism had spread over almost every town in Tuscany, and in Florence had resulted in the entire abandonment of Catholicism by masses of the population. While these flattering reports were being circulated, the press kept urging the government to go on sending ships of war to hover about the Italian coast as "a terror to evildoers," and especially to the Court of Rome—(we are quoting the *North British Review* of November, 1852)—lest there be "any measure of reaction in favor of the Papacy." "Those old idols of the Papacy that bigotry or priestcraft are dressing up again," the *Review* went on to say—"those painted Madonnas that are winking at Rimini most knowingly, or working miracles, are sadly out of date. The monks and friars and meritorious mendicants, redolent of every odor but that of sanctity, have become almost an anachronism, even in the South, and they might be left to die out peaceably. . . . The Jesuits, like witches by 'a running stream,' are standing on the brink, but have not yet crossed the Arno. To force the institutions of the worst times of the Papacy on a comparatively civilized people, against their mind and conscience, is but an idle effort at the best; and to darken and deprave a nation, with the idea of making them more submissive to both Church and State, is of all expedients the most mistaken." To prevent this debasement of a noble people the

warships of the power that had for two centuries been doing that very thing in regard to Ireland must be kept on the Italian littoral! While this campaign of malignity was being carried on in the high-class magazines of England and Scotland, the comic cartoonists were helping on the evil work by satirizing the Holy Father and the heads of the Italian States with a ribald indecency that has not been surpassed even in our own immediate day. The unscrupulous *Punch*, of London, was the ringleader in that undignified game. This campaign of ridicule was not by any means intended for fun. The fun of the boys who pelted the frogs was not firth, but malice; and so it was with the laughter that greeted the sallies of the English comic prints and the deadly satires of Mrs. Browning. They served to whet the knives of the Italian "men of action." These, in Rome, were getting ready for a move which should show that the lessons of Mazzini had not fallen upon dull ears. The Chambers were to open on the 15th of November, and on the preceding day Count Rossi was warned by the Holy Father that his life was in danger. His wife, too, had heard rumors of a conspiracy, and she pleaded with him tearfully not to attend the opening ceremony. But the Count was no coward; he only laughed at the suggestion of danger, but he had taken all the precautions that he considered necessary to prevent disorder. When he alighted from his equipage at the foot of the steps leading to the Cancellaria he was immediately hustled by a band of villainous men, flung to the ground, and a stiletto was thrust to the hilt in his neck. The assassins, it was afterwards discovered, had been practicing the scientific way to deal a fatal thrust, under the direction of a surgeon, with the help of a corpse they had procured somehow from one of the hospitals. The result justified the pains thus taken. It took but the one blow to despatch the distinguished victim. He just gasped, "O, my God!" and expired. The body was carried into the apartments of Cardinal Gazzoli, and a messenger was sent to the Holy Father to impart the dreadful tidings carefully. The Pope was for some moments unable to utter a word, so choking was his emotion; then he said: "Count Rossi has died a martyr's death; may his soul rest in peace!" In the Church of Sts. Laurence and Damasus, where the remains of the murdered Minister were laid, his tomb bears the legend. "I undertook the defense of a sacred institution; may God have mercy on me."

The murder was the signal for the opening of the floodgates of rapine, murder and destruction in the city. Bearing aloft in triumph the knife dripping with the blood of their victim, the murderers paraded the principal streets, yelling out their joy over the deed of horror, and stopping at the door of the Rossi house in order to



harrow the feelings of the widow and children by their fiendish yells of triumph over his downfall. Mazzini's teaching—"the thought and the act"—had not been in vain. Murder ran red-handed through the city of the Popes, and soon the gentle Pius was in flight from the scene of butchery. He barely escaped the same fate as his great minister, for the band of assassins who compassed the murder were soon inside the Vatican, with their sentries posted at the various gates and doors, cutting off all the avenues of escape for the Pope. They were actually roaming the buildings in search of their illustrious intended prey when his attendants quietly hurried him away and got him into the coach of the Count Von Spaur, who was waiting at the Church of SS. Marcillino and Pietro to bear the Pope toward the Neapolitan frontier. Arrived at Gaeta, from that stronghold the fugitive Pontiff issued a decree of excommunication against the murderers of Count Rossi and those who had aided and abetted them, and drew up a formal protest to the Great Powers against the usurpers of his authority now supreme in the capital of the Popes.

Mazzini soon arrived on the scene, to behold and exult in the success of his teachings. He came at an appropriate time. The dogs of anarchy had been let loose, and the red hand of the rabble was pressing the throat of the helpless aristocracy demanding its money or its life. The Republic had been proclaimed, Mazzini at its head, and two other conspirators, Saffi and Armellini, aiding him. Confiscation immediately began on a gigantic scale under the rule of this Triumvirate. Church property was the first thing to be pounced upon. Mobs burst into the churches and began plundering them of their treasures in the shape of sacred vessels and works of art. Sacrilege of a most horrible character was committed in many of them: the Blessed Sacrament was taken out and trampled under foot, and the sacred vessels were melted down for the metal they contained. A forced loan, ostensibly to carry on the government, was levied on the inhabitants of the city. The curtailment of freedom of the press, about which the Mazzinians had been always bitterly complaining, was one of the first measures taken by the Triumvirate; they did not desire the outside world to know what was taking place in the city.

Not one of the Powers recognized the Republic. The only State which acknowledged its claim to be a State was Tuscany, which had also revolted and proclaimed a Republic. The representatives of the Powers, on the other hand, presented themselves at Gaeta, in order to transact there the business of their respective governments with the Papal Government. The Pope's letter of protest had the effect of rousing the whole Catholic world outside of Italy to a sense

of the outrage of which the Holy Father had been made the victim. Louis Napoleon was then the President of the French Republic. It was the desire of the National Assembly that the Pope should be restored to his dominion and protected in his capital. A division of the army, under General Oudinot, was despatched to Civita Vecchia, and from thence moved on toward the capital. There Garibaldi, who had arrived with his motley rabble of adventurers, was in command of the defense. While this was being prepared, murders were of daily occurrence in the city. Many clerics fell under the poniards of the "liberators." The bodies of ninety priests were discovered in the cellar of the Convent of St. Calixtus, beyond the Tiber, in a short time after Garibaldi and Mazzini had been driven out by the French. All these had been the victims of the gospel of the dagger, as preached by Mazzini, Mrs. Browning and the *London Times*.

Garibaldi and his rabble did not do much beyond killing the priests. They made a stand for a while at the Gate of St. Pancratius and drove off a weak column of French, but they were soon compelled to run up the white flag and betake themselves as rapidly as they could out of the city they had terrorized and plundered. On the 3d of July the French took possession of the city, and the Pope's government was restored. The Holy Father took no reprisals for the crimes committed by the revolutionists. On the contrary, he issued a decree of amnesty for all who were not leaders, perjurers or ordinary criminals. He returned to the city, after yielding to the wishes of the Neapolitans that he would pay a visit to their city while he was a guest in the territory of the kingdom. The Holy Father visited likewise the chief cities in Tuscany and Bologna before he returned to Rome. In all of these he was received with affecting demonstrations of loyalty by the population. Even among the Garibaldian prisoners he was regarded with sincere veneration. The entry of the Holy Father into Rome did not take place until the 12th of April. He immediately settled down to the task of assuring tranquillity and restoring everything to the condition of order which had prevailed previous to the invasion of the revolutionary adventurers.

For ten years Rome enjoyed a period of immunity from political troubles, and during that time everything had moved smoothly. Two great things had been done in the religious world: the dogma of the Immaculate Conception had been defined and the dogma of Papal Infallibility decided and promulgated. The latter step aroused the hostility of many enemies who previously had been only lukewarm ones. It made enemies like Bismarck furious. But the Pope did not heed what the enemies said. He seemed to have a

prevision of the troubles which were about to burst upon the Church and the absolute need, in the near future, of a voice decisive and unquestionable to lay down the law authoritatively when the Church and the State should be divided as to questions of spiritual authority and moral right. It has proved to be a most fortunate thing for the Church that so important a step was resolved on, as recent events in France have clearly shown.

Even when the great Pope was thus taking measures for fortifying the ramparts of the doctrinal Church and its spiritual authority his crafty enemies were plotting and planning the complete overthrow of its temporal appanage, so often attacked and so often miraculously (as it seemed) restored to the Church. Cavour and Louis Napoleon were the principal intriguers on the ground; and these had the help of Lord Palmerston and English public opinion in whatever schemes might be devised for the destruction of the Papacy. It was at this juncture that help came from a most unexpected quarter. M. Guizot, formerly Prime Minister of France under Louis Philippe, in the course of a public address on primary education among French Protestants, swung off from his direct subject to call attention to the storm of persecution to which the Pope and the Church in Italy were being subjected. His words were very remarkable, coming from a man who had filled so responsible a position in diplomacy for many years and knew well the effect they were likely to produce upon the whole of Europe. He said:

"A melancholy disturbance affects a large portion of the general Christian Church. I say a melancholy disturbance; it is my own opinion that I express, and that I desire to express. Whatever differences, and even divisions, may be among us, we are all Christians, and the brethren of all Christians. The security, the dignity, the liberty of all Christian Churches, equally belong to the whole of Christendom. It is Christendom as a whole that suffers, when great Christian Churches suffer. It is the entire Christian edifice against which the blows are directed, which now strike one of its chief structures. Under such trials, our sympathy is due to the Christian Church in all its extent."

Many expressions of surprise from French Protestants, many of gratitude from Catholics, were the immediate outcome of M. Guizot's references on this subject. In order to explain his reasons more fully than he could in the course of a brief public address, the distinguished author and statesman sat down and wrote his work on "The Church and Christian Society"—a splendid contribution to the history of civilization—certainly the finest penned by non-Catholic hands.

There was in M. Guizot's day, as there is now, an organized system of assault on the citadel of faith. Belief in the supernatural was jeered at, materialism was the only doctrine taught by those who were jeered at, materialism was the only doctrine taught by those who believed and practicing it as well; and his followers were already numerous. On this point M. Guizot is very emphatic. He writes:

"It is upon faith, or an inner instinct of the supernatural, that all religion rests. I do not say every religious idea, but whatever religion is positive, practical, powerful, durable and popular. Everywhere, in all climates, at all epochs of history and in all degrees of civilization, man is animated by the sentiment—I would rather say the presentiment—that the world which he sees, the order of things in the midst of which he lives, the facts which regularly and constantly succeed each other around him, are not *all*. In vain he makes every day, in this vast universe, discoveries and conquests; in vain he observes and learnedly verifies the general laws which govern it; his thought is not enclosed in the world surrendered to his science; the spectacle of it does not suffice his soul; it is raised beyond it; it searches after and gets a glimpse of something else; it aspires higher both for the universe and itself; it aims after another destiny—another Master.

Par delà tous ces cieux le Dieu des cieux réside.

So Voltaire has said; and the God who is beyond all the skies is not Nature personified, but a Supernatural Personality. It is to this higher Personality that all religions address themselves. It is to bring men into communion with Him that they exist. Without this instinctive faith of men in the Supernatural—without a spontaneous and invincible aspiration towards it, religion would be impossible."

It will be seen that the dangers which were menacing society in the days when these thoughts were penned were little dissimilar from those with which the world is still confronted. With regard to the Church and its rights and possessions, M. Guizot contended that "the temporal power of the Papacy is as much a normal and constitutional element of the Roman Catholic Church, as the consistories and synods of the Protestant Church are an essential part of its government. Religious liberty, in the full extent of its meaning, implies that every Church shall have free scope for its own characteristic mode of action, its agencies of government and the rules and traditions which preside over them."

"No one," M. Guizot argues, "can be ignorant that, independently of religious dogmas, two essential characteristics distinguish the organization and position of the Roman Catholic Church. It has a general and sole Head, whom all Catholics, however scattered abroad

in different States, acknowledge. This Head is at once the spiritual prince of Catholicism, and the temporal prince of a small European State. A keen debate exists at present on this subject. Some profess that the union of the two characters is not necessary to the Papacy, and that it might preserve its spiritual power without retaining its temporal sovereignty. Others maintain the necessity of the temporal sovereignty for the free and certain exercise of the spiritual power. I do not enter into this debate. I do not examine here the system of government of the Catholic Church; it is its liberty, and its right to liberty, only that I defend. The twofold character of the Papacy is a fact consecrated by ages—a fact developed and upheld throughout all vicissitudes, all struggles, all distractions of Christendom. And yet we believe it possible to lay violent hands upon this fact, and to alter it at pleasure, and even destroy it, without interfering with the religious liberty of the Catholics! We can despoil the spiritual chief of the Catholic Church of a character and a position which this Church for ages has looked upon as the guarantee of its independence, and yet pretend that we do not trammel and mutilate Catholicism! There are even those who maintain that the Catholic Church has never hitherto been free, but is only about to be so. A *free Church* is the principle which some maintain in the name of the State, at the very moment that the State is taking away from the Church its constitution and its property!"

Another French statesman, of a still higher rank in the active political world, M. Adolph Thiers, held a similar view of the Pope's temporal power and of the indispensability of the Pope himself to the European cosmogony. "The only possible security for the independence of the Pope," wrote M. Thiers, "is the temporal sovereignty." The renowned English statesman, Lord Brougham, could not be brought to sympathize with the aspiration for a United Italy. Italy, he said, had never been united, but a conglomeration of different States and peoples. It is not united in a national homogenous sense even now, after forty years of so-called unification. The North still hates the South, and the South still more the North, as the comparatively recent episodes of the Crispi and Nasi defalcations, and prosecution and punishment of Nasi, amply proved. It was only the guns of the Italian warships pointed at Palermo that prevented a popular uprising against the government that had the temerity to prosecute and imprison a Sicilian because he was a dishonest Cabinet Minister! It is a race hatred of the fiercest character that prevents the two sections of the peninsula from coalescing in a bond of national unity.

No spectacle of Machiavellian duplicity so shameless was ever

presented to the world as that which was given by the Piedmontese Government and the French Emperor during the years following the return of the Pope to Rome and the treaty of Villafranca, which terminated the war between France and Austria. In return for the cession of Nice and Savoy to France, the Piedmontese King was given permission to occupy Lombardy, and soon that system of fomenting disorders on the Pope's border line by means of Garibaldian bands, and encroachment on the Pope's territory under the excuse that the Papal Government was impotent to preserve order within its own limits, was begun. When the Garibaldians set out to invade any province, a royal army was sent after them and the Chancelleries of Europe were assured that it was the King's desire to prevent breaches of treaty agreements and preserve the peace that impelled the despatch of troops to keep the Garibaldians in check. But the generals had got secret instructions to allow the revolutionists a free hand and so have the ground prepared for the grand denoument that was being carefully planned. Even the British press was obliged to own that the duplicity was indefensible in its shamelessness—the game too farcical to deceive even an infant or a simpleton. It was, however, played out to its audacious and inglorious end, with the calm cynicism of the polite highwayman who doffs his hat to his lady victims while relieving them of their money and their bijouterie. But in this case the chief gamester brought down punishment on his own head. He had played a wrong card, and lost his all. None pitied him when he fell a victim to his own dark schemes of aggrandizement and empire, after Sedan.

What has Italy gained—the world of morals gained—by the consummation of the long-drawn-out tragedy of Papal mutilation? Could any gain accrue to morality—the morality that is an indispensable element for any civilization that has to hold its social fabric together so as to be able to keep faith between nations and repress disorders—could such a morality derive any benefit from the spectacle of the open and unblushing disregard of the old law of nations by an upstart power, whose ruler had stooped to become the puppet of the very revolutionaries who hated monarchs because they were monarchs, and who scarcely sought to conceal the fact that they hated God as well? What moral end could be served by an exhibition of duplicity in the dealings with those revolutionists so cynical that it made even the defenders of it in the English press speak of it in a shame-faced way, and find no excuse for it stronger than the robber formula that necessity justifies the murder and theft? We have beheld the effect of the loosening of moral restraints toward monarchs and statesmen, in the numerous carnivals of riot and bloodshed which have reddened the great capitals of Europe since

the downfall of the Temporal Power. Those who compassed that crime had no need to point its moral. As plainly as words could speak, they said to the *hoi polloi*: "Take when you are able; keep as long as you can. Respect no authority but your own will and desires; knife all who stand for order and decency." The frightful uprising of the Commune and the burning of the Paris palaces and temples were the first fruits of that deadly lesson of anarchistic teaching; and the many sanguinary conflicts between the Russian Nihilists and the savage soldiery of the Czar were the indirect outcome of the attack on the Papacy by the rabble of Garibaldi and the regular army of the King of Piedmont. It would be easy to elaborate the catalogue of evils which were traceable to this poisoning of the general mind, but enough has been said, keeping in view the limitations of a magazine article, to maintain the proposition that open violation of international law by a strong State toward a weak one is a misfortune for the whole world, whose highest interest is the preservation of morality, among nations as well as communities and individuals. We may turn to survey the effect of the disaster upon the material and intellectual condition of the mass of the Italian people. Their fortunes were to be immediately altered for the better, according to the promises of the agitators, by reason of the removal of the influence of the Church and the substitution of the influence of the monarchy and the State. Have these roseate hopes been realized? We leave it to impartial non-Catholic observers to show, by a few extracts from their writings, how the material condition of the masses of the Italian people have been hopelessly changed for the worse, since the "unification" process was completed in spoliation; and we leave it to the governmental professors of pedagogy to show what progress has been made in the education of the people during the fifty years since the overthrow of the power which had again and again been charged, as a main count in the list of high crimes and misdemeanors which called for its crucifixion, that it had, as a device of state policy, deliberately kept the population at large in a Serbonian bog of ignorance—a veritable Slough of Despond, in the eyes of a nation the richest in the world, whose working classes, at the time the accusation was being made, were living like swine, ignorant of the very name of God and the difference between woman and beast, in the Staffordshire potteries and the "Black Country"—as the Sheffield commission on the Broadhead murders and blowings-up abundantly proved. The first blessing the "nification" brought to the Italian people was the assurance of "martial glory" for every male fortunate enough to be born under the new régime, in the shape of the conscription. Every adult Italian is obliged to serve for a period of three years under the colors

of the House of Savoy. Any one who seeks to evade this law is liable to find and imprisonment and deprivation of citizen rights. This despotism is a direct outcome of the ambition of the House of Savoy to become head of one of the "great powers," and the entry into the "Triple Alliance," to that end. We now quote a few passages from the supplemental chapter, by Dr. Wilfred C. Lay, to the work of the late Mr. John S. C. Abbot, on "Italy," relative to the material and social condition of the general population since the rape of the Temporal Power:

"Irredentism, or the political sentiment which favors *Italia Ireedenta*, or 'unredeemed Italy,' is directed against the alliance with Austria and Germany, particularly the former, on account of feelings of hatred aroused in the war with that country. The Irredentists, in addition to their opposition to the Triple Alliance, have a great desire to regain for Italy the Italian-speaking provinces which were taken from her in the last war by Austria, and even the district of Ticino, which has not belonged to Italy for hundreds of years, and is now a canton of Switzerland, situated to the south of the Alps, and extending from the St. Gothard Pass almost to Como. It should be said, however, that the inhabitants of Ticino, though they speak the language of Italy, are in no wise anxious to return to her. The Irredentists on the other hand, who look upon this part of the country with longing eyes, are a strong party in Italy and are numerous in Ticino. Trieste is another province that the Irredentists would like to see returned to Italy. The Italians in this part of the Austrian territory are in the majority of the population only on the seacoast. In 1889 the estate of an Italian who died in Trieste was taken possession of by the Austrian officials. This caused extreme jealousy on the part of the Irredentists in that city, and was followed by much more stringent measures of repression against them, taken by the Austria-Hungarian Government. . . .

"A report upon the agricultural state of the country, ordered by the Parliament in 1877, had shown that the profits of farming were steadily declining and that the difficulties of successful agriculture were increasing. Disease of silk worms contributed to render the production of silk small, and blight had fallen upon the fruits and vines. Importation of silk and rice had lowered the prices of these commodities. Harder than all this to bear was the enormous taxation upon land. Twenty-two different kinds of taxes were levied upon land, and these were, in Northern Italy, more than could be borne, the chief burden being the municipal tax, sometimes nearly ten times as much as the State tax. In the province of Cremona an instance of excessive taxation showed an assessment of more than one-half the revenue of the property. Bread riots occurred in Milan



in 1886, and much damage was done to shops and other buildings by workmen, who thus protested against the new *octroi* duties. . . .

"In 1893 the peasantry in Sicily arose. Sicily, though one of the most fertile regions of the world, and for so many centuries the source of the grain supply of the Roman Empire, was at this time so mismanaged as to produce almost nothing, and the poor people were starving to death. Here again the taxes added to the burdens, and profits were annihilated by the number of hands through which every commodity had to pass. The uprising in Sicily finally assumed such grave proportions that the soldiers were called out and several war vessels were placed in the harbor of Palermo. A state of siege was kept up in Palermo. The following year all Sicily was under martial law, and the insurrection passed over to Calabria, Ancona and Lombardy on the mainland, and took the form of violent attacks upon the quarters of the military. As this movement was on the point of spreading over the whole of Italy, it was successfully checked by the royal authorities. This just saved the deposition of royalty for the establishment of a republic in Italy. In 1895 the condition of the Sicilian peasants was no better. Their burdens were heavier and their strength to bear them less. The sulphur and pyrites mines, which had given employment before to numerous miners, had now to be left unworked, the products being driven out of the market by the importation of these minerals from America. This drove the miners to the fields, which could not afford subsistence to the peasants already engaged there. In 1896 the people of Sardinia were suffering as badly as the Sicilians. They were forced to eat grass, and were at the same time hounded by the tax-gatherers; so that they were driven to either one of two evils, emigration, or, in case of failure in that direction, to crime. In other parts of Italy brigandage had revived. A German Prince was robbed by the brigands even at the outskirts of the imperial city. . . .

"Cleft in twain by the two irreconcilable elements headed by the King and the Pope, administered by a corrupt corps of public officials, which has even contaminated the banking system of the country, the people ground down to the earth by oppressive and unjust taxation, labor unable to get its proper remuneration even by a strong protection of native industries, bitter feelings against France, and, among the Irredentists, against Austria, and the wounds of her African campaigns still fresh, Italy presents a pitiable spectacle. What wonder that her subjects emigrate, and are even encouraged thereto by the government? Of national excitement there is too much, and of true patriotism too little. The rich in many cases either do not understand or deliberately ignore the condition of the poor. Anarchism has daily to be put down by the gov-

ernment, and socialism is steadily increasing. To some minds it is only a question of time when the constitutional monarchy will give place to an Italian Republic."

Now as to the position in the matter of popular education: The latest reliable return we have to hand is one for the years 1895-1899, prepared for the United States Government by Professor Alessandro Oldrini, and embodied in the Education Commissioner's Report for that year. After a pompous prologue, he says:

"So soon as the peninsula, through the holocaust of 45,000 lives, lost all along the Via Crucis of her martyrdom, and the (for her) ruinous expense of \$300,000,000, could proclaim her independence from foreign rule, the first national census was ordered (1861). Although an initial measure, difficult therefore and incomplete in its methods and results, that very first census brought to light the manifold moral and material evils of which the once glorious land had become a helpless victim.

"In certain districts of Central and Southern Italy it was then found that illiteracy had reached the average of two-thirds of the entire population, Reggio di Calabria and Catania furnishing the amazing proportion of 93 per cent. of illiterates.

"Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio, one of modern Italy's most brilliant statesmen, artist and scholar, summed up the abnormal situation thus revealed by the figures of the first Italian census of public instruction and other vital matters in these memorable words: 'Italy is made; we must now make the Italians.'"

Under a law passed in 1877 education became compulsory. What has been effected since, after a vast expenditure of money? Here are the latest tables on percentages of illiteracy:

Northern Italy.....	40.86
Central Italy.....	64.61
Southern Italy.....	83.52
Insular Italy.....	80.92

This was the position in 1888. Nine years later (July, 1897) the Hon. G. L. Pecile, in a speech before the Italian Senate, summed up the whole situation in these words: "Out of 8,253 communes, only 1,800 have an elementary superior course, 6,453 having only the first course of three classes. Of the 2,166,497 registered pupils, only 412,000 reach the third year—that is, one-fifth—and of these only 176,351 (according to the statistics for 1893-1894), or eight per cent., graduate. It appears natural, therefore, that from the category of non-graduates come almost all the forty per cent. of illiterates at the time of their enlistment in the army, or twenty per cent.

in Northern Italy and fifty-seven up to sixty-three per cent. in the islands of Sardinia and Sicily; and as delinquency and illiteracy go together, this last island has the record for both in Italy."

This is the superficial position: what lies beneath, on the social side of this dark picture? We shall quote one piece of testimony out of several given in the report—and all that we have quoted is from the official reports:

"From a letter of the 'provveditore' of Campobasso (Southern Italy), accompanying the report of the inspector of his province: 'The laws of 1878 and 1888, providing for the construction of new buildings suitable for schools and for the repair of existing ones, found the communal authorities of this province reluctant. The commune of Casa Calenda only (and there are 133 communes in the province) has built a good schoolhouse. Many of the buildings that are now in use for school purposes should be absolutely given up, hygiene, pedagogy and morals imperiously requiring it.' A special law seems to be necessary to that end, as in the rural communes 'there is not a single case of decent premises that could contain fifty to seventy pupils;' and this, in certain instances, notwithstanding the good disposition of the municipalities themselves. The inspectors of Oristano (Sardinia): 'In most of our communes the schools are in unhealthy hamlets, are without a ceiling or a floor.'"

There are many more reports of a similar kind—several of them positively nauseating in their revelations as to unsanitary conditions. All these reports are official. What would have been the character of the comments that would have arisen from the British press were such an indictment possible with regard to the condition of the Papal States fifty years ago? It is not difficult to guess. The cup of Papal misgovernment would have been pronounced to be filled to the overflowing point.

We have given some testimony from Italian governmental sources concerning educational "progress" in "United Italy" under the great liberating régime of Savoy. We may now turn to another authority to learn what was the state of general education in the Papal States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Comte de Tournon, Prefect of Rome under Napoleon (1810-1814), summarized it thus in an official report (Paris, 1831), as follows:

"Elementary instruction is afforded to the people of the Roman States with a liberality such as few countries can boast of: in the city of Rome alone eight schools, kept by the religious congregations 'Scholarum Piarum' and 'Somaschi,' fifty-two schools, called 'regionare,' or district, for boys, and an equal number for girls, are opened to the poor, some gratis, and the rest for a fee of about two

frances a month. In the country towns and villages there are masters paid by the municipal fund, who teach reading, writing and arithmetic; so that not a single child need remain deprived of the first elements of education."

This was written of conditions that prevailed nearly a hundred years ago. Since the "unification" the infidel and the followers of "L'Asino" have become the schoolmasters in Rome. What will be the moral, social and intellectual condition of the inhabitants a generation or two from this date, if no change take place in the political situation, we may well shudder to surmise. But it is day after day becoming clear to those who are capable of thinking and comparing, and estimating the future from the past, that the Papacy is indispensable to the moral welfare and the material welfare, as well as the spiritual needs, of the world.

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## THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE POETS—A STUDY IN OPTIMISM.

HOMER, VIRGIL AND OSSIAN.

INTEREST in matters eschatological is not at white heat in our day; people are concerned with the present rather than with the future, with this world rather than with the world to come. And yet there is nothing more distinctively human than curiosity concerning the life after death. The savage, the barbarian and the so-called civilized races have all had something to say on this important subject. Philosophers have philosophized and poets have rhapsodized about it. And all that has been said is worth our careful consideration. But the poets have a special right to be heard, for the poet, as Plato tells us, is a holy and a winged thing. He is a seer, a prophet, the inspired revealer of worlds unseen. Homer and Virgil required Olympus, earth and the underworld as a setting for their great epics; Dante needed the Inferno, the Purgatorio and the Paradiso; Milton, though blind, wandered through hell, chaos and the empyrean. Ossian, Goethe, Tennyson, Browning, Newman—all these have given us glimpses of other worlds than ours. For the poets are of those who really believe in personal immortality; they are not afraid to call their souls their own. They are convinced that the universe is ultimately spiritual.

From a study of the eschatological systems of the poets various

inferences might be drawn, but there are two corollaries that stand out as especially obvious and important:

First. That without revelation the human mind is incapable of completing the broken arc that we call human life. Man-made eschatologies are unsatisfactory.

Second. That the world has advanced with the centuries in its interpretation of revelation and in its conception of the life after death. That whatever may be the indications of retrogression along other lines, in this one at least there has been marked progress. In this respect at least the world is growing better. And so to the main title, "The Eschatology of the Poets," I have added the subtitle, "A Study in Optimism."

I have taken Homer as typical of the Greek mind absolutely pagan; Virgil as representative of the Roman mind, softened and enlightened by the approach of "the fullness of time" and by stray gleams of the Messianic prophecies; Ossian as a connecting link between paganism and Christianity; Dante as the exponent of mediæval Catholicity; Tennyson as an example of a modern English non-Catholic, reverent but unable to choose between theism, pantheism and agnosticism; Browning as another type of modern English non-Catholic, eclectic, theistic, almost mystic, and, finally, Newman, a modern English Catholic, recognizing the claims of divine justice and trusting the pledge of divine mercy; keenly alive to the validity of the dogmatic teaching authority of the Church, and delicately sensitive to the faintest whisperings of the Holy Spirit in individual souls—the highest type of orthodox mystic, a Catholic saint.

A nation utters its inner self through its poets. The historian merely records its events; the statesman merely proclaims its interests; the scientist merely examines its facts. But the poet, and here we include the theologian, whether he be pagan augur or Celtic druid or Catholic priest, speaks out of its inner consciousness, revealing the depths of its spiritual life. What reply does Hellas make to the endlessly recurring questions of the human heart? What can Hellas tell us of life beyond the ivory gate? Homer, whether he be as Goethe and Gladstone believed, "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," or as Wolf would persuade us, a multitudinous series of ballad singers, is surely the spokesman of the "glory that was Greece." The eleventh and twenty-fourth books of the *Odyssey* open to us the eschatology of the keenest and subtlest race that ever thought, wrote and chiseled. But it was a nation unenlightened by revelation, and we shall see the grossness of even the superfine intelligence of man, illumined by natural religion only.

This unseen world, as conceived by Homer, is divided into three

parts. First, there is the Elysian Plain on the border of the world, freshened by zephyrs from Oceanus, a place of elemental calm, untroubled by violent winds or rain or snow; a place of fruit and flowers and pleasant, toilless existence. Rhadamanthus rules this plain, and the happy wanderers in its meads of asphodel have never tasted death. Then there is the underworld proper, the general receptacle for human spirits after death. Access to it lies in the far East, near the Ocean River, a full day's sail from the Euxine, in the country of the cloud-wrapped Cimmerians. There Minos holds sway, ruling as king in a world of shadows. Finally, there is a sub-Hadean region, Tartarus, a realm as far below Hades as Hades is below the earth. Thither it is that Zeus hurls refractory members of the heavenly court. There are to be found Iapetos, Kronos and the older gods of Greece. There, far from the sun's bright rays, are the Titans, their huge forms heaving restlessly in the glooms of those nether depths. The dividing line between Hades and Tartarus was never very clearly defined, but we may say in general that while the former is for mortals, good, bad and indifferent, the latter was for deposed or condemned immortals.

It is with Hades, the place reserved for human spirits after death, that we are especially concerned. Nowhere in Homer does it receive a territorial name. It is always referred to simply as the abode of Hades, or of Hades and Persephone. It is represented as a chill, dark, dreary region, a loathsome place, abhorred by the very gods. Although Minos administers justice in its dismal courts, the shades are in general under no penal infliction. Three cases only are mentioned as cases of actual imposed suffering—those of Tityos, on whom the vulture preys; Tantalos, who stands up to the chin in a lake of cool water with thirst unslaked, and Gisyphus, who “with infinite moan tries to upheave the massy stone that ever backward slides.” But even these are held by many ancient, as well as modern, authorities to be non-Homeric, perhaps Orphic interpolations. For the Greeks had no conception of sin in the Scriptural sense of the word; they shifted the blame for wrongdoing to Ate or Fate. This is the reason we find so little remorse, so little development of the idea of penitence in Homer. Under the circumstances there could be no reward for the good, no punishment for the wicked. It is Hades for all, good and bad alike. “Is there hope?” we ask. From dead heroes comes the mournful response, “None!” “Are there no joys?” The gore-thirsty spectres pause to answer, “Yes, the possibility of drinking the sacrificial blood and recalling past delights and past affections.”

In the *Odyssey* we read how Odysseus of the many counsels, crafty Odysseus of Ithaca, weary through much wandering, begins

to long for home, for his wife, Penelope, and his son, Telemachus. But Circe had told him that the way home led through Hades; that he must consult Tiresias, the blind prophet of the underworld, if he would again see Ithaca and the Grecian towers. He sets forth, therefore, with his companions, and for a whole day sails from the palace of the sorceress with a north wind. At sunset he comes to the boundary of the ocean, where the Cimmerians dwell in clouds and darkness and perpetual night. There he goes ashore, digs a trench, pours certain libations and offers sacrifice to the gods. He then calls upon the dead to appear, and awaits their coming. Soon the shades appear, athirst for the sacrificial blood. Odysseus tries to repel them with his sword until Tiresias shall have drunk his fill and revealed the will of the gods. But Elpenor, a companion of Odysseus, presses forward. This Elpenor was a vulgar craven who had lost his life by falling from the ship in a fit of intoxication. He implores the tribute of a tear and a tomb on the surrounding shore. Then Tiresias comes forth, Tiresias the great Theban seer, Tiresias the virtuous, Tiresias beloved of Minerva and favored by the gods, Tiresias who understood the language of birds and flowers and disembodied spirits—Tiresias here in the same dungeon with Elpenor, the graceless wine-drinker, who, all unmarked by his companions, fell from the masted ship down to the regions of the strengthless dead. Tiresias forecasts the future for Odysseus, gives him the necessary directions for his safe homecoming, explains that only those spirits that drink the sacrificial blood can recall the past and then vanishes into the gloomy grottoes of the dead.

Then Odysseus waves his sword and permits the shades to approach the gore. As soon as they have drunk they recognize him and speak with him. All tell the same tale: Any kind of life here on earth would be pleasanter than their shadowy, unreal existence. Anticlea, the mother of the hero, drinks and then asks:

How is it, O my son, that you alive  
These deadly, darksome regions underlive?

Three times the son advances to embrace his mother, and three times she dissolves into thin air. Then, bewailing her fate, she urges him to leave the underworld in all haste and to return to the sunlight and the land of the living.

Achilles drinks, and straightway asks how any mortal could be found willing to descend into the sad realms of Pluto. Odysseus answers:

I was induced to invade  
These under parts, most excellent of Greece,  
To visit wise Tiresias for advice  
Of virtue to direct my voyage home  
To rugged Ithaca. . . .

Thou, Thetis' son,  
Hast equalled all that ever yet have won  
The bliss the earth yields, or hereafter shall.  
In life thy eminence was adored of all,  
Even with the gods; and now, tho' dead, I see  
Thy virtues propagate thy empery  
To a renewed life of command beneath;  
So great Achilles triumphs over death.

But Achilles answers:

Urge not my death to me, nor rub that wound;  
I rather wish to live on earth a swain,  
Or serve a swain for hire, that scarce can gain  
Bread to sustain him, than, that life once gone,  
Of all the dead sway the imperial throne.

This is the universal testimony. To be sure, Minos bears a golden sceptre and mighty Orion drives his herds as of old, the herds he slaughtered in other days on the hills of earth. But these are shadows, too. Who would care to carry the shadow of a sceptre or to drive mist-wrapped flocks over sunless fields?

The cosmogony implied in all this is just the sort that might be expected from a reading of Hesiod and a study of the Greek theogony; the theodicy, just the sort that would be demanded by "that motley crew of the gods of old," as Goethe calls them. Such a crew! These so-called gods not only contend with men, but also quarrel among themselves. Diomedes wounds Aphrodite, the foam-born, and the ichor flows. Athene barely escapes the lance of Ares, and immediately retaliates by flinging a stone that lays the god of war sprawling in the dust. Besides, there is scarcely an immortal that is not outwitted and made ridiculous either by gods or men. Hera is hung up in mid-air by the great wielder of thunderbolts himself, and Hephaistos, her son, is hurled from heaven by the same august deity. For a whole day he spins through empty space, until at nightfall Semnos receives him, or what remains of him. Thereafter he goes limping through the heavenly courts and sets the blessed gods al laughing. Physically as well as mentally, the Olympians are below par as divinities. They do not see or hear any too well. They seem to hear only when spoken to. When they move from place to place, they mount steeds or ride chariots. Even Hermes needs his sandals, and Zeus slides earthward in a shower of gold.

As for moral goodness, no deed is too dark, no depth too deep for the gods of Hellas. No wonder that Plato in his ideal republic found no place for Homer and his motley crew; no wonder he thought it better to banish the poets than to be burdened by such deities.

But centuries passed—eight or nine of them—and then, seventy



years before the birth of Prince Peaceful, Virgil appeared upon the scene. He was born in Northern Italy, near Mantua, in what was then Cisalpine Gaul. From his childhood he loved Epicurus and Plato, and at one time vowed to devote himself entirely to the study of philosophy. Perhaps in later years, when he was weary of courts and courtiers, he often regretted that he had not kept that youthful vow. He was modest to rusticity, sensitive to a fault; a man of books, as Horace was a man of the world. He never could arrange his toga to suit the votaries of fashion, and he always wore shoes too large for his feet. In an age of unrest and unbelief he tried to harmonize the new knowledge with the old faith, and such attempts were as difficult then as now. In short, he was a poet and a philosopher, or perhaps it would be sufficient to say simply he was a philosopher. For the poet, when he leans on truth, is a philosopher, Plato tells us, and Virgil always leaned on truth.

The time was drawing near to Christ. Hebrew prophecies had drifted into Greece with Alexander the Great, and thence had floated into Rome. Clearer expectations of a coming Messiah had traveled westward in the train of events that followed Pompey's subjugation of Syria. The air was growing softer, the vision clearer. It was not yet the full aurora, but all the eastern hills were white with promise. Out of the purple half-lights of that early mornbreak came Virgil singing a new song, at first wavering and uncertain, but at last clear and steady and thrillingly prophetic of the dawn. As early as the pontificate of St. Marcellinus the Martyr Constantine had read the Fourth Eclogue to a council of Bishops, and decided that Christ was the hero of the poem. Through all the succeeding centuries Virgil has been regarded by some as a magician, by others as a saint. In the primitive days of the Church his verses were engraved in the catacombs, along with the cross and the monogram of our Lord. In the Middle Ages he was painted into pictures of the Nativity with David and the prophets. In the fourteenth century Dante chose him as his guide through the nether world. We all remember the words with which the great Florentine addressed him on his first appearance:

And art thou then that Virgil, that well-spring  
From which such copious floods of eloquence  
Have issued?  
Glory and delight of all the tuneful train,  
May it avail me that I long with zeal  
Have sought thy volume, and with love immense  
Have conn'd it o'er, my master thou and guide.

And in the nineteenth century our own Tennyson sings:

I salute thee, Mantovano,  
I that loved thee since my day began,  
Wieler of the stateliest measure  
Ever moulded by the lips of man.

It is in the fifth and sixth books of the *Æneid* that *Æneas* makes his descent into *Avernus*. How much is *Homer*? How much *Virgil*? In the fifth book the shade of *Anchises* appears to "pious *Æneas*"—*Æneas* is almost too "pious" for our modern taste—and addresses him thus:

Note in this extract that the Homeric divisions of the unseen world are retained—we have Elysium, Avernus, or Hades, and Tartarus. Inasmuch Virgil follows Homer. But note, too, that Virgil does not exalt the body as Homer does. Anchises is not a mere shadow. His soul dwells in Elysian courts and enjoys the conversation of the good and wise. This is a Virgilian innovation, or is it an echo from the dialogues of Plato, an intimation of a blessed immortality preserved from those early years so eagerly consecrated to philosophy and the things of the mind?

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that Juno will finally be won over unalterably to the cause of the Trojans. The Sybil then informs Æneas that no one can enter the lower world without the golden bough sacred to Juno, to be taken as a gift to Proserpina. The hero, guided by the doves of Venus, penetrates into a dense woods and secures the branch. Then he offers sacrifice to the gods and, accompanied by the Sybil, enters the realms of the dead. They pass together through the woes of Avernus and hear the moans and horrid shrieks that rise from the depths of Tartarus. Finally they reach Elysium, where they meet the good and great of all former ages—poets and heroes, priests and patriots. Here they deposit the golden branch, as commanded by the oracle. Then they meet Anchises, who explains to them the laws and mysteries of nature and foretells the future of Æneas and of his descendants. As they wander together over the Elysian Plain they come to the two gates of sleep—one of horn, the other of shining ivory. Here Anchises bids Æneas and the Sybil farewell and dismisses them through the ivory portal.

This whole book is a distinct advance upon Homer. There is a definite graduation of reward and punishment. There is Tartarus, a place of torment and suffering, through whose black caverns wander "all the faint, unhappy hosts of hell;" there is Elysium, an abode described as

Full of joy, delightful, green,  
Through woodlands fortunate spread and happy seats  
A freer air here clothed the fields, a light  
That purple glowed. A sun its own, and stars  
Its own, it had.

And, finally, there is Avernus, a sort of middle state, where certain souls suffer for a time before entering the Elysian Fields. Here, as in Homer, Minos rules, but in addition he

Moves the urn and calls  
The silent jury and inquires of lives  
And crimes and true indictments hears and weighs.

As soon as we have a just judge and "true indictments" life takes on a deeper meaning, the ethical circle becomes complete. A theory of good and evil can be constructed; the freedom of the human will can be assumed; mind can be postulated as the ruling force in the cosmos. This is just what we find in Virgil. For while Fate is mentioned seventy-nine times as a controlling power in human affairs, yet the gods are always superior to it, and even man may overturn its blind decrees. In the Second Georgic we read:

Happy the man whose mind the causes grasps  
From which depend all things we see or know,  
And who beneath his feet hath placed all fear  
And with it fate, inexorable fate.

It is noteworthy, too, that Anchises in his Elysian speech to Æneas

explicitly states that it is mind, an intelligent mind, that moves the universe. He says:

The heaven, at first, and earth and watery fields,  
The moon's bright globe and the Titanian stars,  
An inward Spirit feeds, and, poured throughout  
All parts and particles, there doth exist  
A Mind intelligent which moves the mass  
And mingles with the body vast of things.

This "mind intelligent" may be another reminiscence of Virgil's Platonic studies. Indeed, I think it would not be difficult to prove that Virgil's debt to the author of the *Dialogues* was as great, if not greater, than his debt to Homer. A little further on in his speech Anchises explains that souls return to earth and live again in the body by a process of cyclic transmigration. This is distinctly an Aristoclean tradition. Anchises says:

Each soul its own doth suffer. And therefrom  
Through wide Elysium we are sent. A few  
The happy fields retain until long time,  
A cycle full, the ingrained stain hath cleansed,  
And pure hath left that heavenly tone divine,  
That fiery vigor, full as unmix'd air,  
It once received. Then all, when hath revolved  
The wheeling circle of a thousand years,  
A god calls forth in mighty band, the shore  
Of Lethe's stream upon, that they, of naught  
The memory having kept, again may see  
The upper world, and may to take once more  
A bodily form be well content and pleased.

"A mind intelligent" back of nature; free will as the basis of human conduct; moral evil or sin the only real evil; death but a transition—a happy one for the just man; judgment, slow perhaps, but none the less sure; certain reward for the good, certain punishment for the wicked; this is the general scheme of Virgil's eschatology. It is an eclectic system. Through it we catch glimpses of the rustic deities of the Roman peasant and bits of popular superstition; into it are woven the gods and goddesses of the Homeric theogony, and occasionally there are hints of foreign divinities, as, for instance, the mention of the Phrygian goddess Cybele. Here we have them all again—"that motley crew of the gods of old." And Virgil does the best he can with them. In the first place, he introduces them far more sparingly than Homer; they interfere less in the affairs of men. Jove has become juster; Juno gentler. Somehow the crew has been changed into an hierarchy. When the Virgilian gods come together they form a dignified assemblage. Jupiter enjoys unquestioned primacy and presides with true Roman majesty. It is evident that with all Virgil's talk of gods and goddesses he had his misgivings in favor of monotheism.

And yet Virgil is often classified as a pantheist, and inference based on his insistence upon one mind as the moving force in the universe. But pantheism is non-ethical in its implications—it makes

no distinction between good and evil—and Virgil is first, last and always a moralist. He is nothing if not ethical. He wrote always with a keen sense of responsibility for his writing, with a definite determination to make reason and the will of God prevail. He felt that the times were out of joint and saw the hopelessness of trying to set them right. And yet he put himself resolutely to the task. To the worldly he sang of unworldliness; to the selfish and hard-hearted of mercy for the weak and tenderness for the down-trodden; to all of “a higher life than this daily one, and a brighter world than that we see.” His works were published under the patronage of the Emperor and had an immense circulation. Of their influence we may judge by comparing the age of Augustus with the age of the Antonines, Cicero with Marcus Aurelius. There was a vast difference, and the difference was due in great part to Master Virgil.

Along about the middle of the eighteenth century James Macpherson, a young schoolmaster from Inverness, published a small volume entitled “Fragments of Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language.” An immense interest was at once excited among the literati of Scotland. Forthwith at a dinner of professors and antiquarians, it was resolved to institute a search for further poetic remains and a subscription was voted for the purpose. Upon inquiry the author of the “Fragments” was found likely to prove the most suitable candidate for the undertaking. The quest was committed to him, and two years later he published his prose translation of the poems of Ossian.

Ossian was an ancient Gaelic bard whose songs had been sung for centuries on all the Scottish Highlands and at every Irish hearthside. Macpherson simply collected and translated those tales of the times of old. But the way of the translator is hard. The blameless pedagogue soon found himself and his two volumes the centre of a literary storm which was to last for over a century. No one seemed to be able to decide whether Macpherson was the Homer or the Pisistratus of the Ossianic Sagas. A thunderbolt from Dr. Johnson came first, as might have been expected. The so-called poems, he said, were not poems at all, but so much bombast and fustian. When Blair asked him whether he thought any modern could have written Fingal or Temora, he replied: “Yes, sir; many men, many women and many children.” A momentary calm succeeded; the great man had spoken. Then some one suggested that Scotland, in claiming Ossian, was stealing Irish laurels. The Irish at once took up the matter and opined that if anything of merit or originality could be found in Macpherson’s translation, it was Irish, of course; if not, it was Scottish beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

But darker clouds were gathering. The opinion was becoming general that the "Fragments" and the two later volumes were out and out literary forgeries. At this point Gray broke into the discussion to say that Macpherson was either the very demon of poetry or he had in truth lighted upon a treasure hid for ages. Later on Wordsworth read the volumes and registered his verdict thus: "The spirit of Ossian was glorious, but Macpherson's Ossian is trash." Napoleon, Goethe, Herder and Schiller sided with Gray; they were ready to admire Ossian or Macpherson as the case might require. But not until 1862—a full century after the opening of the controversy—was the question of authenticity finally settled. In that year a collection made by James Macgregor and known as the "Book of the Dean of Lismore" was given to the world and the Caledonian schoolmaster was formally, though somewhat tardily, acquitted. From that collection made in the sixteenth century and from certain investigations conducted by the Highland Society, it became evident that such poetry as that published by Macpherson had been in actual existence in Scotland for centuries. Henceforth it would be impossible to declare the translation altogether spurious. It turned out in the end that Wordsworth was the only one who had hit upon the truth in the matter. He was right about the spirit of Ossian and right about the style of Macpherson. The one was glorious; the other trash.

The bard of the glorious spirit belongs to the latter half of the third century. We know that he was the son of the hero Fionn and the father of the brave Oscar. We know that he survived all his kindred, and that he found himself alone in the world, blind, forlorn and bowed with years. One only solace remained to him—Malvina, the betrothed of his dead son. Then it was that the past became more vivid than the present. Then it was that the blind bard raised his voice and sang the glories of other days and the immortal deeds of heroes that were no more. He lived in a period of transition, an age of waning faith and half-hearted enthusiasms. No more did the Archdruid go forth to the capstone of the Cromlech leading a white-robed procession and followed by a throng of reverent worshippers; no more did he raise the golden sickle and cut from the oak, symbol of deity, the mistletoe, emblem of man. Druidism was dead. In its deserted rock-caverns dwelt the priests of an unknown God, and through its sacred oak groves came the mysterious accents of a strange ritual and a new faith. Ossian belongs neither to the old order nor to the new; he is the connecting link between Druidism and Christianity.

The Druids had some fairly definite notions concerning the life after death; the Christians had Revelation and could see as through

a glass darkly. But Ossian is all fog and mist and cloud. He has no theogony; there is very little divine machinery in his poems. If there are any gods, they go their ways in peace, and man is left to go his in peacelessness. Some commentators think that the Spirit of Loda represents the spirit of nature or the universe and is identical with the Odin of Scandinavia. But Loda himself is nothing but a ghost. In the poem *Cath-Loda*, Starno and Swaran consult this spirit concerning the issue of the battle with Fingal. Together the two warriors seek a mossy covert near the foaming course of a spring. There from the top of a dark cloud peers a ghost half formed of shadowy smoke. A voice comes forth and mingles with the roar of the waters. Bending low under a blasted rock the two heroes receive his words. In another poem, "*Carric-Thura*," Fingal has an encounter with this same spirit. He cleaves it with his spear and defies its prophecies. In Macpherson's translation we read:

"A blast came from the mountain; on its wings was the spirit of Loda. He came to his place in his terrors and shook his dusky spear. His eyes appear like flames in his dark face; his voice is like distant thunder. Fingal advanced his spear in the night and raised his voice on high: 'Son of night, retire; call thy winds and fly! Why dost thou come to my presence with thy shadowy arms? Do I fear thy gloomy form, spirit of dismal Loda? Weak is thy shield of clouds, feeble is that meteor, thy sword! The blast rolls them together, and thou thyself art lost. Fly from my presence, son of night! Call thy winds and fly!'

"'Dost thou force me from my place?' replied a hollow voice. 'The people bend before me. I turn the battle in the field of the brave. I look on the nations and they vanish; my nostrils pour the blast of death. I come abroad on the winds; the tempests are before my face. But my dwelling is calm above the clouds; the fields of my rest are pleasant.'

"'Dwell in thy peaceful fields,' said Fingal. 'Do my steps ascend from my fields into thy peaceful plains? Do I meet thee with a spear on thy cloud, Spirit of dismal Loda? Why then dost thou frown on me? Why shake thine airy spear? Thou frownest in vain. I never fled from the mighty in war and shall the sons of the wind frighten the King of Morven? No; he knows the weakness of their arms.'

"'Fly to thy land,' replied the form. 'Receive the wind and fly! The blasts are in the hollow of my hand; the course of the streams is mine. The King of Gora is my son; he bends at the stone of my power. His battle is around Carric-Thura, and he will prevail. Fly to thy land, son of Cromhal, or feel my flaming wrath!'

"He lifted high his shadowy spear. He bent forward his dread-

ful height. Fingal, advancing, drew his sword, the blade of dark brown Luno. The gleaming path of the steel winds through the gloomy ghost. The form fell shapeless into air, like a column of smoke, which the staff of the boy disturbs as it rises from the half extinguished furnace. The Spirit of Loda shrieked, as rolled into himself he rose on the wind."

This seems to be Ossian's nearest approach to a god, but a god that shrieks and "rolls into himself," undone by a single spear thrust, and that from a mortal, is little better than no god at all.

Of death and the dead Ossian speaks often and always in the same strain. Misty Loda in the billowy bay of Uthorno receives the spirits of the departed and is in general the official residence of the dead. There in his cloudy halls Cruth-Loda of the swords presides and hands the sounding shells to the advancing ridges of formless shades. They take a melancholy pleasure in drinking from the hollow shells, in conversing with the friends of their youth and in knowing that great is their fame in the land of the living. But the ghosts of Ossian are seldom at home. They wander at will over the hills of earth; they slide on moonbeams, hang on clouds and ride on the whistling blasts. As dim phantoms of the air, they appear to friend or foe, to warn or threaten, to promise victory or to foretell disaster. In the epic poem "Fingal," the ghost of Crugal, an Irish hero slain in battle, appears to Connal to foretell the defeat of Cuthullin and to urge that peace be made with Swaran. The whole episode, even in the translation, is worth noting:

"Connal lay by the sound of the mountain stream," we read, "beneath an aged tree. A stone with its moss supported his head. Shrill through the heath of Lena, he heard the voice of night. At a distance from the heroes he lay; the son of the sword feared no foe. The hero beheld in his rest a dark red stream of fire rushing down the hill. Crugal sat upon the beam, a chief who fell in fight. He fell by the hand of Swaran, striving in the battle of heroes. His face is like the beam of the setting moon. His robes are of the clouds of the hill. His eyes are two decaying flames. Dark is the wound in his breast. 'Crugal,' said the mighty Connal, 'why so pale and sad, thou breaker of the shields? Thou hast never been pale from fear! What disturbs the departed Crugal?' Dim and in tears he stood and stretched his pale hand over the hero. Faintly he raised his feeble voice like the gale of a reedy river:

"My spirit, Connal, is on my hills; my corse on the sands of Erin. Thou shalt never find the lone steps of Crugal on the heath. I am light as the blast of Cromla. I move like the shadow of mist. Connal, son of Colgar, I see a cloud of death; it hovers dark over the plain of Lena. The sons of green Erin must fall. Remove



from the field of ghosts.' Like the darkened moon he retired in the midst of the whistling blast. 'Stay,' said the mighty Connal, 'stay, my dark red friend. . . . What cave is thy lonely house? What green-headed hill the place of thy repose? Shall we not hear thee in the storm? In the noise of the mountain stream? When the feeble sons of the wind come forth and scarcely see pass over the desert?'

"The soft-voiced Connal rose in the midst of his sounding arms. He struck his shield above Cuthullin. The son of battle waked. 'Why,' said the ruler of the car, 'comes Connal through my night? My spear might turn against the sound and Cuthullin mourn the death of a friend. Speak, Connal; thy counsel is the sun of heaven.' 'Son of Semo,' replied the chief, 'the ghost of Crugal came from his cave. The stars dim-twinkled through his form. His voice was like the sound of a distant stream. He is a messenger of death. He speaks of the dark and narrow house. Sue for peace, O chief of Erin, or fly over the heath of Lena.'"

Could anything be more weird and eerie, more fearsome or awe-inspiring than that one line, "The stars dim-twinkled through his form?" Cuthullin listens, but remains unmoved. "I fear not death; to fly I fear," he replies, and goes forth to battle. But Cuthullin is defeated and Crugal's prophecy is fulfilled.

Ossian, like Homer, has no conception of sin in the scriptural sense of the word. But he loves virtue for its own sake. Unfaithfulness to friend, to loved one or to country is considered deep perfidy; fairness and generosity to all, even to enemies, is considered noble and magnanimous. Where the ethical standard is thus high one would expect a system of sanctions—happiness for the righteous, pain and remorse for the unrighteous. But Ossian is silent on this point. His shades weep and sigh, but it is over the defeat of earthly friends; they exult and are glad, but it is over the downfall of their enemies. As Connal tells us in the second book of "Fingal:" "Ghosts fly on clouds and ride on winds. They rest together in their caves and talk of mortal men." This earth seems to be their chief concern, even after death. If there is any distinction in bliss it is in favor of the victorious warrior. In misty Loda, Cruth-Loda of swords "offers the sounding shells to those who shone in arms; but between him and the feeble his shield rises, a darkened orb. He sets meteors to the weak in arms." Weakness is held in contempt always. The principal objection to being a ghost is that ghosthood implies unsubstantiality and general strengthlessness. The dead are a feeble, weak-kneed race. Even the Spirit of Loda, the king of them all, falls powerless under the onset of Fingal and sinks out of sight shrieking in anything but kingly fashion.

But apart from this inconvenient shadowiness the ghosts of Ossian are happy in their own way. Their misty halls and cloud-capped hills are a great improvement upon the underworld of Homer. Even the Virgilian heroes might be glad to exchange imprisonment in Elysium for the freedom of the highland hills. What self-respecting ghost would choose to be confined in one place, even if that place were Elysium? And what is the use of being disembodied if the limitations of space are to be as binding as ever?

This is about all that can be said of the eschatology of Ossian. After the most careful scrutiny, his system remains tantalizingly vague and obscure. His theories are as elusive as his ghosts. We seek something definite and tangible, and find only the gray of highland mists and the purple of the heatherbloom. There are no gods, unless perhaps the spirit of dismal Loda be one; there is no conception of sin as an infraction of a law, but evil is hated for its ugliness and virtue is loved for its exceeding beauty. The life after death is too unreal and impalpable to be desirable, though the ghosts seem to enjoy it after a fashion. That is about all we can say. Of a Paradise or an Elysium, Ossian gives no hint. But he must have been familiar with the tradition of a Tir-na-n-Og, an island of the blessed, far out in the storm-tossed Atlantic, a happy land far off to westward, where death and sorrow were unknown, where joy and peace and tranquillity were perpetual. Perhaps deep in his heart he nursed a dim hope that there might be something in those dreams after all. Perhaps when the end came at last, he really did find a light canoe waiting for him, the canoe that always waits for souls that have loved righteousness and hated iniquity. Perhaps instead of following the hollow voice of the spirit of dismal Loda, he leaped into a dream-craft bound for Tir-na-n-Og and sailed away to

A land of youth, a land of rest,  
A land from sorrow free;  
A land far off in the golden west,  
On the verge of the azure sea.  
Past a sunlit strand  
To a golden land  
From druids and demons free,  
To the land of rest  
In the golden west,  
On the verge of the azure sea.

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## THE LAST EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH.

QUITE a big book might be written about the influence of woman—or, as Bismarck expressed it, “the eternal feminine”—in politics. If the part played by the sex in *la haute politique* during the nineteenth century was recounted and reviewed no inconsiderable share should be ascribed to the Empress Eugenie, although to all outward seeming the beautiful wife of Napoleon III. was more a leader of fashion than a political personage.

Those skillful or curious in drawing out analogies will note a significant similarity between the events which accompanied her entrance into the world and her exit as a dethroned Empress from the capital, in which for nineteen years she was not only the cynosure of neighboring eyes, but of eyes far and near. Her premature birth, on May 5, 1826, in the city of Granada, in Southern Spain, was preluded by an earthquake, and her hasty departure from the Tuileries in the autumn of 1870, after the crushing catastrophe of Sedan, was in the midst of the social upheaval that followed the disastrous war with Prussia, which extinguished one empire and created another beyond the Rhine.

Some, it is said, are born to greatness, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them. The daughter of the Count and Countess of Teba—afterwards known as the Count and Countess Montijo—comes under the last named category. The Spaniards, it is well known, revel in long-winded names, and customarily exhaust all the letters of the alphabet and all the saints in the calendar in lengthening out the patronimics of their offspring. Though known during her childhood as simply Eugenia Palafox, she was inscribed in the baptismal register as Maria Eugenia Ignacia Augustina, daughter of Don Cipriano Guzman Palafox y Portocarrero, Count of Teba, and of his wife, Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick y Grevigné. Of mixed race, the blood of Spain, Italy and Scotland flowed in her veins. The Palafoxes were of Aragonian origin. In the middle of the eighteenth century Don Philip, second son of the head of the family, married Dona Francisca de Sales Portocarrero y Zuniga, who among her many titles bore that of sixth Countess of Montijo, and was connected with some of the greatest houses in Spain. His two sons, Eugenio and Cipriano, were Counts respectively of Montijo and of Teba and grandees of Spain. The Portocarreros came from Genoa to Spain in the fourteenth century, while the Kirkpatrick of Closeburn traced their descent from one Ivone de Kirkpatrick early in the twelfth century, although it is claimed that the latter family had estates in Nithsdale and Annandale four hundred

years earlier, a legendary genealogy connecting them with Finn MacCumhaill, or Fingal, the son-in-law of King Cormac and general of the famed Fianna Eirinn, or ancient Irish militia, whose achievements were the themes of legend, romance and song. Ivone's grandson, who bore the same name, married a daughter of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, grandfather of the Scottish King, celebrated in Burns' martial lyric. There were two branches of the Kirkpatricks, those of Closeburn, the elder branch, and those of Kirkmichael, the younger branch, who took their distinctive name from the estate of Kirkmichael, in Dumfriesshire, bestowed upon them about 1848 by James III. The conflict between the Stuarts and the Williamites led to their connection with Spain. The Kirkpatricks were staunch adherents of the ill-fated Stuarts. Sir Thomas, of the Closeburn line, remained in Scotland after the flights of James II. and VII., but refused an earldom offered to him by William of Orange. Robert and George, of the younger branch, great-great-grandsons of Alexander, fled to Ireland, where the latter settled and founded the Irish family of Kirkpatrick, the former following Prince Charles Stuart in the perilous path of the insurrection of 1745 and paying the penalty of his patriotism and loyalty the year following, when he was beheaded. His son William married a Miss Wilson and became the father of a numerous family, one of whom, named after him, went to Spain and settled in Malaga, where he prospered as a wine and fruit merchant, and in 1791 was appointed United States Consul, marrying the daughter of another merchant settler, Henri de Grevignée, of Liège, who had taken as wife a Spanish lady, Francisca de Gallegros. His youngest daughter, Maria Manuela, who assisted him in the retail sale of his wines, captured the heart and title of Colonel Palafox, an ardent Bonapartist, who, like the Scotch lairds, was poor and proud. Though he was then only a fortuneless colonel of artillery, he was Count of Teba and inherited subsequently his brother's title of Count de Montijo and his ample means. In order to obtain King Ferdinand's consent to the union of a Spanish grandee with the daughter of a foreign trader, Don Cipriano had to procure proof from Edinburgh of his wife's claim to aristocratic descent. Her father said to his proposed son-in-law: "You trace up to King Alfonso XI.; if I trace to King Robert Bruce, I suppose His Majesty will be satisfied." A patent from the Heralds' Office at Edinburgh, certifying descent paternally from the ancient Barons of Closeburn, having been laid before the King, he laughingly exclaimed: "Let the noble Montijo marry the daughter of Fingal." Blood, it is said, will tell, and the Scotch strain in the Count of Teba was clearly discernible. While the Countess, who had been educated in Paris and who shone

as a musician, a linguist and a conversationalist and was regarded as the most cultivated woman in Spain, was fond of spending, her husband was as careful of the bawbees as any thrifty Scot. This expenditure displeased his brother, estranged from them by divergent politics, but he was won round and became godfather to her second child, named after him Eugenia, a name she was destined to make in its Frenchified form famous and popular. When, in the summer of 1834, political agitation was at white heat in Spain, massacres taking place in the streets of Madrid, and a cholera epidemic was ravaging the country, the Count sent his family for safety to France. At the age of eight the little Andalusian child, whom Washington Irving dandled on his knee when he visited Granada, first set foot in France, of which for nineteen years she was to be the Empress. In 1837 she and her elder sister, Francisca, who afterwards became Duchess of Berwick and Alba, were sent as boarders to the Convent of the Sacred Heart, in the Rue de Varennes, where they remained until their father's death, in 1839, when Eugénie was sent to a school at Clifton, near Bristol.

With an income of £4,000 a year, a house in Madrid and an estate in the country, the widowed Countess de Montijo was free to gratify her tastes as a *grande dame* and to exercise her talents as a match-maker. Having married her elder daughter Francisca to the Duke of Berwick and Alba<sup>1</sup> in 1844, she had only the younger one to dispose of, and she disposed of her to the best advantage. She is described by Prosper Mérimée at this period as "marvelously beautiful, with just that shade of hair that Titian loved." The story that she attempted to poison herself when she overheard the Duke's interview with her mother is probably apocryphal, as the closest ties of affection between the two sisters remained unbroken up to the Duchess' death. She shared in and added to her ambitious mother's social triumphs. At least three Dukes are said to have laid their coronets at her feet. She was very much in evidence. People talked of her riding in the streets of Madrid on a fiery barebacked horse, with a cigarette in her mouth; of her appearance in brilliant Andalusian costumes at bull-fights, with a whip in place of a fan in her hand and a dagger in her belt, with red satin boots on her feet and flowers and jewels in the broad golden plaits of her hair; of her presentation, in the rôle of Queen of Beauty, of the prize for the most successful toreador; of her swimming feats and her fencing. She made as great an impression on Madrid society by her vivacity and her eccentricity as by her beauty. While her mother was made *Camerara Mayor* to Queen Isabella, Eugénie was appointed maid

<sup>1</sup> James Stuart Fitzjames, eighth Duke of Berwick and fourteenth of Alba, was the descendant of one of the sons of James II. by Arabella Churchill.

of honor, but in 1847 they were deprived of their posts. The daughter is said to have expressed a wish to enter a convent, but was induced by her mother to accompany her on a European tour. One version of the incident represents Eugénie as having actually reached the convent when she was met by an old nun, who said: "My daughter, do not seek for rest within our walls; you are called to adorn a throne."

They were in London in 1848, when, it is alleged, she met for the first time the man who was to make her Empress of the French. Some antedate this first chance meeting to her childhood, when, at ten years of age, she accompanied her mother and sister on a visit to Madame Gabriel Delessert, wife of the Prefect of Police. It was the 12th of November, and on that day Louis Napoleon was brought a prisoner to the Prefect's house after the failure of the Strasburg plot, prior to his being exiled to the United States. Others make it synchronize with his return to London after Boulogne *coup de théâtre* and his escape from Ham. Filon, Prosper Mérimée's biographer, dates from the arrival of the Countess de Montijo and her daughter in Paris towards the close of 1849 the authentic history of Louis Napoleon's relations with Mdlle. de Montijo, as she was then called. It was the banker, Baron James de Rothschild, who introduced the Montijos to the Prince-President, at whose receptions at the Elysée he first fell under the witchery of the brilliantly beautiful Andalusian, who later, in her youthful enthusiasm, wrote to him before the *Coup d'Etat* of 1851, placing all her fortune at his disposal. It was the classic diction reversed. Instead of Cæsar being able to say "*Veni, vidi, vici*," it was she who came, saw and conquered Cæsar.

On the morrow of the *Coup d'Etat* Adolphe Thiers said sententiously, "*L'Empire est fait*." When, on its first anniversary, Napoleon III. began his reign, Troplong, the Premier, begged him, in the name of the Senate, to marry in order to secure the dynasty. A few months earlier, when the Senate had declined to hand over the crown jewels in its custody until the Prince-President should have married, he said: "*Je ne suis pas pressé*." If he was not in a hurry then, events soon after hastened his decision. All efforts to secure the hand of one of the numerous unmarried Princes proved abortive. The European royalties, particularly the royal houses of Northern Europe, regarded the proposed alliance as undesirable. The shadow of the Terror still brooded over France, and, remembering the fate of Marie Antoinette, they were loth to entrust any of their daughters to the insecure occupant of an insecure throne. He was in the humiliating position of a lot put up for auction for which no bidders could be found, although one or two were willing enough to take

him, like old books at a book sale, "with all faults." Religious and moral objections—though these do not appear to weigh much with royalties past or present—were raised when the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe, a niece of Queen Victoria, was suggested. Meanwhile Mdle. de Montijo, carefully "coached" by her matchmaking mother, played her cards astutely, determined to win the trick. His infatuation for the handsome Spaniard was so evident that his half-brother Morny<sup>2</sup> prophesied, "She will be Empress," a prophecy he confirmed himself, saying to Walewski, "*Mon cher, je suis pris!*" explaining that he was resolved to marry Mdle. de Montijo. He did not, however, carry out his resolution until he was "civilly declined" by the Princess Adelaide. He had taken no pains to conceal his admiration. At a hunt in Compiègne forest on December 20, 1852, he was said with difficulty to leave her side as, clothed in a close-fitting habit, with a diamond clasped ostrich feather in her hat, spurs on her high heels and a pearl-handled whip in her hand, she rode her thoroughbred horse, disdaining the ordinary ladies' saddle. During a morning walk over the still dewy lawns of Compiègne, admiring the capricious and magical effects of light, she called his particular attention to a clover leaf so gracefully hung with dewdrops as to look like a real gem. When the walk was over the Emperor drew aside Count Baccischi, who set out for Paris a few minutes later. Next day he brought back a charming trinket in the exact form of a trefoil, each of whose leaves bore a superb diamond drop. In the evening a lottery took place, in which it was arranged that the jewel should fall to her who had admired the clover on the lawns of Compiègne. On another occasion, while walking at her side, he asked her whether in her life she had ever had a serious attachment. "I should deceive you, sire," she is reported to have answered, "if I did not confess that my heart has been touched—more than once even. But I have never forgotten that I am Mdle. de Montijo." "Then, mademoiselle," said Napoleon, "you shall be Empress." She remarked that some of his guests were inclined to slight her, whereon he broke off a branch from a hedge, twisted it into a crown, and put it on her head, saying: "While you wait for the other!" On the last night of 1852, at a reception at the Tuileries, a French lady of rank made a sneering remark about "Mademoiselle de Montijo," as she passed her in the Salle des Maréchaux. Eugénie, who was being escorted by Toulangeon, one of Napoleon's military supporters, caught the remark and, deeply hurt, went to the Emperor and desired leave to withdraw from a court where she was insulted. He pacified her with the promise that he would avenge her, and on New Year's Day, 1853, sent to her mother a definite offer for her hand. It was, of

<sup>2</sup> The Duke de Morny, an illegitimate son of Napoleon's mother, Hortense.

course, accepted, but the engagement was not made public until January 19. Some doubt as to the exact date of the proposal is raised by the Hohenlohe negotiations, and it has been contended that he did not bind himself irrevocably until the middle of January. It has even been alleged that a morganatic marriage, scornfully rejected by mother and daughter, was suggested before he fully committed himself to a definite engagement. "Napoleon," says a writer<sup>3</sup> who has investigated the subject very fully, "appears to have acted like a man distraught between reasons of love and State. Unable to gain the love he desired without the gift of a crown, and urged by his Ministers to bestow that crown elsewhere, he delayed to the last moment an absolute decision. In his very difficult position, that was hardly reprehensible. As for the attitude of the Countess of Montijo and her daughter, assuredly neither had any reason to be ashamed of the part which she played."

Despite the disapproval of his family—his cousin Mathilde, whom he once thought of marrying and who was the devoted friend of him and his cause, going down on her knees to beg him not to compromise himself—despite the opposition of his Ministers, some of whom threatened to resign, the indignation of France, the prejudices of Europe, the sneers of society and public amazement, evidenced by a fall on the Bourse as soon as the news became definitely known, the imperial suitor was true to his plighted word. So much stands to his credit, whatever his faults were. The speech in which he officially announced his decision to the assembled Senate, Legislative Body and Council of State was equally creditable as a frank and manly utterance. "This union which I am contracting," he said, "is not in accordance with the political traditions of old. Therein lies its advantage. By a succession of revolutions France has abruptly separated herself from the rest of Europe. A wise government must seek her return within the pale of the ancient monarchies; but this result will be much more certainly attained by a frank and upright policy, by loyal conduct than by royal alliances, which create false security and often substitute family interests for those of the nation. . . . When, in the face of old Europe, a man is borne upward by the force of a new principle to the height of the ancient dynasties, it is not by attributing antiquity to his escutcheon and by seeking at all costs to introduce himself into the family of Kings that he makes himself acceptable. Rather it is by remembering always his origin, by preserving his own character and by frankly taking up in the face of Europe the position of a *parvenu*—a glorious title when one wins it by the free suffrages of a great nation. As I was obliged

<sup>3</sup> "The Last Empress of the French," being the life of the Empress Eugénie, wife of Napoleon III., by Philip W. Sergeant, B. A., pp. 59-60.



to depart from the precedents followed up till now, my marriage became simply a private matter. There remained only the choice of the person. She whom I have chosen is of exalted birth. French by education and by the memory of the blood her father shed in the cause of the empire,<sup>4</sup> she has the advantage, as a Spaniard, of having no family in France to whom honors and dignities must be given. Endowed with every quality of mind, she will be an ornament to the throne, and in the hour of danger one of its bravest defenders. A devout Catholic, she will address her prayers with mine to heaven for the welfare of France. Gracious and good, she will, I firmly hope, exhibit in the same position the virtues of the Empress Josephine. So, gentlemen, I am here to say to France: 'I have preferred a woman whom I love and respect to an unknown, an alliance with whom might with its advantages have brought the necessity for sacrifices. Without disrespect to any one, I yield to my inclinations.' Soon I shall go to Notre Dame to present the Empress to the people and the army. Their confidence in me will assure their sympathy for her whom I have chosen, and you, gentlemen, when you learn to know her, will be convinced that once more I have been inspired by Providence."

In the word "*parvenu*," used advisedly, there is a note of defiant resentment towards the old royalties, particularly the Hapsburgs, who had repelled his matrimonial advances, and an echo of the Second Republic.

"This marriage," observed a French statesman, "is a lovely poem. The Emperor rivals M. de Musset, and his reign, I fear, will be but 'the song of a night.'" "The Emperor," said Lamartine, "has just realized the most beautiful dream possible to man—to raise the woman he loves above all other women."

Meanwhile, the bride-elect, pending the marriage, celebrated with great pomp at Notre Dame by Archbishop Sibour,<sup>5</sup> lived with her mother at 12 Place Vendôme, "wearing," it was said, "the incipient honors of her approaching rank quite as if she had a consciousness that they were not superior to her merits," and already winning popularity by visiting the Convent of the Sacred Heart, where she was warmly greeted by the nuns, helping a workman who fell from a scaffolding in one of the streets of Paris as she passed, and declin-

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<sup>4</sup> Don Cipriano Palafox was a devoted adherent of Napoleon I. At Salamanca he lost an eye and broke a leg on behalf of France; at Buttes-Chaumont, in 1814, he was wounded, receiving a French decoration in reward for his valiant services to the First Empire.

<sup>5</sup> The Emperor was wishful that Pope Pius IX. should come to Paris to perform the ceremony, but His Holiness, who later suffered spoliation of the Papal patrimony with the connivance of Napoleon III., refrained from treading the same path as Pius VII.

ing the gift of a diamond *parure* from the city of Paris, and asking the Municipal Council to devote the 600,000 francs voted for its purchase to charity, which led to the foundation of a school for sixty young girls of the poorest class, in which they should be kept and trained until situations were found for them.

The exhilarating cup of pleasure which fortune presented to her lips, and which might well have intoxicated many, was not without its *aliquid amari*. "I do not know whether to be happy or to weep," wrote her mother to one of her oldest French friends, the Marquis of Roche-Lambert; "Eugénie is to be Queen over your France, and I can but remember that your Queens have had little happiness. In spite of myself, I am possessed by the thought of Marie Antoinette, and I wonder whether my child may not suffer the same fate." Prejudice, like bigotry, dies hard, and envy is only conquered by death. While the working class showed signs of reconciliation to the idea of an Empress not of royal blood, the upper section of society, on which Napoleon's hold was very precarious, remained for the most part unfriendly. A busy campaign of scandal against the Emperor's choice was carried on, and anonymous libels were so freely circulated that the Prefect of Police found it necessary to give orders that any one found spreading unfavorable reports about her should be arrested with a view to prosecution. These underhand attacks continued after the wedding, and ultimately led to a number of arrests.<sup>6</sup>

The French, histrionic in everything, above all love a picturesque *mise-en-scène*, and the imperial wedding was stage-managed in a way to fully gratify their tastes for the spectacular. But as the bride and bridegroom, after the civil ceremony, were driving from the Tuileries to Notre Dame in the gilded coach, drawn by eight white horses, which had carried Napoleon I. and Josephine to the same Notre Dame on the 2d of December, 1804, and Napoleon and Marie Louise to their wedding on April 2, 1810, the large imperial crown surmounting it fell off just as the Tuileries' triumphal arch was passed, and a halt had to be made to replace it. It was remembered that the same thing had happened to Napoleon I. and Marie Louise, and it was regarded as somewhat ominous. When, nineteen years later, the Man of December became the Man of Sedan, and the imperial crown fell off the head of one whose public career, as Philip W. Sergeant<sup>7</sup> says, "Commenced in ridicule, continued amid suspicion and contemptuous hostility, emerged into brilliant triumph, and closed in utter humiliation," there was no replacing it.

After the honeymoon at Saint Cloud the Empress, who had divided

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

the 250,000 included in the Emperor's wedding present between the maternity societies and the Incurable Hospital, began her reign as Queen of Beauty in that court of the Second Empire of which so much has been said and written. The Countess Stéphanie de Tascher de la Pagerie, the Emperor's kinswoman on the Beauharnais side, who in her "*Mon Sejour aux Tuileries*" has given us so many interesting and graphic glimpses of it, describes Eugénie as one who "might serve as a model to a sculptor for Hebe or Psyche." The Monday evening entertainments or "*lundis*," as they were called, which she devised to relieve the dullness of a court modeled on that of the First Empire, furnished food for malicious gossip, while the absence of an aristocracy, properly so called—the old aristocrats of the Faubourg Saint Germain holding proudly aloof—deprived it of that tone and *cachet* of distinction which long descent and high breeding alone can impart. The Emperor himself bewailed this to English visitors, and was fain to recruit his courtiers from a very mixed crowd, some of them very underbred. Napoleon III., like his uncle, was not remarkable for the conjugal virtues, and a high moral tone could not be expected in court circles in which Prince Napoleon, derisively called "Plon-Plon" and described as the "most prodigiously intelligent and most prodigiously vicious man that ever lived," his sister, Princess Mathilde, the Countess Castiglione, Morny, an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense (mother of Napoleon III.) and Walewski, and the illegitimate offspring of Napoleon I. were among the ruling spirits. As time went on it became worse, until all decency was often outraged at the costume balls, and the dividing line between the Grand Monde and the Demi-Monde was almost obliterated. In point of morality there was not much difference between some of the *lorettes* who mixed in court circles and the painted courtesans who frequented the Jardin Mabille. The epoch from 1860 to 1863, when the Second Empire reached its apogee, has been described as the Age of Woman, when the brilliant Austrian, Princess Pauline Metternich, carried the court to the giddiest height of frivolity. The Countess Stéphanie de Tascher admits that there was "a touch of the Palais Royal about her," and Prosper Mérimée thought her "quite an odd mixture of *lorette* and *grande dame*." Her entertainments wound up with a smoking concert, at which the hostess smoked like a trooper and sang songs of somewhat doubtful character, learnt from a popular music hall artist. She is described as "the brilliant star of the constellation of women which made the court so famous." Another star who moved in the same orbit, the Countess Castiglione, possessed attractions which it needed virtue to resist; and virtue, it is noted, was not the point on which men

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 275-276.

prided themselves in the circles in which she triumphed. She was the most famous beauty of the court next to the Empress, but when her beauty decayed she shut herself up in a house where no mirrors were allowed, and ultimately died in solitude. The great entertainments were the *fêtes* at Compiègne, the hunting parties, the galas on the lake, with Merimée, court poet, reciting his verses in a boat to the Empress and her ladies, and the court balls in Paris. The sensation of the evening at a fancy ball at the opening of the Hôtel d'Albe in April, 1860, was the appearance of the Princess Mathilde disguised as an Egyptian fellah woman in a way that shocked the imperial family and so affected the pious Princess Clothilde that she refused to go to another fancy dress ball after that; for she was a devout Catholic, whose whole life, except when her household duties required her attention, was given up to religious practices. "The amusements of the court of the Second Empire," says Mr. Sergeant, "attained an undue contemporary notoriety owing to the unrestrained license of gossip which had prevailed in the early days of the reign and was even more noticeable now. It would be grossly unfair, where this gossip is preserved in a certain class of memoirs, to treat what is merely the equivalent of a low type of society journalism as if it were history. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there were occasions when the censors, genuine or pretended, had good ground for their severity. The court included many whose characters were not concealed by their talents or their looks. Men like Morny, women like *la belle* Castiglione, and worse than they, could not bring honor on those with whom they associated."<sup>8</sup>

Nothing redounds more to the credit of the Empress Eugénie than that she should have lived for nineteen years in this *milieu* and come out of it with her moral reputation untarnished. The fierce light that beats upon a throne—and the searchlight of criticism projected upon her was often directed with malevolent intentions—failed to reveal any big blots. The worst fault they could impute to her was setting a pernicious example of luxury and frequent changes of fashion, which all France followed, though she assured Dr. Evars at Farnborough that she never spent more than 1,500 francs on any dress, and stated in a letter to an American friend in 1906 that only three times in her life did she wear a dress that cost as much as forty guineas, one being her wedding dress and another her costume at the baptism of the Prince Imperial. Against this—against the magnificence and extravagance of her court in the early sixties—is to be set off her expenditure on charity, generous to lavishness; for, besides her responses to innumerable begging letters, she opened her pursestrings freely and frequently to aid institutions, hospitals, orphanages, etc., while the Emperor's almsgiving was more lavish

still, amounting to 10,000 francs a day. She gave, besides her money, her personal service, and in this resembled the De Gondis and other truly noble ladies, who coöperated with St. Vincent de Paul in relieving misery in the France of their day.

During the cholera epidemic of 1866 she won the admiration of all France by her heroism. The scare, Mr. Sergeant relates, was at its height at Amiens when she arrived there. She immediately "went under fire," as she expressed it, visiting the victims in hospital and showing herself without the slightest fear of death. Already she had shown an example by her visits to the hospitals when cases of cholera were occurring in Paris in the previous autumn. But it was at Amiens that she created the great sensation. She went from building to building, speaking to every patient and not shrinking from actual contact. An incident which particularly touched the people's hearts was when, two children being pointed out to her as orphaned by the scourge, she adopted them and gave orders that they should be cared for at once. Nor did it escape attention that while she exposed herself unsparingly to the risk of cholera she refused to allow any of her ladies to accompany her. When she left the afflicted city it was amid the blessings of all its people, and the fame of the "Sister of Charity" followed her far. A few months later when she appeared at Nancy to represent the Emperor at the celebration of the centenary of Lorraine's incorporation with France, tales of Amiens were on every one's lips. Her slanderers for the moment were dumb.

It is related that sometimes in the mornings, very soberly clad, she would drive in an unofficial carriage, kept for the purpose, to the house of a petitioner and would personally investigate the merits of the case. We have it on the authority of Madame Carette that she "re-formed" the greater part of her wardrobe twice a year, giving the disused clothes to her women, who sold them at good prices in America. When, after the birth of the Prince Imperial, a popular collection for a present to the child, though limited to subscriptions not exceeding five cents, reached a total of 100,000 francs, in compliance with her wishes the sum was devoted to the foundation of a "Prince Imperial's Orphanage." It was these traits in her character which doubtless helped to secure her the good-will and friendship of Queen Victoria, which gave her a certain status, as the attitude of other European courts had placed her previously in an equivocal position, not being of royal birth and the wife of an avowed *parvenu*. The English Queen wrote of her: "She is full of courage and spirits, and yet so gentle, with such innocence and *enjouement*, that the *ensemble* is most charming. With all her great liveliness she has the prettiest and most modest manner." A still higher

tribute was paid to her by Pius IX. when, five days after the baptism of the Prince Imperial, of whom he was godfather, he bestowed on her, through the intermediary of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Patrizi, the Golden Rose, the highest religious honor reserved for women. This—a rose bush of gold growing from a vase of the same metal on a base of lapis lazuli, adorned with two bas-reliefs representing the birth and presentation of the Blessed Virgin and with the Papal and Napoleonic arms—she kept in her bed room in the Tuileries, together with a palm blessed and sent to her by the Pope on every anniversary.

Notwithstanding all the frivolity and *frou frou* of the court and her shady environment, her southern temperament and love of gaiety, she was thoroughly Catholic in sentiment and conviction. Doubly Catholic, as she called herself, Catholic both as a Spaniard born and as Empress of the French, she strongly disapproved and strove, but in vain, to combat the anti-Papal trend of her husband's later policy, to which the Irsini attempt in 1858 on the life of the ex-Carbonaro of 1831 may have been the impelling motive. Before his marriage he had warned her of the possibility of his being any day assassinated by her side; and after the bombs exploded on the night of January 14, 1858, when they were driving through the Rue Lepelletier to the Opera House, and people crowded round her and Napoleon, she preserved an admirable calm, simply remarking: "Don't trouble about us. This is part of our profession. Look after the wounded."

French intervention in Italy, which made the year 1859 memorable and epoch-making, was curiously preluded by a journey through Brittany, the great stronghold in France of Catholicism and Legitimism, with its stirring memories and memorials of La Vendée and Rochejaquelein. Whether it was or was not planned with the design of throwing public opinion off the scent of his Italian plot, concocted with Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, it rallied the Bishops and clergy to his side as "Eldest Son of the Church." In less than a year the son betrayed the father. When leaving Paris for the brief war with Austria, which ended abruptly in the peace of Villafranca, he ominously declared that "Italy must be free from the Alps to Adriatic." The defeat of the Austrians at Magenta and their consequent withdrawal from the Papal territory resulted in a rising in the legations and a throwing off of the Pope's rule. The pamphlet on "The Pope and the Congress," published anonymously, but known to be his, proposed the restriction of the Pope's temporal rule to the territory immediately around Rome. The Empress is reported to have declared that if the Pope was driven from the Quirinal she would leave the Tuileries, and in the heat of her indignation exclaimed: "I would rather see the Emperor dead than damned

forever!" Though she was powerless to prevent the alienation of the Papal States, her influence secured for a time the maintenance of the French garrison in Rome, and she threw herself into the reaction which followed the spoliation. The Pope excommunicated Victor Emmanuel and withdrew his favor from the imperial family of France, and when, a few years later, a prominent French courtier paid his respects at the Vatican, he found Pius IX. apparently not at all interested in news of his godson or that godson's parents. When next the courtier called, the Pope said to him as he left: "You must tell our godson, the Prince Imperial, that we remember him—in our prayers." After the chivalrous effort of General Lamoricière and the Papal Brigade, chiefly recruited in France, Belgium and Ireland, to preserve the patrimony of Peter failed, and little remained to the Pope outside Rome, secured only by the presence of Napoleon's garrison, she said to Lord Malmesbury "that no scandal could be greater than an exiled Pope with no foot of earth belonging independently to himself, and that the honor of France was engaged to protect him from being driven out of Rome." And when, in 1866, regardless of the entreaties of the Empress, he carried out the terms of his compact with Victor Emmanuel and withdrew the French garrison, she said: "You may call it what you will, instinct, presentiment or superstition; I am convinced that my son will not mount the throne if we forsake the Holy Father." The words were prophetic, as the sequel sadly proved. The Second Empire did not survive the extinction of the temporal power, and the assegai of a Zulu extinguished all hope of a Bonapartist succession. The downfall of the empire may be dated from Napoleon's interference in Italy. The Italian liberationists scouted the idea of a confederation with the Pope as honorary President, and ultimately nothing was left to him but, as Edmond About suggested, "the Vatican and a garden." With the exception of the acquisition of Savoy and Nice, Napoleon failed to win the stakes for which he gambled, and only succeeded in largely helping to call into existence a strong neighbor on France's southeastern frontier in place of a number of weak States. Blunder followed blunder and one disaster was succeeded by another before the empire finally fell. The futile attempt to introduce absolutism in juxtaposition to a strong republic by establishing a monarchy of European origin in Mexico as a counterpoise to the United States, and the subsequent abandonment of the Archduke Maximilian to his fate, while his unhappy wife was driven to insanity, was both a crime and a blunder which left an ineffaceable stigma upon the Emperor and the empire, hastening both to their ruin. Outwitted by Bismarck in his manœuvre to annex the Duchy of Luxembourg, by which he hoped to compensate France for the

Prussian triumph of 1866, he still strove to make a volatile and pleasure-loving people forget the Mexican fiasco in the round of gaieties and splendid displays which accompanied the great exhibition of 1867, when Paris was crowded with a brilliant array of royalties and their suites and the Empress gracefully dispensed the hospitalities of the palace to a succession of admiring potentates. The King and Crown Prince of Prussia and Bismarck were among the group of notabilities who surrounded Napoleon at the review of sixty thousand French troops in the Bois de Boulogne on the 6th of June. In the midst of the spectacular achievement of a universal exhibition, which it was hoped would "mark a new era of harmony and progress"—although the harmony was marred by an attempt on the life of the Czar Alexander II. and the tragedy of Queretaro, where the Emperor Maximilian was shot, paying by his heroic death the penalty of Napoleon's mistake—none foresaw that in three years the arms of France and Germany would clash in a conflict that would be the death-throes of the Second Empire; that host and guests of the exhibition year would be confronting each other as enemies, and that the Empress of the French would be appealing to the Czar of Russia in the vain hope of mitigating the hard terms of the victorious Prussians in the autumn of 1870.

Thrice Empress Regent, she was first invested with semi-independent control of the State during the Emperor's absence in 1859 in the campaign against Austria, after both had assisted at a farewell Mass in the Tuileries chapel, the Empress looking like a marble statue absorbed in prayer. This brief war was the outcome of the famous interview with Cavour at Plombières and was prefaced by the circulation of a pamphlet entitled "*Napoleon III. et l'Italie*," urging a complete reconstruction of Italy, universally attributed to the Emperor himself. The second regency was in 1864 during the Emperor's visit to Algeria and the third, which ended with the fall of the empire and her flight from Paris, during the war of 1870, the war into which Ollivier, falsely assured that France was "thrice prepared," went "with a light heart." People called it "her war," but, as all the world now knows, it was long foreseen and arranged by Germany, into the hands of whose more cool-headed and calculating statesmen the impetuous Gramont and the bellicose Leboeuf played, and that it was the *redaction* by Bismarck of a telegram, giving a falsified account of the King of Prussia's last interview with Benedetti at Ems, that precipitated the conflict, France falling into the trap that had been laid for her. It was the Second Empire's last card; the last throw of the dice; the gamester's last stake, hazarding all. On the night of the declaration of war, as she was strolling in the park at Saint Cloud with her ladies and Baron



Vareigne, the latter rallied her on her extreme melancholy, whereupon, asking how could she be free from care, she added: "The honor of France is at stake; but what disaster will follow if fortune goes against us! We have but one card to play. If we are not successful, France will not only be dismembered, but swallowed up by the most frightful revolution ever witnessed." A few days after the outbreak of war she said significantly: "In case of a defeat I prefer my son to be with the army. I do not wish him to be made a little Louis XVII." Her words were again prophetic. The Second Empire played its last card and lost.

Chaos reigned in Paris when it was known that the French army was in full retreat. When she read the last words of the Emperor's ciphered message, "All may yet be retrieved," she fell on her knees and began to weep. Admiral de la Gravière tried to calm her, when she turned to him and said: "I thank God that there is still room for hope." But, in her own words, it was no longer a question of saving the empire, but of saving France. Ollivier, attacked in the streets by the frenzied people, was forced to resign and retired to Switzerland; the Emperor, so ill that he could hardly sit a horse,<sup>9</sup> handed over the chief command to Bazaine; it was feared the mob would wreck the Bourse and sack the palace; the Empress was practically confined in the Tuileries, it being no longer safe for her to show herself in the streets, while the common talk among the crowd and in the cafés was of deposing the dynasty. The Emperor sent Trochu to Paris "to open the door of the Tuileries" to him by his popularity, but the Empress steadfastly opposed his return, telegraphing to Châlons: "Do not think of coming back unless you wish to let loose a terrible revolution. People would say you were running away from danger." Trochu played false. Although he knelt and kissed her hand, exclaiming, "Madame, I am a Breton, a Catholic and a soldier, and will serve you to the death!" he abandoned her in her hour of greatest need.

Mérimee describes the Empress' conduct during "the long torture" of the autumn of 1870 as "truly saintly" and deserving of "all admiration." Her time was mainly divided between the Council of Regency and hospital work, for she had turned a great part of the Tuileries into a shelter for the wounded pouring back from the front, unable to get any rest owing to the excessive mental and physical strain. When, on the afternoon of Saturday, September 3, she read Napoleon's telegraphed announcements of his defeat and capture at Sedan, that having failed to meet death in the midst of his soldiers, he had surrendered himself to save the army, she fell back

his "extraordinary heroism" in sitting in the saddle for five hours at Sedan.

<sup>9</sup> Sir Henry Thompson, who operated on him in January, 1872, spoke of

into a chair and after a moment of agonized silence withdrew into an inner room. On somewhat recovering her composure she told the Council that there must be no blood shed in her defense and declined an extra guard for the Tuileries, opposing a motion to remove the government from Paris. The Legislative Body, invited to elect five representatives to assist the Regency, replied by requesting her to hand over her powers to them. Her response was that she could not consent in the hour of danger to abandon the post confided to her and betray her trust; that if she was an encumbrance the Deputies must pronounce the deposition, and eloquently pleaded that the wise and patriotic course was for them to rally round her and the government and unite in opposing the invaders. But the Deputies were firm and she was compelled to yield, declaring that nothing could hereafter remove the bitter memory of that hour for her, the crowned sovereign of their holidays, whom they were driving away in the time of peril.

The Second Empire was at an end. Only the last vestiges of its rule remained to be swept away. From the early hours of Sunday morning, when the placards in the streets revealed the story of Sedan, revolution was on foot. Crowds were gathering everywhere. Round the Tuileries were what Count Irisson d'Hérisson graphically describes as "the ragged creatures with sinister heads, watching the palace, come no one knew whence and only seen at such times." Like beasts of prey waiting for a spring, they surrounded the enclosure of the Tuileries. Gradually they began to press against the railings and to knock the eagles off the gates. The ordinary garrison of Imperial Guards was drawn up in front of the main entrance, but plainly it would not be able to protect the palace against the mob. Moreover, the Empress again insisted that not a single drop of blood should be shed for her, and would hear of no firing on the people. There was only one alternative. At half-past three the Prefect of Police rushed into the palace crying: "We are betrayed! We cannot resist; the crowd is breaking down the railings. Her Majesty's one hope lies in immediate flight!" Metternich and Nigra, the Austrian and Italian Ambassadors, had already led her to the window and pointed out the mob surrounding the railings. Always mindful of Marie Antoinette, Eugénie exclaimed: "They shall not have a second Queen to insult!" As she bade good-bye to her ladies, of whom only Madame Lebreton was to accompany her, she exclaimed: "In France no one has the right to be unfortunate;" and, turning back for a last look as she passed out of the room, she uttered the parting words: "No, not *adieu!* *Au revoir!* We shall meet again, shall we not?" So hurried was her departure that when the palace was entered by the new government's

agents on the Empress' dressing table were found a handkerchief and a bag containing some wearing apparel, while a waiting woman in tears said to them: "She has gone without even a handkerchief." While the fugitive and her small escort stood in a doorway waiting for a cab a street arab, who recognized them, was silenced by a kick from the Italian Ambassador. Then they drove off, the Empress thus giving the contradiction to her asseveration: "I shall never run away in a cab like Charles X. and Louis Philippe."<sup>10</sup>

The exciting narrative of her escape to Trouville and thence across the channel to England in Sir John Burgoyne's yacht has been minutely related by the American dentist, Dr. Thomas Evans, in his "Memoirs," a chivalrous service to the fallen Empress which has earned for him the title of "the one hero" in her career. Before she reached the coast the Third Republic was proclaimed, with Trochu as President.

It was not long before France saw two of her finest provinces wrenched from her by the victors, who imposed a war indemnity that would have crushed any other nation. Then came the *année terrible*, when the Communists held Paris until dislodged by the Versailles troops after the massacre of their hostages, including Mgr. Darboy, Archbishop of Paris,<sup>11</sup> who had celebrated Mass for the Emperor and Empress and Prince Imperial on the eve of the departure for the seat of war of the first and last named, who were fated never to return.

The widowed ex-Empress, now in her eighty-fourth year and bereaved of husband and son, has, during her long exile, had ample time to reflect upon the vanity of human wishes, to meditate upon the text of the royal seer upon which Thackeray loved to treat. She has long outlived the empire of which she was the *decus* if not the *tutamen*, her goodness and grace counterbalancing its mistakes and misdeeds; fairest of the fair<sup>12</sup> among all the court beauties of

<sup>10</sup> P. W. Sergeant, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-374.

<sup>11</sup> During the Eastertide of 1868 Mgr. Darboy invited to dinner the shepherd, Maximin, who, with the shepherdess, Melanie, had the vision of our Lady on La Salette, desirous of extracting the secret alleged to have been confided to him on that occasion. The young man refused to reveal it, but, on being pressed, said: "Monseigneur, you want to know my secret; you are doing all you can to get me to tell it to you. But I assure you if I told you, you would not believe me!" The Archbishop said he would, and the young man replied: "Well, if I told you that in three years you will be shot dead, would you believe me?" "Certainly not," said the prelate. Then the shepherd added: "Monseigneur, if you don't believe that, you'd believe nothing from me." There were several dignitaries of the Paris clergy present. One of them reminded Mgr. Darbois of the incident when he was in prison in 1871. It helped him to accept his martyrdom with resignation. (See "Nouvelle Defense du Secret de la Bergère des Alpes par Amédée Nicolas, avocat." Nîmes: 1884, p. 87.)

<sup>12</sup> The American Minister at Madrid said: "Looked upon simply as a woman, she was the most perfect creation I have seen anywhere."

her reign, a vision of loveliness amid much that was unlovely. She has lived and moved in the Vanity Fair held betimes at Saint Cloud, Compiègne, Fontainebleau and the Tuileries; a "laughable, pathetic jumble," in which it was sought to unite the revived splendor and gaiety of the declining days of the old régime to a mushroom monarchy, a democraticized and liberalized empire. All the splendor and profusion which reminded Mérimée of Belshazzar's feast in Martin's picture have vanished like a dissolving view; revels and revelers have passed away, while one who filled a leading part among the *dramatis persona* in the tragi-comedy of the Second Empire, in a masquerade that lasted nearly two decades until it was played out in the Dance of Death at Sedan, until the curtain was dropped upon the closing scene and all the actors therein must have realized in the retrospect of a long life the truth of the words: *Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas.*

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#### THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE YORK CYCLE OF MIRACLE PLAYS.

NO PERIOD of literary activity demands greater accuracy of historical perspective than the period of the English miracle play. Any attempt to ignore the dominant characteristics of mediæval civilization—however varied and seemingly inconsistent they may appear—must end in a misinterpretation of the whole matter. The Church had struggled for centuries with elements of discord inseparable from the assimilation of pagan nations. She had been forced to suffer the tyranny of ignorance, but with the first dawn of freedom she set herself to remedy the evil by the foundation of schools and universities. "Documents of all ages," says Stevenson in the preface to "*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*," "even in the darkest periods, bear testimony to the great zeal of the Church in the cause of education."<sup>1</sup>

The Church called to her aid the learning which had so long enjoyed a safe refuge within the cloister, and bade it yield its wealth of accumulated knowledge. A fuller and more general appreciation among the laity of man's relations to his Creator brought a deepening sense of devotion, which revealed itself in holy living and accidentally in the splendor of liturgical ceremony and the presentation of scenes from the life of our Lord. The heaven of sound

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Stevenson, "*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*," London, 1858, Vol. II., p. 65.

doctrine had penetrated into every phase of life. The claims of religion were unquestioned. The Church proposed to every man a complete system of belief and practice, and that, too, with Divine authority. This explains what has always been a puzzle to writers not thoroughly versed in ecclesiastical history, namely, that the critical, brilliant minds of the Middle Ages obeyed with childlike docility the *magisterium* of the Church in all that pertained to faith or morals.

So sure were they of the credibility of their faith, so far removed from doubt and so joyous in their sense of security that they allowed in their religious drama occasionally more of the ludicrous than would be considered decorous in our own day. Professor Hamelius, referring to this license, as seen in the drama, says: "Cain being so near the devil, what is more natural than to give him the bitter grin and shameless jokes which the Evil One usually displays in the Mysteries? If the modern descendants of the Puritans are shocked at the merriment thus called forth, let them find fault with their own narrowness of mind rather than with the broad and healthy philosophy of the Middle Ages, that was able to look at religious subjects without constrained gravity and to associate them naturally with all its feelings and experiences."<sup>2</sup>

It is because of the new interest in mediæval drama, made possible by the labors of the early English text societies, that scholars have turned their attention to the work of investigating the stage of the later Middle Ages. Many of the plays then produced are extant. It becomes the duty of students of that period to search out their origin, their influence and the manner of their presentation.

Dodsley, in the preface to his "Old Plays," dismissed the subject of early mediæval drama in these words: "What has been said of the mysteries and moralities it is hoped will be sufficient just to show the reader what the nature of them was. I should have been glad to be more particular, but where materials are not to be had the building must be deficient. And, to say the truth, a more particular knowledge of these things, any farther than as it serves to show the turn and genius of our ancestors and the progressive refinement of our language, was so little worth preserving that the loss of it is scarce to be regretted."

Modern scholars have adopted an entirely different view from that of the famous publisher. The change is due in a large measure to the reversal of historical judgment in all that relates to the period of the miracle play. Mr. Frederick Stokes, in his introduction to Dr. Maitland's "Dark Ages," says: "Perhaps no period of Chris-

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Hamelius, "The Character of Cain in the Towneley Plays," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, Vol. I., p. 343.

tianity has been more misjudged than the Dark Ages—an epoch which, in the present work, is taken as comprising the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The general tradition when Maitland wrote—a tradition which has been greatly modified by later historians, like Hallam and Gasquet—was that these ages were almost wholly barbaric ages of ignorance, superstition, oppression and general misery. Perhaps writers of the twenty-first century will take a similar view of the nineteenth, and regard it as a time when the world was desolated by famine, war, pestilence; when the condition of the poor was as harsh as it has ever been; when men were subject to conscription, invasion, misgovernment. The writers of the first half of this century looked down with scorn upon the centuries before the Reformation, yet historians like Walpole pronounce an almost equally severe verdict upon the times when George the Third was king. The Anglican churchmen of the last century were emphatic in their denunciations of the abuses of the pre-Reformation times. The general verdict of churchmen of our own times as to the state of the Church of England in the eighteenth century is the reverse of flattering. It would be easy indeed, by treating the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century as many Protestant writers, notably Robertson, have treated the Church of the Middle Ages, to prove that it was as dark as any century of the Christian era.”\*

Mr. Philip S. Allen voices the general sentiment of present-day writers in pleading for a broader view of the Middle Ages. He says: “If we were to reduce to words the mental picture which many of us have of the past, I imagine the following vision, or something like it, would be the result: Two great mountain ranges confront one another, on the summits of either of which loom ‘far-shining cities and stately porticoes.’ One of these cloud-capped peaks is the Graeco-Roman world, the other is the modern world. Half way down the side of the former of these ranges are the dwellers of the Silver Age; half way up the side of the latter range are the dwellers of the age of the Renaissance. But uncounted fathoms beneath in the dark valley is the night of the Dark Ages, and there in the grim hollow of ignorance and superstition dwells pre-mediæval man. . . . So no objection should be raised to classifying six hundred odd years as the Dark Ages and four hundred more as Middle Ages, were it not for a single element of danger which clings to such nomenclature. This danger is that many people—among them some who are old enough to know better—think these years so called because they are dark or because they

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\* Frederick Stokes, Introduction to Dr. Maitland's “Dark Ages,” fifth edition, London, 1890, p. vi.

are middle, and then the joke ceases. *Dark* are they in so far as our straining sight cannot effectually pierce them. *Middle* are they only because of the self-sufficiency which will insist that we are the end. Final are we to none but ourselves; assuredly not to such as come after us. And the world will emerge from any slight deluge which follows our passing more easily than it arose when the water subsided from under the Ark."<sup>4</sup>

This is an effective bit of good-natured criticism. It is directed against those writers on mediæval subjects who refuse to project themselves into the atmosphere of the times they would reveal. There is another class, unhappily but too numerous, who persist in misrepresentation, owing to the opportunity thus given to write for the entertainment of prejudiced readers. Mr. Hone admits: "Respecting the multiform portion of this volume, denominated 'Illustrations,' I have to offer in excuse that there is enough for good-natured readers to find something to be amused with and nothing intended to offend those that I despair of pleasing. It is altogether skimble-skamble stuff, which, not aspiring to the character of an antiquarian treatise, may be allowed to deprecate antiquarian censure. There is little appearance of cohesion in the parts, and yet they scarcely require more than leisure to adapt and connect them according to the 'rules of the schools' with a few other particulars and make a book. The Boy Bishop, for instance, whose processions at Nicholas-tide, according to Strype, made the people so fond of keeping his holiday that every parish almost had its St. Nicholas, is associated with the Mysteries by the representations of these religious plays often taking place during his annual dignity. The *Feast of Fools*, and especially the *Feast of the Ass*, from their dramatic character and celebration as ecclesiastical performances, are equally admissible. To be sure, I have trespassed a little in the articles on the 'Council of the Trinity' and the 'Brethren of the Trinity, Aldersgate,' but who possessing a monkish legend in MS. or the chartulary of a dissolved fraternity could withstand the temptation of hitching into print a quotation or two on a colorable opportunity? In this, however, I acknowledge being influenced by liking rather than by judgment, and so in the article on the 'Descent Into Hell.' Reviewing my gossip on the word *aroint*, I confess that equity would compel me to dismiss it for impertinence. But it is printed, and its existence in these sheets is a lamentable proof of the fearful estate of him who mounts a hobby without a rein; though there is something like a shadow of excuse, too, for saying a little on old Hearne's plate as a Shakespearean authority."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "The Origins of German Minnesang," *Mod. Philol.*, Vol. III., p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Hone, "Ancient Mysteries Described," London, 1823, Preface, p. vi.

Such a frank avowal prepares one for almost every license, yet many writers have taken the account seriously and have exercised a remarkable ingenuity in weaving together this and similar "gossip" into a story exceptional and almost impossible, which they offer to an uninformed public as the true history of the later Middle Ages.

Perhaps the most noteworthy instances of this are to be had in such chapters as treat of mediæval realism, the motives of mediæval drama and the *Festa Stultorum et Asinorum*. These are important phases and deserve to be put forth in their true setting; for while they have been adapted to meet every exigency of press or platform, they have always retained the old imputations against the faith of the Middle Ages.

According to Warton, absolute realism was a feature of the mediæval stage. Commenting upon the garden scene, he says: "This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure. They had the authority of Scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity."<sup>6</sup>

More recent scholars have taken quite a different view. "Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden," says Mr. Sidney M. Clark, "dressed in close-fitting coats of white leather and hose stained or dyed to (probably) a flesh color. At the proper time they put on over these 'fleshlings' rough garments of skin. 'Two cotes and a payre hosen for Eve stayned; a cote and hosen for Adam stayned.' The tradition that they appeared naked on the stage is quite unfounded, and it is hardly necessary to say that female characters were acted by men or boys."<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Chambers says: "Many writers have followed Warton in asserting that Adam and Eve were represented on the stage in actual nakedness. The statement is based upon a too literal interpretation of the stage directions of the Chester plays. There is a fine *a priori* improbability about it, and, as a matter of fact, there can be very little doubt that the parts were played as they would have been on any other stage in any other period of the world's history, except possibly at the Roman *Floralia*, in fleshlings. Jordan is quite explicit—Adam and Eve are to be 'aparlet in Whytt leather,' and, although Jordan's play is a late one, I think it may be taken for granted that white leather was sufficient to meet the exigencies even of mediæval realism."<sup>8</sup> Hastings has it: "When they were pre-

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Warton, "History of English Poetry," London, 1781, p. 162.

<sup>7</sup> Sidney M. Clark, "The Miracle Play in England," p. 676.

<sup>8</sup> E. K. Chambers, "The Mediæval Stage," Vol. II., p. 142.



sumed to be destitute of clothing, they appeared in dresses made either of white leather or of flesh-colored clothes, over which at the proper time were thrown the garments of skins."<sup>9</sup> The same opinion is expressed by the distinguished English scholar, Dr. Schelling, of the University of Pennsylvania: "The devils were ordinarily clothed in leather, which, being white of color, sufficiently served to represent the nakedness of our first parents in the Garden of Eden."<sup>10</sup>

There are still a few writers who follow Warton, but this is due to the need they feel for something to give color to the vague generalities which so easily flow from their pens. Thoughtful scholars know that it is never safe to judge a people by types which, had they been representatives of their class, would not have received the attention of contemporaneous critics. They know, too, that almost any theory may be supported by an appeal to incidents which were recorded mainly because they were so unusual, and that it is only in an honest assembling of everything which has come down to us respecting a far-away age that we may hope to arrive at even an approximate valuation of the social and moral condition of its people.

The disputed questions of Church history cannot now be passed over in silence without opening the way to the deserved charge of culpable remissness. Statements which have been disproved to the satisfaction of a numerous school of scholars are worth nothing unless supported by evidence. Moreover, the reader has a right to expect, if not an exposition of arguments for and against, at least some information respecting the origin and progress of the dispute.

Dr. Davidson, in his "English Mystery Plays," introduces his chapter on the "Doctrine of Transubstantiation as a Dramatic Motive" by a statement which promises more than the facts of ecclesiastical history will support. He says: "It becomes our next task to show the shifting standpoint within the liturgy which arose from the acceptance of a new theological dogma, to detect the introduction of a genuinely tragic moment, and to trace the growth of dogmatic expression within the Church service itself."<sup>11</sup>

That such a task demanded a wider treatment than that given by the writer is evident from the fact that there is nothing in the chapter to indicate that the author possessed more than an ordinary Protestant knowledge of either Catholic dogma or the facts of Church history. The question of dramatic motive did not demand more than to show that the doctrine of the Real Presence was accepted without question by the Universal Church throughout the period of

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Hastings, "The Theatre," p. 141.

<sup>10</sup> Felix E. Schelling, "Elizabethan Drama," Vol. I., p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Davidson, "Studies in the English Mystery Plays," Transactions of the Conn. Acad., Vol. IX., p. 136 ff.

the English miracle play. Had Dr. Davidson confined his speculations within these limits, no objection could have been made, but, not content with what was undisputed, he goes further and takes for granted the precise point of discussion relative to the Real Presence, asserting without reservation that the doctrine was an innovation of the ninth century. In other words, that the treatise which Paschasius Radbertus sent to Charles the Bald was not an exposition of a universally accepted doctrine of the Church, but the formulation of a new one, which, strange to say, was at once received as apostolic teaching by the whole Christian world. It would seem that even a cursory examination of the writings of Radbertus would preclude any such conclusion. In his work on the Gospel of St. Matthew, after speaking of the Scripture proofs for the Real Presence, he expresses surprise that any one should deny the doctrine: "Unde miror quid velint nunc quidam dicere, non in re esse veritatem carnis Christi vel sanguinis sed in sacramento virtutem carnis et non carnem, virtutem sanguinis et non sanguinem, figuram et non veritatem, umbram et non corpus cum hic species accipit veritatem et figuram, veterum hostiarum corpus."<sup>12</sup> In his "Epistola ad Frudegardum" he cites the fathers as witnesses, and concludes by appealing to the faith of the Church: "Quid si quaeris, charissime, super quibus universaliter ab omnibus 'Amen' respondeatur in tota Ecclesia Christi, respice in sacramentorum celebratione instituyente beato Petro (ut credimus) quid orat Sacerdos in Canone exceptis his quae post communionem dicuntur. 'Ut fiat,' inquit, 'corpus et sanguis dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.' Qua prece expleta, consona voce, omnes 'Amen' dicimus; sicque omnis Ecclesia in omni gente et lingua orat. Unde videat qui contra hoc venire voluerit magis quam credere, quid agat contra ipsum Dominum, et contra omnem Christi Ecclesiam."<sup>13</sup> What is particularly inexcusable in Davidson's chapter is the absence of anything which might serve to direct attention to the fact that many learned non-Catholic historians acknowledge the Real Presence to have been accepted from the earliest days of the Church. Grotius<sup>14</sup> says: "I find in all the liturgies, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac and others, prayers to God that He would consecrate, by His Holy Spirit, the gifts offered, and make them the Body and the Blood of His Son. I was right, therefore, in saying that a custom so ancient and universal that it must be considered to have gone down from the primitive times ought not to have changed."

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<sup>12</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Saeculum IX., p. 890: *Expositio in Matthaeum*, Lib. XII., Chap. XXVI.

<sup>13</sup> Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Saec. IX., p. 1,363.

<sup>14</sup> *Votum pro Pace*.

Bishop Samuel Parker as early as 1678 admitted: "In the first place, then, it is evident to all men that are but ordinarily conversant in ecclesiastical learning that the ancient fathers, from age to age, asserted the *real* and *substantial* Presence in very high and expressive terms. The Greeks styled it *netabole*, *metarruthmis*, *metaskeuchsmos*, *metapoiesis*, *metastoicheiosis*, and the Latins, agreeable with the Greeks, *Conversion*, *Transmutation*, *Transformation*, *Transfiguration*, *Transelementation* and, at length, *Transubstantiation*. By all which they expressed nothing more nor less than the real and substantial Presence in the Eucharist."<sup>15</sup> Dr. Adam Clarke quotes Justin Martyr as "in some measure asserting the transformation of the elements."<sup>16</sup>

The above citations are sufficient to indicate the limitations of what purports to be an accurate presentation of an important motive in early dramatic art.

Conspicuous among those who have made the *Festa Jocularia* yield chapter upon chapter of interesting anecdotes should be named Professor Gayley, of the University of California. His "Plays of Our Forefathers"<sup>17</sup> contains a chapter on the "Invasion of the Humorous," which, although not without foundation as regards many particulars, is in its general tone utterly misleading and untrustworthy. He has reconstructed a Church service for mediæval France, using freely and without question any account which might heighten the dramatic effect. The service began with Vespers, the cantor intoning: "Let no sour-faced person stay within the church: away on this day with envy and heartache: let all be cheerful who would celebrate the feast of the Ass." After Lauds preparations were made to introduce the ass into the church. "One may picture the pause," writes Professor Gayley, "the beast in his priestly trappings encircled by hilarious celebrants, the popping of corks and gurgling of wine, the toasting of 'my Lord the Ass,' the quaffing of deep draughts."

Certainly such a picture may be imagined. The question is, can it be safely taken as an honest representation of the religious mind of the Middle Ages? Is it fair to say that: "Thus the rustic folk while still continuing to kill their cattle and celebrate their solemnities as of yore might do so with a feasting that had become religious?"<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Gayley's treatment of the *Feast of Fools* is less reprehensible,

<sup>15</sup> Bishop Samuel Parker, "Reasons for Abrogating the Test Imposed Upon All Members of Parliament," London, 1688, p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Adam Clarke, "A Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature," London, 1830, Vol. I., p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> Charles Mill Gayley, "Plays of Our Forefathers," p. 33 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46.

for, although he follows Hone and Du Cange, he makes it plain that the custom when it exceeded all bounds of propriety was promptly condemned by ecclesiastical authority. He cites the expostulation made by the University of Paris against such abuses, and admits that it effected a slight reform—"one of a series of Augean purgations, none of which, however, dispensed with the need of one still newer and more Herculean."<sup>19</sup>

The "one still newer and more Herculean" is doubtless meant to suggest the revolt of Luther, but in the recent and more dispassionate histories of that period there is to be found little which will sustain the elaborate metaphor and much which will convict the writer of having slipped into the old fallacy of "*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc.*"

Quite different in temper is the account which Mr. Chambers gives in his work on the "Mediæval Stage." Speaking of the *Feast of Fools*, he says: "The ruling idea of the feast is the inversion of status, and the performance, inevitably burlesque, by the inferior clergy of functions properly belonging to their betters. . . . Much in all these proceedings was doubtless the merest horseplay; such ingenuity and humor as they required may have been provided by the wicked wit of the Galiardi. . . . The *Feast of Asses* has been the sport of controversialists who had not, and were at no great pains to have, the full facts before them."<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Maitland quotes Robertson's account of the feast, which recites in unmistakable terms that which modern writers are content to infer—namely, that "this ridiculous ceremony was not, like the festival of fools and some other pageants of those ages, a mere farcical entertainment exhibited in a church, and mingled, as was then the custom, with an imitation of some religious rites. It was an act of devotion performed by the ministers of religion and by the authority of the Church. However, as this practice did not prevail universally in the Catholic Church, its absurdity contributed at last to abolish it."<sup>21</sup>

Dr. Maitland declares the whole story a specimen of broad, bare-faced falsehood, and devotes a chapter to an examination of the matter. His comment upon Robertson's evident motive is worth quoting here, since it sheds light upon similar attempts to belittle the honest aims of Church discipline: "But having observed on the facts, let us now notice the animus and the modus. The facts are, as we have seen, absurdly misstated. But what are we to say of the design and the manner of introducing those facts? It is really

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>20</sup> E. K. Chambers, "The Mediæval Stage," Vol. I., pp. 325-330.

<sup>21</sup> Maitland, "The Dark Ages," fifth edition, London, 1890, p. 169 ff.

necessary to say very little on this point, though it is principally for this that the matter is worth noticing at all. Who can help seeing the absurdity of introducing this asinine business by a sober reflection on the practical evils of assuming infallibility, with its attributes of perpetuity and immutability, and then telling us that what is apparently given as an example (for why else is it given at all?) never was general, and was, after a while, abandoned? But what is the obvious animus? Why did not Robertson, instead of throwing the whole odium of this nonsense on the Church, tell his readers that this ass was patronized by the people—that he was the pet of the laity—and that, with natural and characteristic obstinacy, and cheered by the love and sympathy of his lay friends, he kept his ground against the ecclesiastical powers which would have turned him out of the church? Why did he not add the statement of those from whom he borrowed the story—*‘Haec abolere censuris ecclesiasticis non semel tentarunt episcopi, sed frustra, altissimis quippe defixa erat radicibus donec supremi Senatus accessit auctoritas, qua tandem hoc festum suppressum est.’*”<sup>22</sup>

The study of the English cycles has not as yet passed beyond the point of special phase investigation. There is still much to be written before a comprehensive exposition of the whole subject can be hoped for. The constantly increasing interest in the long neglected field is sure to offer the multiplicity of views which will eventually make possible a satisfactory summing up of all into one harmonious story, wherein each event so often considered in extravagant detail will then be made to readjust itself to the strict confines of an accurate appraisalment.

It is with one of these phases not yet entered upon that the present monograph is concerned. The Blessed Virgin has been mentioned incidentally by many writers who treat of the English miracle plays. As usual, particular reference to the Virgin is often free from prejudice. It is only when mention is made of the general devotion given her that the mists of Protestant influence begin to creep in. Very often some exceptional incident recorded by old writers has been taken as mirroring the doctrine of the Church. Le Grand d’Aussy, pointing out the unfairness of judging an age by its legends, accounts for the practice when he says: “*Quelque écrivain, en par courant ces sortes d’ouvrages y rencontrera par hasard un passage, une anecdote, un prétendu fait historique, curieux à force de bêtise et de simplicité. Il le recueille et l’enchâsse dans quelqu’une de ses productions pour en rejouir ses lecteurs. Vient ensuite un compilateur d’anecdotes, un historien même qui frappé de la singularité du passage et croyant y voir l’esprit du Siècle ou il*

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.

fut écrit, s'en empare à son tour, et prononce après cela sur le siècle même. Combien d'exemples je pourrais citer en ce genre."<sup>23</sup>

A glance over a few of our foremost writers will convince one that the method alluded to by M. Le Grand d'Aussy is still common. Karl Mantzius, referring to the part the Blessed Virgin takes in the *Miracles de Notre Dame*, says: "This exaggerated belief in the omnipotent influence of the Virgin Mary, characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, finds its strongest expression in a speech in which the devil, who is always at war with the Mother of Christ, indicates the fear of our Lord to act against her will."<sup>24</sup> Professor Gayley expands the same idea into the following: "The Mariolatry of the eleventh century had, as Creizenach says, produced by the beginning of the twelfth a host of stories of the miraculous intervention of the Virgin on behalf of the afflicted who venerated her, or of the wanton lawless, or criminal who, repentant, placed themselves under her protection. By the end of the fourteenth century many of these stories, some indeed from the apocryphal gospels and the legends of the saints, but more from the mediæval *chansons des gestes, fabliaux* and romances familiar to common folk or country circle, had found their way into dramatic form and were presented before large audiences not only in Paris, but in various provincial cities, by the *Puys*, or semi-religious, associations of the several localities. Under color of the worship of the Virgin, these fraternities made their music, recited and sang their rondels of extravagant, but often exquisite, adoration and produced their miracles of the Mother of our Lord. In them she is helpless no longer, no longer broken-hearted or even pathetic, but victorious, majestic, magical and gracious—a vision of superhuman chastity and beauty; a fusion of faery queen and saint and goddess, as unconscious frequently as the first of a moral law, or as the second of a physical, or as the third of any kind of limitation in the performance of a superhuman desire."<sup>25</sup>

It will be noticed that the plays produced in France are made use of to support the charge of Mariolatry, and doubtless for the reason that, since the French nature differs so widely from the English, legends which would be understood in their proper light by Frenchmen might reasonably be expected to appear unpardonable to English taste.

But perhaps all is explained in the remark of Mr. Furnivall in his preface to "Hymns to the Virgin and Christ:" "After telling Mrs.

<sup>23</sup> Le Grand d'Aussy, "Fabliaux ou Contes," 31eme edition, Tôme Cinquième, Paris, 1829, Discours Preliminaire, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Karl Mantzius, "A History of Theatrical Art," trans. by Louise von Cassel, Vol. II., p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

Gaskell one day a story for the truth of which I could not vouch, she said, with a beautiful, bright smile: 'Now, I'm going to believe that whether it's true or not. It ought to be true.' On looking through the Lambeth MS., 853, which Mr. Stubbs kindly handed to me in Lambeth Palace Library, I could not help saying: 'I'll print it all, whether it contains early versions or late; it is a jolly little manuscript.'"<sup>26</sup>

It looks as if many writers hold the same view in regard to mediæval versions, whether early or late, but in copying them without some explanatory note they prevent their readers from forming a fair concept of the subject. After all has been worked over, with due regard to conditions, it may not be far from right to agree with Dr. Furnivall when he concludes: "And a survey of our early religious poetry will, I believe—and, so far as I may speak, from some work at it—result in a verdict favorable to the plain, good sense and practical going straight at the main point which Englishmen pride themselves on, whatever amount of Philistinism and humbug is mixed up with these qualities. The burden of the early songs (as I read them) is a prayer for forgiveness of sins, a desire to get out of the filth of the flesh and rise, as well here as hereafter, into the purer and higher life which, to the believer, union with his Saviour implied and implies."<sup>27</sup>

Not a few writers have made it appear that England's devotion to the Blessed Virgin, which is so beautifully portrayed in the play cycles, had its origin in the demand for a noble type of womanhood. Mr. Brewer, in an introduction to his "*Monumenta Franciscana*," attributes this to the preaching of the Franciscans, charging that devotion towards the Mother was urged even at the risk of lessening that which was due to her Son.<sup>28</sup> It is, then, a matter of considerable moment if one would study profitably the Blessed Virgin as presented in mediæval drama that at the outset a just estimate be formed of the place she has occupied in the religious life of the English people.

The "*Book of Cerne*," a Cambridge manuscript, which was in the possession of Ethelwald during the latter part of the eighth century, contains a prayer to the Blessed Virgin in which she is saluted as "Mother of God, forever blessed, glorious, chaste and pure—Mary without stain, chosen and loved of God and advocate of sinners."<sup>29</sup> The Council of Hatfield, which was held in 680, gave faithful assent to the Lateran decrees containing the explicit teaching of the Church

<sup>26</sup> Furnivall, "Hymns to the Virgin and Christ," *Early English Text Society*, No. 24, 1867.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> J. S. Brewer, "*Monumenta Franciscana*," Vol. I., *Rolls Series*.

<sup>29</sup> *Home and Foreign Review*, October, 1862, p. 481.

respecting the Blessed Virgin's maternity and virginity. The writings of the Venerable Bede are replete with doctrinal and devotional passages in reference to the Virgin, which indicate how universally the prerogatives of the Virgin Mother were acknowledged in the land of the Saxons.

That no doubt may remain of the antiquity of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin in England, it may be well to quote somewhat extensively from the earliest Anglo-Saxon writers. Caedmon's "Fall of Man" thus alludes to the redemption:

When the Serpent our Preserver spoke,  
The Lord Almighty to the varled snake,  
Far journeying, and in words He thus decreed:  
Thou shalt, accursed, with thy belly tread  
All thy life long the earth; upon thy breast  
Go footless, while the life to thee shall rest,  
The spirit within thee; all thy life's days long.  
Dust shalt thou eat as thou hast caused the wrong.  
Thee shall the Woman hate, and thine own head  
At war with thee, beneath her feet shall tread;  
Thou shalt her heel beset and war shall be,  
And fatal hate, betwixt her seed and thee,  
While the world standeth the wide heav'ns below;  
How thou shalt live now, fell destroyer, know.<sup>80</sup>

The *Codex Exoniensis*, as published by Thorpe in 1842, contains the tribute of Cynewulf to the Virgin. Thorpe considered it of philological interest only. The poem has found a more appreciative interpreter in Mr. Gollancz, and it is from his translation that the following is taken:

Young was the maiden,  
A damsel sinless, whom He chose as mother.  
It came to pass without the love of man,  
That the bride was great by child-conception.  
Never before or after in the world  
Was any meed of woman like to that;  
It was a secret mystery of the Lord.

O sight of peace! Holy Jerusalem!  
Choicest of royal thrones! Citadel of Christ!  
The native seat of angels and of the just,  
The souls of whom alone rest in thee ever,  
Exulting in glory. No sign of aught unclean  
Shall ever be beheld in that abode,  
But every sin shall flee afar from thee,  
All curse and conflict; thou art gloriously full  
Of holy promise, e'en as thou art named.  
See now thyself how all the wide creation  
And heaven's roof surveyeth thee about,  
On every side, and how the King of heaven  
Seeketh thee in His course, and cometh Himself,  
And taketh His dwelling in thee, as in days of yore  
Soothsayers so wise declared in words;  
They made known Christ's birth; they told it for thy comfort,  
Thou best of cities!

## II.

O sovran Lady of the blissful skies,  
Thou noblest maid through all the realms of earth,  
That the ocean-dwellers have ever heard tell of,  
Unfold the mystery that came to thee from heaven,

<sup>80</sup> Caedmon, "The Fall of Man, or, Paradise Lost," ed. by William H. F. Bosanquet, London, 1860.



How thou didst in some wise receive increase  
 By child-conception, and yet thou knewest not  
 Communion after human fashion.  
 Truly we have not heard that ever yet,  
 In days of yore, the like hath come to pass,  
 Such as thou in special grace receivest,  
 Nor may we hope that it will ever chance  
 In future time. Lo, the faith that dwelt in thee  
 Was worshipful, since thou didst in thy bosom bear  
 The flower of glory, and thy great maidenhood  
 Was not destroyed. All the children of men  
 As they sow in sorrow, so afterwards they reap,  
 They bring forth for death.

The Blessed Virgin now answers, saying that the mystery, although unknown to men, was revealed to her, the kinswoman of royal David, and then, having sung of the Nativity, the poet turns to Mary with an apostrophe remarkable for strength and imagery:

Hail, thou glory of this middle-world,  
 Thou purest woman throughout all the earth,  
 Of those that were from immemorial time,  
 How rightly art thou named by all endowed  
 With gift of speech! All mortals throughout earth  
 Declare, full blithe of heart, that thou art bride  
 Of Him that ruleth the empyreal sphere.  
 So, too, the highest in the heavens above,  
 The thanes of Christ, proclaim aloud and sing,  
 That thou by might of holiness art queen  
 Of the hosts of glory, of the ranks of men  
 On earth 'neath heaven, and of hell's habitants,  
 For thou alone of all the race of men  
 With noble aspiration didst resolve  
 To bring thy maidenhood unto the Lord,  
 To offer it in all thy sinlessness.  
 No ring-adorned bride like unto thee  
 Hath ever come again 'mong humankind,  
 To send with spirit pure the glorious gift  
 Unto the heavenly home. Wherefore the Lord triumphant  
 Bade His chief messenger fly hitherward  
 From His great glory, and anon to thee  
 Reveal His might's avall, that thou shouldst bear  
 In purity the Son of the Supreme,  
 In mercy to mankind, and nathless, Mary,  
 Thou shouldst be held immaculate for aye.  
 Eke have we heard the words that long ago  
 The prophet truly spake concerning thee,  
 In distant days of old, to wit, Isaiah,  
 That he was led where he beheld aright  
 Life's dwelling-place in the eternal home;  
 Looked then the wise soothsayer o'er all the land,  
 Till that he saw where stood immovable  
 A glorious portal; bound all about  
 With precious metal was the door immense,  
 Begirt with wondrous bands; he pondered much  
 How any mortal man might e'er avall  
 To lift the bolts and bars so firmly fixed,  
 Yea, ever unto all eternity,  
 Or ope the fastening of that city-gate,  
 Until God's angel joyfully to him  
 Disclosed how it would be, and spake these words:  
 "I may tell thee"—truly it came to pass—  
 "That God Himself, Father Omnipotent,  
 In future time, yea, by His Spirit's might,  
 Will glorify these golden gates withal,  
 And through these firm-set bolts will visit earth,  
 And after Him shall they remain for aye,  
 To all eternity, so firmly closed,  
 That no one else but He, the Saviour God,  
 Shall e'er avall to open them again."  
 Now is the thing fulfilled that at that time  
 The sage there with his eyes contemplated.

Thou art the wall-door; through thee the Omnipotent,  
The Ruler, once proceeded to this earth;  
And as He, Christ Almighty, found thee then  
Adorned with all thy virtues, pure and choice,  
So He, the Prince of Angels, Lord of life,  
Closed thee, immaculate e'en as of yore,  
After Him again, as with a wondrous key.  
Show us now the grace that God's own messenger,  
The angel Gabriel, brought unto thee!  
Forsooth we dwellers in earth's cities pray,  
That thou reveal their comfort unto men,  
Thy very Son. Hereafter we may all,  
With one accord, look forward hopefully,  
If now we see the Child upon thy breast.  
Plead thou our cause for us with earnest words,  
That He may suffer us no longer here  
To list to Error in this vale of death,  
But that He lead us to the Father's realm,  
Where sorrowless we may forever more  
Abide in glory with the Lord of Hosts.<sup>51</sup>

Caedmon and Cynewulf sang their praise of the Blessed Virgin because their hearts were filled with devotion. That their song was a welcome one to the faith of their countrymen is evident in the frequent mention of the Blessed Virgin in the monuments of the period. We read in the "*Historia Nennii*" that King Arthur triumphed over the Saxons by the favor of the Blessed Virgin. He carried her image upon his shoulders, and upon that day the pagans were put to flight.<sup>52</sup>

The monastic chronicles, although written later, bear abundant testimony to the widespread devotion given to Mary in England. It cannot be fairly maintained that the numerous references to the honor paid the Virgin Mary are interpolations. Such a supposition impeaches the good faith of men who in all probability had at their own disposal the cherished historical data of ages.

This is pointed out and made much of by Mr. Stevenson in the preface to his "*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*." He says: "As there existed no antecedent inducement to deal unfairly with the truth, so there is no internal evidence that the truth has been unfairly dealt withal. The compilers of this narrative, whoever they may have been, executed their labor with commendable singleness of purpose. Their intention was to record the history of their own monastery, and to that object they have religiously confined themselves. Guiltless of any attempt to produce effect and devoid of all artistic skill, they have told what they had to tell like unpracticed writers, but like honest men, dully but truthfully."<sup>53</sup>

Sufficient has now been said to indicate in a general way the vantage ground one should occupy before attempting to single out a particular feature of the mediæval drama for special study. With

<sup>51</sup> Israel Gollancz, "*Cynewulf's Christ*," London, 1892.

<sup>52</sup> "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," edited by Henry Petrie and John Sharpe, Vol. I., pp. 51 and 73.

<sup>53</sup> *Rolls Series*, 1858, Vol. I., p. 4.

the charge of immoral stage representation disproved, the one-sided view of Protestant writers regarding questions of ecclesiastical history indicated, and a brief survey of England's early devotion to the Mother of God concluded, a further and more particular inquiry may now be entered upon.

The Blessed Virgin in the York cycle of miracle plays is introduced in the fourfold character of maiden, mother, wife and advocate. With her Divine Son, she receives the most reverential treatment. The primary object of her presentation is a religious one. As the lowly handmaid of the redemption, she is the model of Christian humility and obedience; as the Mother of God, she is raised in dignity above men and angels; as the wife of St. Joseph, she is the embodiment of all the virtues of the home; as an advocate, she is the kind-hearted friend of the fallen. The history of her life followed step by step from Nazareth to the quiet home of the Beloved Disciple, where she joyfully waited for death and the assumption of her body into heaven, is lacking in nothing which dramatic art demands. With what success the writers of the York cycle employed this richness of material will appear as their plays unfold the story of her joys, her sorrows and her glories.

While the plays were made sufficiently entertaining to attract and hold the attention of the people, they had as a main purpose the teaching of religious truths and the inculcation of sound moral principles. This may be seen in the following proclamation of the York City Council relative to the annual presentation of the cycle: "In the name of God, Amen. Whereas for a long course of time the artificers and tradesmen of the city of *York* have, at their own expense, acted plays, and particularly a certain sumptuous play, exhibited in several pageants, wherein the history of the old and new testament in divers places of the said city, in the feast of *Corpus Christi* by a solemn procession, is represented in reverence to the sacrament of the body of Christ. Beginning first at the great gates of the priory of the holy *Trinity* in *York*, and so going in procession to and into the cathedral church of the same, and afterwards to the hospital of *St. Leonard* in *York*, leaving the aforesaid sacrament in that place. Preceded by a vast number of lighted torches and a great multitude of priests in their proper habits, and followed by the mayor and citizens, with a prodigious crowd of the populace attending. And whereas, upon this a certain very religious father, *William Melton*, of the order of the *friars minor*, professor of holy pageantry and a most famous preacher of the word of God, coming to this city, in several sermons recommended the aforesaid play to the people, affirming that it was good in itself and very commendable so to do. Yet also said that the citizens of the said city and other

foreigners coming to the said feast had greatly disgraced the play by revellings, drunkenness, shouts, songs and other insolencies, little regarding the divine office of the said day. And what is to be lamented, they lose for that reason the indulgences by the Holy Father Pope Urban IV., in this part gratuitously conceded. Those, viz., faithful in *Christ*, who attended at morning service at the said feast in the church where it was celebrated, an hundred days; those at Mass the same; those also who came to the first vespers of the said feast, the like an hundred days; the same in the second; to those also who even at the first, third, sixth and ninth complotory offices, for every hour of those forty days; to those also who attended service on the octave of the said feast at matins or vespers, Mass or the aforesaid hours, an hundred days for every day of the said octave; as in the holy canons, for this end made, is more fully contained; and therefore, as it seemed most wholesome to the said father *William*, the people of the city were inclined that the play should be played on one day and the procession on another, so that the people might attend divine service at the churches on the said feast for the indulgences aforesaid. . . . ”<sup>34</sup>

It is worthy of notice that special commendation is accorded the Franciscan friar, William Melton. Modern scholars have pointed out that Drake's "professor of holy pageantry" is a mistranslation of the original title, *Professor Paginae Sacrae*. However, Dr. Gayley retains Drake's translation. Referring to a critic of his who had said: "The York friar, William Melton, still passes as a 'professor of holy pageantry,' although the *sacra pagina* of which he was professor cannot possibly be anything but 'Holy Writ,' ”<sup>35</sup> Dr. Gayley refuses to retract, and recommits himself to the surmise that Father Melton was a playwright, at least by avocation. Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith says that his desire to have all attend Mass on the feast of *Corpus Christi* was probably inspired by the hope of selling indulgences.<sup>36</sup> The charge is a gratuitous one and wholly unsupported by evidence either direct or indirect. Mr. Arthur F. Leach might have made the statement by the force of hypothesis, since in his eyes to search for virtue among friars is a hopeless task.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Francis Drake, "History of York," 1736, two vols. See appendix, p. xxix.

<sup>35</sup> *Athenaeum*, August 1, 1908.

<sup>36</sup> "York Mystery Plays, Introd., p. xxxiv.

<sup>37</sup> "York Mystery Plays," Introd., p. xxxiv.

## PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—VI.

THE occupation of Rome by the troops of General Miollis on February 2, 1808, did not bring the rule of Pius VII. to an end at once. It was but the continuation of the many aggressions by which, without a declaration of war, Napoleon had gradually deprived the Holy Father of his chief fortresses and his richest provinces. Ancona had been occupied in October, 1805, under pretext of defending it against the English; the port and citadel of Civit  Vecchia were taken in June, 1806; the Duchies of Beneventum and Pontecorvo were at the same time declared to be fiefs of the Empire and granted to Talleyrand and Bernadotte, and in October, 1807, General Lemarois was ordered to take possession of the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata and Fermo. What rendered this method of destroying the temporal power of Pius VII., by successive annexations of his territories, still more odious was that the Holy See and the French Empire were supposed to be at peace, and that negotiations were being carried on at Paris by the Papal representative to induce the Emperor to desist from demanding concessions which the Holy Father's conscience would not allow him to grant. The most important of these were the closure of the ports of the Papal States to the ships of England and Russia and the occupation of their fortresses by French troops whenever a foreign army had landed or was about to land in Italy. If the Pope consented to these proposals, which would reduce him to the position of a vassal, the Emperor declared that he would be satisfied, and that the Pope might reckon on the preservation of his States.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon sought to terrify the Holy Father by the violence of the language which he addressed to his Legate. In one of his habitual outbursts of fury he told Cardinal Caprara, in presence of all his court,<sup>2</sup> to inform the Pope that, if his demands were not immediately complied with, he would seize all that remained of the Papal States. He would divide them into duchies and principalities like Benevento and Pontecorvo, and would distribute them as he pleased. It was useless to make any observation, he added, as he had made up his mind, and he would not change it. The fate of Rome would depend on the answer.

These threats, however, failed to induce Pius VII. to depart from the neutrality which he considered that he was bound to observe, and his resolution was approved of by the Cardinals to whom the

<sup>1</sup> P. Mario Rinaldi, *Napoleone e Pio VII. (1804-1813). Relazioni storiche su documenti inediti del Archivio Vaticano-Torino*, 1906, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> At an audience at St. Cloud on July 1, 1806.

Legate's report was communicated. Cardinal Caprara was, therefore, ordered to leave Paris and return to Rome in case the Emperor were to proceed to carry out his threats, or, if unable to do so, to cease from exercising his functions as Legate.

The Emperor's absence from Paris for the campaign against Prussia suspended the discussion of the question for some time, but when, after the victories of Auerstadt and Jena, he had entered Berlin (28th October, 1806), he sent for Mgr. Arezzo, who had been Papal Nuncio at St. Petersburg and was then living in Dresden. He repeated to him on November 12, 1806, for the purpose of being communicated to the Holy Father, the same demands and the same threats which had been already addressed to Cardinal Caprara. He informed him, moreover, that Italy belonged to him by right of conquest, and that he had inherited the rights of Charlemagne. He then boasted of the services he had rendered to religion, and denied that he wished to introduce the *Code Napoléon* into Rome. He assured him that he reduced all his demands to the single condition of closing the ports to the English, and he asked that a negotiator should be sent to Paris provided with full powers to bring about a settlement of the question. If it were refused, he would take away the temporal power of the Holy See, place a King or a Senator in Rome, divide the Papal States into a number of duchies and give the Pope a pension which should enable him to maintain his position with dignity.

Mgr. Arezzo's mission did not achieve more success than Napoleon's previous attempts to render the Holy Father the instrument of his ambition. Pius VII. could only express his surprise that, when he had on so many occasions given the reasons which forbade him to yield to the Emperor's demands, he should now be expected to return a different answer. The duties appertaining to his office and his character of Father and Pastor did not allow him to join any federation or to take part in hostilities against any nation which included Catholics. As to the fatal consequences and the loss of his States which might be the result of his refusal, he regretted that such considerations should have been thought capable of turning him aside from his duties. He had placed his cause in the hands of God, and trusting in the Divine protection, he would await with calm and resignation whatever might be written in the decrees of Providence.<sup>3</sup> There was also another reason why he should not enter into further negotiations. When the Emperor met Mgr. Arezzo at Berlin he had asked that an envoy should be sent to Paris

<sup>3</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 312. Mgr. Arezzo's report and the letter sent by the Papal government to the Nuncios, with a copy of the reply returned to Talleyrand.

to discuss his various demands, but Pius VII. saw the snare which was being prepared for him, and refused to comply. His envoy on reaching Paris would have been requested to meet the Emperor at Berlin or Warsaw, and would thereby have given rise to a false impression, which it was Napoleon's interest to create, that the Holy Father was taking part with him against the powers at war with France, towards whom, on the contrary, Pius VII. was resolved to observe absolute neutrality.<sup>4</sup>

Other circumstances contributed about the same time to increase the irritation which the Holy Father's steadfast resistance had caused the Emperor. An Italian Concordat between the Holy See and the Cisalpine Republic was signed on September 16, 1803. It was published on January 26, 1804, and Count Melzi, the Vice President of the republic, added to it by a decree organic articles similar to those added to the French Concordat, but fewer in number, which were much at variance with it and modified its action considerably. Thus only those orders which were employed in teaching or minding the sick or were engaged in similar duties of public utility were allowed to receive novices. To enter a religious community or to receive holy orders the consent of the government was necessary, and without its permission no bulls, briefs or rescripts of the Court of Rome could be published.<sup>5</sup>

To the protestations of Pius VII. against such an infraction of a solemn treaty, the First Consul, who was then engaged in making preparations for the invasion of England, replied by vague promises that, together with Cardinal Caprara, he would regulate everything concerning the Italian Concordat, but nothing was done. He did not blame Melzi or disapprove of the decree which had probably been published with his consent.<sup>6</sup> The Concordat was thus allowed to remain in abeyance for more than a year, but when, in 1805, Napoleon had crowned himself King of Italy at Milan, he ordered, by a decree of May 22, that the Concordat should be put in execution on the 1st of June following. He then proceeded to enact several measures with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of the Italian kingdom, which, according to the terms of the Concordat, required the concurrence of the Holy See. By his decree of June 8 he repaired, it is true, in a great measure the injury which had been inflicted on the Church in North Italy by the revolutionary movements of 1796 and the succeeding years; for he assigned revenues to the archbishoprics and bishoprics, to the chapters and the seminaries of the kingdom, restoring to them a large part of their former incomes. But these endow-

<sup>4</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> Padre Ilario Rinieri, *La Diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX.* Roma, 1902, t. II., p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> Rinieri, *Diplomazia*, t. II., p. 215.

ments should have been made by agreement with the Holy See, and not purely by his sole will and authority. Moreover, he did not revoke Count Melzi's organic articles, but, acting in the same spirit, he decreed that the religious orders of men and women which were engaged in teaching or in caring for the sick should be preserved; he regulated the number of convents which the other orders might still retain and the amount of the pensions to be given to their inmates; he fixed the age for taking religious vows at 21 for men and 18 for women, and he handed over to the State to be sold for the purpose of extinguishing the national debt the property of the convents and monasteries which were suppressed. By another decree, dated June 22, 1805, he reduced the number of parishes, which he considered to be too large in certain towns, by uniting several in one.<sup>7</sup>

Pius VII. protested against these decrees, issued in defiance of the terms of the Concordat, as well as against the introduction into Italy of the *Code Napoléon*, which authorized divorce, and the Emperor yielded so far as to instruct Cardinal Fesch, his representative in Rome, to discuss the matter with whoever the Pope should name for that purpose. Cardinal Antonelli was entrusted with the negotiation on the part of the Holy See, but before any understanding could be reached Napoleon grew impatient. He was not accustomed to tolerate any opposition to his will or to recede from any position he had taken up, and he therefore directed Talleyrand to inform Cardinal Fesch that he did not wish the discussion to be continued, and did not even wish to hear it mentioned again.<sup>8</sup>

When, therefore, in September, 1806, the Holy Father was requested to grant the canonical institution to ten Bishops who had been nominated by the Emperor to sees in the kingdom of Italy, he at first declined and replied that as long as the infractions of the Concordat, of which he had so often complained, were allowed to subsist, he could not consider himself to be bound by an agreement which the Emperor on his side had ceased to observe. The negotiations, too, which had been begun for the purpose of settling these difficulties and coming to an understanding on the subject, were still far from being concluded. The Pope consented, however, to accept the nominations, provided that these prelates possessed the necessary qualifications, but in his letter to Prince Eugène Beauharnais, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, he told him frankly that he hoped that he should not be exposed to the painful necessity of making a

<sup>7</sup> Cesare Cantù, *Corrispondenza di diplomatici della Repubblica e del Regno d'Italia (1796-1814)*. Milano, 1884, p. 320. *Instructions données à M. de Birago, ministre plénipotentiaire du Royaume d'Italie auprès du Saint Siège*. P. Rinaldi, *Diplomazia*, t. II., p. 221. Cardinal Consalvi's note to Cardinal Fesch, 30 July, 1805.

<sup>8</sup> Cantù, *op. cit.*, p. 321.



public declaration to the Church so as to clear himself from the reproach of having remained silent too long, since he perceived that it had been of no use and might be a cause of scandal to the faithful.<sup>9</sup>

These words clearly alluded to the many acts of violence both with regard to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See and to its territorial possessions, of which the Emperor had been guilty, and that in consequence the Sovereign Pontiff might denounce him to all Christendom as having incurred the censures of the Church. Prince Eugène forwarded the letter to Napoleon. It was just after his interview at Tilsit with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia and the signature of the treaty between the three monarchs (July 7, 1807). With the exception of England, whose fleets held the seas and blockaded his ports, all Europe lay prostrate at his feet; the great military powers of the Continent had been crushed, and the thought that the ruler of what little still remained of a feeble and unwarlike State should dare not only to resist his will, but to reprove his actions, drove him to fury.

In his reply to Prince Eugène, a long letter which he ordered him to forward to Pius VII., he poured forth a torrent of insults and calumnious accusations against the Holy Father and the Sacred College. He declared that if the Pope were to denounce him to Christendom he would no longer look upon him as Pope, but as anti-Christ, and would prevent all communication between his subjects and Rome. He accused the Court of Rome of inciting the Italians to rebel against him. "What does Pius VII. intend to do by denouncing me? Will he place my thrones under an interdict and excommunicate me? Does he think that the weapons will fall from the hands of my soldiers?<sup>10</sup> And will he put the poignard into the hands of my subjects to assassinate me? . . . There is so much folly in all this that I can only groan over this spirit of madness which has seized two or three Cardinals who manage affairs in Rome." He then went on to attack the temporal power of the Papacy and to revile the authorities in Rome for their blindness,

<sup>9</sup> Rinieri, *Napoleone e Pio VII.*, p. 323.

<sup>10</sup> Napoleon's insolent question was answered during the disastrous Russian campaign, of which Count de Ségur, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, has left a vivid description. This is what he witnessed during the retreat from Moscow: "Everything, even their weapons—which at Malo Jarostavetz were still available for offense, but which since then were merely defensive—then turned against them. They seemed an intolerable weight to their benumbed arms. They escaped from their hands in their frequent falls; they were broken or were lost in the snow. If the soldiers rose again, it was without them; for they did not fling them away: hunger and cold tore them away. The fingers of many men who still held their muskets froze upon them, for they impeded the movement which was wanted to keep up what warmth and life still remained there."—*Mémoires du Général Comte de Ségur*, Paris, 1894, t. II., p. 256.

since they failed to see that it was he who had reëstablished religion in Italy. He accused the Court of Rome of neglecting the interests of religion and seeking to acquire arbitrary power, and he threatened that if this disturbance of the affairs of his Empire were to continue, the time was perhaps not very far off when he would acknowledge the Pope only as Bishop of Rome and as of equal rank with the other Bishops of his dominions. He would not fear to unite the Churches of France, Italy, Germany and Poland in a council and transact his business without the Pope. He declared that he would not accept the decisions of the Consistory until the Sacred College should be composed of French, German, Spanish and Italian Cardinals in a number proportionate to the population of each of these States. Finally, he refused to make a second Italian Concordat for Venice, Piedmont and Parma or to allow his Bishops to go to Rome to submit themselves to a foreign sovereign in a city that was filled with his enemies.

To this wild and incoherent torrent of invectives Prince Eugène added a commentary, apparently in his own name, but which also formed part of the letter he had received from the Emperor. He, too, accused the Cardinals of ruining the Church, and warned the Pope that a new schism was about to take place, which should free France, Italy, Naples and the Confederation of the Rhine from the influence of the Court of Rome and leave the Pope isolated. He praised the services which the Emperor had rendered to religion—services “that were without example in the annals of the world,” and called Napoleon a monarch “who could be compared only to Cyrus and Charlemagne.” He ended by informing the Holy Father that it was the last time that he had leave to write to him; that he might name Bishops or not, as he pleased, but that any one who should preach insurrection should be punished by the law, the power of which is also derived from on high.<sup>11</sup>

Pius VII. in his reply did not condescend to take any notice of the insulting language contained in this letter; of the false accusations he merely said that they had been often refuted and did not require to be again refuted. With regard to the threatened schism, he pointed out to the Prince that the Church could reckon on assistance which was above all human power, and he assured him that he would perform his sacred duties in perfect tranquillity and would not allow himself to be guided by any fear.<sup>12</sup>

Shortly after the reception of this letter M. Alquier, the French

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<sup>11</sup> *Correspondance de Napoléon I. publiée par ordre de Napoléon III. Paris, 1858-1864, t. XV., No. 12,942. Au Prince Eugène. Dresde, 22 Juillet, 1807.*

<sup>12</sup> *Rinieri, Napoleone e Pio VII., p. 331.*

Ambassador in Rome, requested Pius VII. to give Cardinal Caprara full powers to discuss the questions pending between the Holy See and the Empire, and seek to bring about an understanding between the two powers. The Pope, however, who knew how much his Legate was under the influence of the Emperor, thought that it would be more prudent to send Cardinal Litta, a member of a Milanese family, as special envoy, but the Emperor considered him to be hostile to France and declined to receive him. At the same time he accused the Court of Rome of being animated with a spirit of malevolence, and declared that in order to assure the safety of his army at Naples he would seize three more provinces of the Papal States unless the Pope consented to expel from Rome all strangers and all the enemies of France.<sup>13</sup>

The Emperor then expressed the wish that Cardinal de Bayane, a French subject, should be named envoy. The Holy Father hastened to comply with the request, but Prince Eugène received orders from Paris to detain the Cardinal at Milan while on his way unless he were able to give a solemn assurance that he had received full powers to settle all the questions with regard to which Rome and the Emperor were at issue. Alquier, too, was instructed to ask the Papal Government firstly if the Cardinal had been authorized to consent that the Holy Father should "enter the political system of France against the English and the infidels;" secondly, if he had the power to make any concessions with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy, such as the suppression of the religious orders, the dispensation of the Italian Bishops from coming to Rome to be consecrated and the extension of the Italian Concordat to the Venetian provinces as well as the other conquered territories. If these conditions were refused, Alquier had orders to quit Rome at once with all the French embassy and the legations of Urbino, Macerata and Ancona should be seized.

The Holy Father's reply was given on the same day. Full powers had been given to Cardinal de Bayane to come to an understanding and to make stipulations with regard to the first of these demands as well as to those concerning the consecration in Rome of the Italian Bishops and the extension of the Italian Concordat to the other States, but not as to the religious orders, since that subject had not been previously mentioned.<sup>14</sup> From the correspondence of Cardinal Casoni, the Minister of State, with de Bayane and Alquier, quoted by Padre Rinieri, it is evident that Pius VII., in consenting at last to close the ports of his States against the English, had made a very

<sup>13</sup> Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. XV., No. 13,045. A. M. de Champagny, *Ministre des relations extérieures*. Paris, 18 Août, 1807.

<sup>14</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

unimportant concession; for they were since some time occupied by the French and were no longer in his power. But he positively refused to bind himself to enter into any federation or to contract any obligation to consider the friends and enemies of France as his friends and enemies. That would lead him into a war and would be incompatible with the independence of the Holy See. Cardinal de Bayane was therefore instructed to discuss this demand and make stipulations concerning it in order that the Emperor's intentions should be clearly defined; for if anything more than the closure of the ports were demanded, the Pope declared that he should be unable to ratify the treaty.<sup>15</sup>

When Cardinal de Bayane arrived at Fontainebleau on October 30, he found that the Emperor showed no desire to receive him immediately. Napoleon, in fact, had already decided on the course he intended to follow, and de Champagny, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, told the Cardinal that it was a matter of indifference to the Emperor whether his demands were granted or not, as he had made up his mind. Whatever, indeed, may have been the motive which impelled him to seek to negotiate with the Holy Father, it is certain that preparations had already been made for the annexation of three Papal provinces. He had written to Prince Eugène on September 25 to send General Duhesme's division from Civit  Vecchia to Ancona and to form there an army destined to take possession of the provinces of Urbino, Macerata, Fermo and Spoleto, in order to assure his communications with the Kingdom of Naples. He added that all these French troops quartered in the Papal States were to be fed, clothed and paid by the Pope, which he thought that the Prince would find to be a very great economy.<sup>16</sup> Even while Cardinal de Bayane was on his way to Paris the Emperor sent General Lemarois to Prince Eug ne to be invested by him with the command of all the troops, both Papal and French, quartered in those provinces, so that as soon as he got the order he might take possession of them, seize their revenues and establish a provisional administration.<sup>17</sup> By subsequent despatches Prince Eug ne was instructed to order the general to employ the Papal troops in suppressing brigandage and to arrest any of the Papal Governors or

<sup>15</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 356. Cardinal Casoni's letter to the Papal Nuncios, 15 October, 1807.

<sup>16</sup> Correspondance, t. XVI., No. 13,182. A Eug ne Napol on, Vice-roi d'Italie. Fontainebleau, 25 Septembre, 1807. "Ce qui ne laissera pas que de faire une assez grande  conomie."

<sup>17</sup> Correspondance, t. XVI., No. 13,210. A Eug ne Napol on. Fontainebleau, 3 Octobre, 1807. The decree which named Lemarois governor general was dated October 14, but is not to be found in the Correspondance. It is mentioned in a letter from Mgr. Vidoni, Governor of Ancona. Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

agents who refused to submit to his authority. Another letter of November 23 informed the Prince that the Papal representatives were still nominally the administrators of the country, but that General Lemarois was to have the command of the troops and of the police. The general had, indeed, already begun to make use of the powers conferred on him. He soon found that the functionaries named by the Holy See refused to obey any orders except those issued by the Pope, and being unable to overcome their resistance he caused several of them to be arrested, among others Mgr. Pandolfi, Governor of Ascoli, and Mgr. Rivarola, Governor of Macerata, the latter of whom he imprisoned in the fortress of Pesaro.

Although in his interview with Mgr. Arezzo Napoleon had assured him that the only concession he would demand from the Pope was the closure of the ports of his States to English shipping, the draft of a much more extensive treaty, consisting of ten articles, was presented to Mgr. de Bayane on his arrival in Paris and was sent by him to Pius VII. By the terms proposed in this agreement the naval and military forces of the Sovereign Pontiff were to be united to those of the Emperor. In every war against the English the ports of the Papal States were to be closed to their warships and to their commerce, and the guard of the ports of Ancona, Ostia and Cività Vecchia was to be confided to the Emperor's troops. The fortress of Ancona was to have a garrison of 2,000 men, to be maintained by the Holy See, but the other French garrisons in the Papal States were to be maintained by the Emperor. His Holiness was to acknowledge their Majesties Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples; Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, and Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia, as well as the Grand Duke of Berg (Murat), the Princes of Lucca and Piombino and all the changes which had been made in Germany and Italy. The Pope should also renounce all his claims opposed to the rights of the King of Naples as well as his sovereignty over Benevento and Pontecorvo, now made fiefs of the Empire. The number of the Cardinals belonging to the French Empire was to be raised to one-third of the entire number of the Sacred College. The Concordat made with the Kingdom of Italy was to be extended to the various other States annexed to it as well as to the principalities of Lucca and Piombino, and no Bishop of the Kingdom of Italy was to be obliged to go to Rome to receive consecration. A Concordat was to be made without delay between the Holy See and His Majesty for the German States which form the Confederation of the Rhine.<sup>18</sup>

The Cardinals then present in Rome, to the number of over thirty, were again consulted by the Pope as to whether he could accept such

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<sup>18</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

conditions, and if not, what course he should pursue. Of their answers, given in writing, no trace can be found, with the exception of the draft of that of Cardinal di Pietro, who pointed out the unjust and insidious character of the Emperor's proposals, the snares which they contained and the dangers to which their acceptance would lead. To quote a single example: If the Holy Father were to acknowledge all the "*accomodamenti*" (changes or arrangements) made by Napoleon in Germany and in Italy, it would render the other sovereigns of Europe hostile to him and tend to isolate him. It would also imply that he approved of the spoliation of the ecclesiastical Princes, of the chapters and of the monasteries of Germany, as well as of the many attacks on the possessions and the liberties of the Church which had taken place in Italy. The Cardinal, therefore, advised the rejection of these proposals, and that the Pope should make known to all Christendom by a strong, yet dignified protest, the excessive burdens which Napoleon sought to impose on the Holy See, and then implore the assistance of the Almighty by public prayers, and leave to Him the guidance of future events.<sup>19</sup> The Pope, therefore, when replying to Cardinal de Bayane on December 3, 1807, and again in another letter addressed to him by Cardinal Casoni on December 28, pointed out to him that if he were to consent to have the same friends and the same enemies as France, it would place him in a state of perpetual warfare absolutely incompatible with his character as a minister of peace, and that if he took part in hostilities against England, he should be deprived of all communication with the Catholics of that kingdom. The increase in the number of the French Cardinals, so strongly insisted on by the Emperor, would be subversive of the fundamental laws of the Holy See and of the Sacred College; it would also be an attack on the independence of the Holy See, and it would give rise to similar demands on the part of other Catholic powers. These conditions, therefore, as well as the others, which he also discussed, rendered it impossible that he should agree to a treaty which was incompatible with his liberty and independence as a sovereign, and if it were not withdrawn, the Cardinal should ask for his passports and leave Paris.

While Cardinal de Bayane was negotiating with M. de Champagne in Paris Napoleon had made a journey of inspection through North Italy, and when at Milan had met Cardinal Oppizoni, Archbishop of Bologna, and Cardinal Caselli, Archbishop of Parma, who had been charged by the Pope to make him a ceremonious visit. In his interview with them the Emperor again boasted of the services he had rendered to religion and complained of the proceedings of the Court of Rome, threatening that if it did not change its ways he

<sup>19</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

would undo all that Charlemagne had done in favor of the Church. He again insisted on the expulsion of the English from the Papal States; on the acceptance by the Pope of the political changes which had taken place in Italy, and he ended by saying that he would wait for two months longer, after which, if he were not satisfied, he would take action.

On his return to Paris he expressed to Cardinal de Bayane, by a letter from de Champagny, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, the regret and the surprise which he felt that the Holy See, with which he ardently desired to be reconciled, should seek to avoid all agreement between the two powers; that it should refuse to unite with him against England and to arrest the Neapolitan brigands who had taken refuge in Rome; that it should persist in not recognizing the King of Naples, and to show the greatest obstinacy in refusing to augment the number of French Cardinals in proportion to the extent of the Empire. This refusal was most keenly felt by His Majesty. As protector of the clergy of his Empire, he saw with pain that the Holy See, from which the prelates of France might have expected to meet with favor and good will, rendered no justice to their intelligence, and that Cardinal de Bayane had been ordered to break off the negotiation and return to Rome. The Sovereign of Rome, therefore, does not wish for a reconciliation, but prefers a state of hostility against France; he wishes to risk an appeal to arms and to expose himself to the losses which may be the consequence. The Emperor sees it with grief and regret; for three years he has suppressed his just resentment, but the Pope's last refusals and the orders given to Cardinal de Bayane have exhausted his patience. Let the negotiation, therefore, be broken off, since the Pope wishes it. Let Cardinal de Bayane receive his passports and return to Rome.<sup>20</sup>

On the same day Cardinal Caprara was informed by M. de Champagny that if the Pope still refused to yield to the demands already mentioned, the Emperor would publish a decree, by which the provinces occupied by the French troops should be united to the Kingdom of Italy and the province of Perugia to Tuscany. The Ambassador at Rome, M. Alquier, would give the Pope five days to come to a decision. If His Holiness did not accept the conditions, the French embassy would leave at once and the French generals

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<sup>20</sup> This letter is a hitherto inedited document. Padre Rinaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 395, very justly calls it a masterpiece of the art of lying. Napoleon must have known that Pius VII. could not accept the conditions he laid down without sacrificing his independence; that the Papal treasury was exhausted by the enormous contributions he demanded for his troops, and that by seizing on various portions of the Papal territories he had obliged the Pope to recall his Legate and his special envoy.

would execute the orders about to be sent to them. The Emperor would most assuredly not yield; he would have all or nothing. That evening the Cardinal had an audience at the Tuileries, where Napoleon, who manifested much irritation, told him that although his patience was exhausted, yet if the Pope agreed to his requests he would restore to him the provinces occupied by his troops. If not, Generals Lemarois and Miollis would seize what remained of the Papal States and place a garrison in Rome. It was in vain that the Cardinal reasoned and implored. His arguments were either flung aside as representing antiquated ideas or were listened to in silence and left unanswered. His appeals to the Emperor's generosity seemed to strengthen his resolution not to yield.

The Emperor's demands, which reached Rome on January 22, were again submitted to the Sacred College and again rejected; but Pius VII. in his anxiety to make every effort to obtain peace consented, in a note addressed to Alquier, to grant some of them with regard to which his conscience could allow him to yield, and he refused only to take part in a confederation and to name as many French Cardinals as Napoleon demanded. But it was too late; the order for the occupation of Rome had been already issued, and any concession on the part of the Holy Father was useless. On January 10, the day after his interview with Cardinal Caprara, Napoleon wrote to Prince Eugène to order General Miollis to march upon Rome with 2,500 men from Tuscany and an equal number from Ancona, while Joseph Napoleon was directed to send 3,000 French and Neapolitan troops to Terracina, so as to support him if necessary. The greatest secrecy was to be observed with regard to this expedition, which was to march as though destined to join the army in Naples. On reaching Rome Miollis was to take possession of the Castle of Saint Angelo and to render the greatest honor to the Pope—"*tous les honneurs possibles.*" He was to announce that it was his duty to arrest the Neapolitan brigands who took refuge in Rome, and he was to seize King Ferdinand's Consul, the English Consul and the other English subjects in the city. He was not, however, to take part in the government, but he was to have the title of "commander-in-chief of the troops in the States of the Church" and to receive his orders only from the Emperor.<sup>21</sup>

On January 22 a despatch was sent to Alquier which should reach him two days before the arrival of General Miollis, in order to inform him that the general, though apparently marching upon Naples, was to stop in Rome and take possession of the Castle of

<sup>21</sup> Correspondance, t. XVI., No. 13,441. A Eugène Napoléon. Paris, 10 Janvier, 1808. No. 13,442. A Joseph Napoléon, Roi de Naples. Paris, 10 Janvier, 1808.



Saint Angelo. It contained also a note which Alquier was to present to the Cardinal Secretary of State as soon as he learned that the French troops were at the gates of Rome. This document stated that the general's mission was to seize the Neapolitan brigands who had taken refuge in Rome, and to insist that all the other Neapolitans should at once return to Naples. The Emperor hoped that His Holiness would order the Neapolitan Cardinals to leave also for Naples within forty-eight hours, to take the oath to their sovereign, as otherwise he would look upon them as being the protectors of the brigands. The agents of England who disturb Italy must also be arrested, and General Miollis is not to leave until Rome has been purged of all the enemies of France. Alquier was also informed that the Emperor had no desire to take anything away from the Pope, but he wished to exercise in the Papal States the same influence as in Naples, Spain, Bavaria and the States of the Federation. If, however, the Court of Rome were to commit any more imprudent acts, it would lose its temporal power forever. The conduct of the Pope would decide what steps should be taken. Alquier was also instructed to prevent the circulation of any printed matter of a nature hostile to France; he was to tell the Governor of Rome and the head of the police that they should answer with their lives for the slightest insult offered to a Frenchman. By some lines written in cipher he was told that the Emperor's intention was to accustom the Roman people and the French troops to live together, so that if the Court of Rome continued to act in the same insane fashion, it should cease to exist as a temporal power by slow degrees and without any one being aware of it. The Emperor concluded by asserting that although he wished to leave matters in *statu quo* and to avoid making a disturbance, yet if the Pope were to publish a bull he would immediately issue a decree to revoke the donation of Charlemagne and unite the States of the Church to the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>22</sup>

M. Alquier, the French Ambassador, had been a member of the convention and had voted for the death of Louis XVI., but, like his predecessor, M. Cacault, his stay in Rome had rendered him somewhat less of a revolutionist and inspired him with friendly feelings towards the Pope, whose defense he often ventured to take against Napoleon. He was ashamed to present to the Holy Father a letter containing such brutal and insolent expressions, and was in consequence recalled shortly afterwards by the Emperor.<sup>23</sup> It is, how-

<sup>22</sup> Correspondance, t. XVI, No. 13,477. A. M. de Champagny, Ministre des relations extérieures. Paris, 22 Janvier, 1808.

<sup>23</sup> Lettres inédites de Napoléon I. publiées par Léon Lecestre. Paris, 1897, t. I, No. 227. Au Prince Eugène Napoléon, Vice-roi d'Italie. Paris, 17 Février, 1808. Rinaldi, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

ever, a fact that on January 29 he assured Cardinal Casoni that the troops of General Miollis would pass through the Papal States without stopping, and gave him a copy of their line of march, which he had received from the general, though from the Emperor's letter he must have known that his statement was false and that the marches beyond Rome indicated in the general's itinerary were not to be made.<sup>24</sup>

Pius VII. had at first intended to order the gates of Rome to be closed, so that the French troops should be obliged to take possession of the city by force and thereby openly declare their hostile intentions; but, yielding to the prayers of the Cardinals, he at last consented to offer no resistance.

The entry of the army of General Miollis into Rome, the seizure of the Castle of St. Angelo and the threatening display of artillery in front of the palace of the Quirinal have been described in the preceding number of the REVIEW. As in the case of the other attacks on the possessions of the Church, the Holy Father could offer no other defense than the publication of a protest against the invasion of Rome. His sacred duties, he said, and the dictates of his conscience would not allow him to agree to the demands of the French Government, and he was therefore obliged to submit to the disastrous consequences with which he had been threatened and to the military occupation of his capital. Resigned, however, to the inscrutable judgments of the Almighty, in all humility he placed his cause in the hands of God, and wishing to fulfill the obligations imposed on him of defending his sovereign rights, he had commanded his Minister to protest in his name and in that of his successors against the occupation of his States. He then, as Vicar upon earth of the God of peace, who by His Divine example taught us meekness and patience, appealed to his subjects, who had given him so many proofs of obedience, to remain calm and not to be guilty of any offense against any member of a nation from which he had received so many proofs of devotion and affection during his journey to Paris and while he dwelt there.<sup>25</sup>

The Holy Father consented to grant an audience to General Miollis on the day of his arrival in Rome. On seeing him the Pope said to him: "General, your cannons have not frightened us," and

<sup>24</sup> Relation de ce qui s'est passé à Rome dans l'envahissement des états du Saint Siège par les Français. . . . Pièces officielles et authentiques. A Londres, 1812, t. I., p. 13. Alquier à Casoni, 29 Janvier, 1808. "J'ai l'honneur de transmettre à Votre Éminence la copie de l'itinéraire qui sera suivi par deux colonnes de troupes, formant 6,000 hommes; les quelles doivent, sans s'arrêter, traverser l'état Romain. Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 411. According to this document, they were to have been at Albano, a day's march beyond Rome, on the 4th February.

<sup>25</sup> Cantù, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

dismissed him after a short conversation. Cardinal Doria-Pamphili, who had succeeded Cardinal Casoni as Secretary of State, then addressed to Alquier in the name of the Pope an indignant denial of the calumnious accusations made by the Emperor against the Papal Government of connivance with the Neapolitan brigands and of intriguing against France with the agents of foreign powers. He added that as long as Rome should be occupied by foreign troops His Holiness would consider himself as a prisoner and would refuse to open any negotiation until they had been withdrawn from his capital.<sup>26</sup>

General Miollis soon began to act as though in a conquered city and to suppress by force every expression of disapprobation of the Emperor's proceedings. On February 17 Padre Lucchesi, of the order of St. Augustine and rector of the church of that name, whose sermons on the Macchabees had apparently displeased the French, was arrested and transferred from one fortress to another until he was finally banished to the island of Piombino. He was the first of a large number of priests who incurred Napoleon's anger and who underwent deportation or imprisonment while the imperial government held possession of Rome.<sup>27</sup>

In the beginning of March the general caused the post office to be seized for the purpose of preventing any communication with the rest of Europe, and by means of the treachery of a Swiss officer, Lieutenant Colonel Baron de Fries, who deceived the soldiers under his command as to the Holy Father's intentions, the Papal troops were incorporated in the French army. Colonels Bracci and Cotti and the other officers who remained faithful to the Pope were imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo and then exiled.<sup>28</sup>

In order to isolate the Pope still more by depriving him of the assistance of the Sacred College, the Neapolitan Cardinals were ordered by General Miollis, on February 27, to leave Rome within twenty-four hours for Naples, and as the Pope forbade them to obey they were arrested and led to the frontier by French soldiers.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Relation, etc., t. I., p. 61. Cardinal Gluseppe Doria-Pamphili à M. Alquier. Du Palais du Quirinal, 25 Février, 1808.

<sup>27</sup> In his letter to Prince Eugene of January 23, 1808, Napoleon had ordered that after February 2 all couriers carrying the mails should be searched. The letters for Vienna, France and Germany should be put aside; those for the Kingdom of Italy should be read and thrown into the fire if they contained any insult to France. If they contained any imprudent act on the part of the Pope, they shall be allowed to pass a few days later, after withdrawing all bulls, briefs, forms of prayer or other writings composed with the object of exciting the people.—Lettres inédites, t. I., No. 213. Au Prince Eugène Napoléon, Vice-roi d'Italie. Paris, 23 Janvier, 1808.

<sup>28</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

<sup>29</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 429. They were Cardinals Saluzzo, Pignatelli, Ruffo-Scilla and Caracciolo, and p. 434.

At Gaeta they were asked to take the oath to Joseph Bonaparte, and as they refused, the King ordered them to be set free at Terracina, whence the Emperor ordered Cardinal Ruffo to be brought to Paris and the other Cardinals to be sent to Bologna.

The expulsion of the Neapolitan Cardinals was soon followed by that of sixteen others belonging to various parts of Italy, who were commanded to leave Rome within three days. They refused to comply, and with the exception of a few, who were too infirm to travel, they were seized and escorted to their respective destinations.

According to the instructions of the Emperor, General Miollis tried to establish friendly relations between the Romans and their French conquerors by keeping open house at the Palazzo Doria on a scale of considerable splendor.<sup>30</sup> A word of disapprobation from the Holy Father soon recalled to a sense of their duty the Romans who had accepted the general's hospitality, and with the exception of three or four nobles whose liberal opinions were already well known, they ceased to appear at his receptions.<sup>31</sup> The general then caused the anniversary of the Pope's election (March 14) to be celebrated by salvos of artillery from the Castle of St. Angelo, for which he was severely rebuked by the Emperor. He was told that since the Pope conducted himself so badly towards him, he should return ill usage for ill usage. He should keep his troops well in hand and put down the slightest disturbance with grape shot.<sup>32</sup>

General Miollis faithfully obeyed the Emperor's instructions and lost no opportunity of offering fresh insults to the Holy Father. On April 7 a detachment of French soldiers appeared at the gates of the Quirinal. The Swiss sentinel on guard refused to admit them, but told the officer in command that he might enter alone. The officer, therefore, halted his men a few steps away, but as soon as he crossed the threshold he called them up. They pushed forward, disarmed the Swiss and entered the palace. They then broke open the doors of two armories and took away the carbines carried by the noble guard and the other soldiers while on duty in the anti-chambers. At the same time other detachments of French troops arrested in their palaces about forty members of the noble guard and imprisoned them in the Castle of St. Angelo.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> He was to be allowed 15,000 francs (\$3,000) a month, besides a gift of 90,000 francs (\$18,000) from the proceeds of the sale of the English merchandise seized in Tuscany.—*Lettres inédites*, t. I., Nos. 232 and 234. Au Prince Eugène. Paris, 18 and 28 Février, 1808.

<sup>31</sup> Louis Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon. La domination Française à Rome—de 1809 à 1814*. Paris, 1906, pp. 182, 185.

<sup>32</sup> *Lettres inédites*, t. I., No. 255. Au Prince Eugène Napoléon, Vice-roi d'Italie. Saint Cloud, 27 Mars, 1808. "Qu'à la moindre émeute, il la réprime avec la mitraille."

<sup>33</sup> Cantù, *op. cit.*, p. 354. Protest addressed by Cardinal Gabrielli to the foreign Ministers in Rome, 7th April, 1808. P. 356, Letter from Sig. Alberti, representative of the Kingdom of Italy, to Sig. Testi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 8th April, 1808.

A month previously to this outrage Pius VII. had already seen the advisability of ceasing all diplomatic relations with Napoleon and thereby forcing him to throw off the mask and to declare himself openly the enemy of the Holy See. He wrote, therefore, to Cardinal Caprara on March 4 that he should ask for his passports and leave Paris at once unless the French troops were withdrawn from Rome, the banished Cardinals allowed to return and the Roman soldiers restored to his service. His action would thus be a protest against the many unprovoked outrages perpetrated against his authority by the Emperor, and a proof that he had no intention of effecting a compromise with him by consenting to the annexation of his States.<sup>54</sup> The extremely timid character of Cardinal Caprara and his preference for adopting conciliatory measures by means of which he hoped to stave off an open rupture did not allow him to obey his instructions further than making the Pope's letter known to the imperial government, and Pius VII. was therefore obliged to repeat his orders. But Napoleon in his answer to Caprara on April 3 again insisted that the Holy Father should form an offensive and defensive league with the other Italian States. If he refused to do so, it would be a sign that he did not desire any understanding or peace with the Emperor, and that he declared war against him. "The first result of war is conquest, and the first result of a conquest is a change of government; . . . if the Emperor is obliged to go to war with Rome, is he not also obliged to conquer it, to change its government and to establish another which shall join with the Kingdoms of Italy and Naples against the common enemy?" Napoleon then went on to remark in that tone of affected piety which he so frequently employed in his communications with the Holy See that the withdrawal of the Cardinal's powers had taken place on the "eve of Holy Week, when the Court of Rome, if it were still animated by a truly evangelical spirit, might think that it ought rather encrease spiritual assistance and preach union among the faithful by its example." He then expressed his regret that the passports should have been demanded, as according to modern ideas such an act constituted a declaration of war. "Rome was therefore at war with France." M. Lefebvre, the French *Chargé d'Affaires* in Rome, received at the same time orders to ask for his passports and leave Rome by April 20 if the Pope still refused to join in an offensive and defensive league with the Kingdoms of Italy and Naples for the defense of the Italian peninsula.<sup>55</sup>

Pius VII. was informed on April 13 of the Emperor's denuncia-

<sup>54</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

<sup>55</sup> Correspondance, t. XVI., Nos. 13,709 and 13,714. A. M. de Champagny, *Ministre des relations extérieures*. Saint Cloud, 11er Avril, 1808.

tions. His reply did not vary from his previous declarations. He showed that it would be incompatible with his duty and injurious to the interests of religion for him to join in a league and be hostile to the powers with which the Emperor might think fit to go to war. He would not, indeed, be able to prevent the Emperor from destroying the temporal power, but he would place his confidence in the protection of God, as he felt conscious that he had not brought this misfortune on himself by imprudence, by obstinacy or by blindness, but because he had performed his duty faithfully. He then pointed out that the outrages committed in Rome by the Emperor's soldiers in spite of his remonstrances and protests, rendered the recall of his Legate absolutely necessary in order to prove to the whole world that he had not secretly consented to the wrongs which had been inflicted on him. It was on Napoleon's will alone, the Holy Father continued, that this war depended; he alone could be accused of this attack on the temporal power of the Papacy. His seizure of the States of the Church could not be called a conquest, since the Pope is at peace with the whole world, but rather a most violent usurpation. Pius VII. concluded by declaring that he adored the decrees of heaven; that he found consolation in the thought that God was Lord of all, and that everything yields to His will, when comes the fullness of time preordained by Him.<sup>86</sup>

On the day before Cardinal Caprara received his passports Napoleon published a decree by which he announced that, "Seeing that the temporal Sovereign of Rome had constantly refused to declare war against the English and to unite with the Kings of Italy and of Naples for the defense of the Italian peninsula; that the interests of the two kingdoms demand that their communications should not be interrupted by a hostile power; that the donation by Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the territories which form the Papal States was made for the advantage of Christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion, and that the Ambassador from the Court of Rome to us has asked for his passports, we have decreed, and we decree, that the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata and Camerino shall be united to our Kingdom of Italy irrevocably and forever." Other paragraphs appointed the 11th of May as the day for taking formal possession of those provinces, ordered the *Code Napoléon* to be published there, and that they should be divided into three departments, organized and administered according to the laws and regulations existing in the Kingdom of Italy. By another decree of the same date Napoleon ordered

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<sup>86</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 455. Cardinal Caprara was given his passports on April 3, 1808, and thus ceased to be Papal Legate. He still continued, however, to reside in France until his death, on June 21, 1810.—Rinieri, p. 478.

all the Cardinals, prelates, officers and functionaries of the Court of Rome who were born in the Kingdom of Italy to return there after May 25, under pain of the sequestration of their goods if they did not obey before June 5.<sup>87</sup>

The decree of annexation was sent to Prince Eugène with the order to keep it secret until April 30. If before that date the Pope should consent to join the league, the Prince should be informed of it by the French *Chargé d'Affaires* in Rome. There was plenty of time, therefore, to make every preparation so that the event should take place quite unexpectedly.<sup>88</sup>

Before this decree was known in Rome General Miollis had caused Mgr. Cavalchini, the Governor of Rome, to be arrested and had sent him under an escort of dragoons to the fortress of Fenestrelles.<sup>89</sup> He was accused of "refusing to administer justice according to the laws and the regulations of the State," or, in other words, of having remained faithful to the authority of the Holy Father and refused to acknowledge that of the general.

Pius VII. protested against the annexation of his provinces in an eloquent letter addressed to Cavaliere Alberti, the representative in Rome of the Kingdom of Italy. He again asserted that his sacred character of Minister of peace and his rank of Head of the Church and universal Pastor could not allow him to enter into a system of permanent warfare, especially against a nation which had not offended him. The Holy Father then showed how false were the various pretexts by which the Emperor tried to justify his usurpation. That founded on the donation of Charlemagne was simply astounding, for it was well known that the annexed provinces already belonged to the Popes, having been freely given to them by the people when they had been abandoned by the Emperors of the East. They were afterwards seized by the Lombards, reconquered by King Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, and restored to the Church. His gift was confirmed by Charlemagne, who in his will ordered his three sons to defend the possessions of the Holy See, and who gave his successors no power to revoke what he had done.

The statement that the "donation of Charlemagne was not made for the advantage of the enemies of our holy religion" was especially painful to the Pope, as it seemed to accuse him of having betrayed the interests of religion, when, on the contrary, he has been persecuted since three years for the cause of religion and for having been faithful to his Apostolic duties. He refused to accept the principles

<sup>87</sup> Cantù, *op. cit.*, p. 352. Decrees published at Saint Cloud, April 2, 1808.

<sup>88</sup> Correspondance, t. XVI, No. 13,716. A Eugène Napoléon, Vice-roi

<sup>89</sup> A strong fortress in the Alps, forty-five miles to the west of Turin. d'Italie. Saint Cloud, 3 Avril, 1808. "De manière que tout cela se fasse comme un coup de théâtre."

laid down by Napoleon—that, if the Holy Father is Sovereign of Rome, His Majesty is its Emperor; that the Pope should be his subject in temporal matters, as he was the Pope's subject in spiritual matters, and that the Pope should look upon the enemies of France as his own. The oath taken by the Holy Father to preserve the independence necessary for the free exercise of his spiritual sovereignty rendered it impossible for him to accept these subversive maxims.

The second decree by which the Cardinals and other dignitaries of the Court of Rome were ordered to leave was evidently an attack on the spiritual authority of the Holy Father, as it aimed at disorganizing the government of the Church by depriving him of those who helped him in the performance of his duties. Pius VII. ended by protesting against the usurpation of his territories; he declared it to be unjust, null and invalid, and that his legitimate rights and those of his successors could never be abolished. Although deprived of them by force, he preserved them intact in his heart, so that he might take possession of them again whenever it should be pleasing to God.<sup>40</sup>

Towards the end of May the Holy Father addressed an encyclical to the Bishops of the annexed provinces in order to lay down the rules which should guide them in their dealings with the new government. He began by stating that if the antiquity of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See did not suffice to guarantee it from all invasion, no possessions, no property, no rights could remain safe and steadfast among men. He showed that the sovereignty of the Pope was not only legitimate in its origin and had been peaceably possessed during centuries, but that it had also characteristics peculiar to itself. Thus the possession of the dominion (*la proprietà del dominio*) does not dwell in the person of the reigning Pope, who has only the temporary use of it and who is sworn to preserve it for the Church and to transmit it to his successors. Moreover, this sovereignty is closely connected with the interests and the prosperity of the Catholic religion, to which it is of the utmost importance that its Head, the Father of all the faithful, should be independent and should exercise freely, safely and impartially the spiritual power which God has given him over the whole world. The Popes have, therefore, always felt it to be their duty to preserve it with all its rights, even at the price of any sacrifice, and Catholic Emperors and Kings have felt the obligation of protecting and defending, even by arms, the patrimony of the Prince of the Apostles. The Roman Pontiffs could not inflict any injury on this tem-

<sup>40</sup> *Relation, etc.*, t. I., p. 146. Cardinale Gabrielli al Sig. Cavaliere Alberti, incaricato d'affari del Regno Italiano, 19 Maggio, 1808.



poral sovereignty or renounce it without becoming themselves accomplices and coöperators in the outrages and the losses which would be the result for the Church.

The Holy Father then showed that the government which was being substituted for that of the Church had been known everywhere to encroach upon the spiritual authority and to protect all sects. The forms of its oaths, its constitutions, its code of laws showed an indifference to all religion, which, as it supposes the existence of no religion, is a system most opposed to the Catholic religion, which, being divine, is necessarily without an equal and can form no alliance with any other, any more than Christ with Belial. The boasted protection of all religions by the French Government is only a pretext for the secular power to interfere in religious matters, since the consideration shown for the opinions and usages of every sect is not extended to the rights, the institutions or the laws of the Catholic religion. Under this protection lies concealed a most insidious and dangerous persecution against the Church of Christ, well adapted to throw it into disorder or even to destroy it if it were possible that the force and fraud of hell could ever prevail against it.

After this preamble, of which the above is only a short summary, the Pope laid down rules for the guidance of his subjects in their dealings with the usurping government, which it was not lawful for them to countenance or assist. Firstly, it was forbidden to take an oath of fidelity to the intrusive government, which should be expressed in unlimited terms exacting a positive fidelity and approbation, as that would be an act of felony towards the lawful sovereign and would tend to establish and confirm the usurpation.

Secondly, it was not allowed to accept, and still less to solicit, any post or employment which might tend more or less directly to acknowledge or assist the new government, especially if such posts had any direct influence on the execution of laws contrary to the laws of the Church.

Thirdly, the Bishops and all other ecclesiastics were forbidden to sing the "Te Deum" if ordered to so for the establishment of the invading government. Not only the secular authorities had no power to order public prayers, but in this case it would be an insult, and a joyful hymn would be contrary to the feelings which ought to prevail among the faithful sons of the Church at a time when its temporal power had been overthrown and a government hostile to it installed.

Nevertheless, in consideration of the welfare of his subjects and while maintaining the rights of the Church, the Holy Father allowed them, in case they could not avoid taking the oath without incurring serious danger, to swear that they would not take part in any con-

spiry or sedition, but would submit to the government and obey it in everything that should not be contrary to the laws of God and of the Church.<sup>41</sup>

Shortly afterwards the Bishops of the provinces just annexed to the Kingdom of Italy were requested by General Lemarois to go to Milan to swear fidelity to the Emperor; by other official circulars it was ordered to recite at Mass the prayer "Domine Salvum fac Imperatorum," and the parish priests were forbidden to celebrate a marriage unless the civil marriage had first taken place. Letters from Cardinal Gabrielli, on the other hand, reminded the prelates of the prohibition of the oath recently issued by the Holy Father and forbade them to allow the parish priests to obey the order of the government. The result was that on June 16 two French officers entered Cardinal Gabrielli's apartments in the Quirinal, seized and sealed up his papers and ordered him to leave Rome in two days for Senigaglia. Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca was requested by the Holy Father to take his place. It was with much reluctance that he consented to occupy a position of so much responsibility and danger, but the dread of being accused of cowardice and the memory of the oath taken when he was admitted into the Sacred College made him decide to accept, and from that moment, as he declares in his Memoirs, he felt within himself a courage which never abandoned him in all the fatigues, the troubles and the hardships which he underwent in the course of his ministry.<sup>42</sup>

General Miollis still continued to encroach on the independence of the Holy Father and to persecute those who persisted in remaining faithful to him. In Rome several functionaries of the Papal Government were arrested and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, and as the officers commanding the Papal troops in the provinces refused to make their soldiers lay down their arms or to obey other orders than those of the Pope, they were arrested and imprisoned and the armories of the provincial militia seized and plundered.<sup>43</sup> Another attack on the Quirinal soon followed. General Miollis was anxious to obtain from the Secretary of State various documents required for the administration of justice in the recently annexed provinces, but as this concession would have been equivalent to an acknowledgment of the new government, Cardinal Pacca refused, though he was willing to allow the documents to be copied. The palace was therefore invaded on August 13. Sentinels were placed at all the doors and a search made for the papers.

<sup>41</sup> Relation, etc., t. I., p. 183. Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 460, 22 Maggio, 1808.

<sup>42</sup> Card. Bartolomeo Pacca, *Memorie Storiche*. Orvieto, 1843, t. I., p. 126.

<sup>43</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 472. Relation, etc., t. I., pp. 218, 222. Card. Pacca au Général Miollis, 25 Juin, 30 Juin, 1808.

Other patrols arrested Cardinal Vincenti, the Pro-Camerlengo, as well as the Treasurer, who were kept prisoners until the papers which were in the archives of the different courts of law and congregations were given up.<sup>44</sup>

While Cardinal Gabrielli was still Secretary of State the French military authorities had begun to raise in each town bodies of citizen soldiers known as the civic guard. Some of the members of these corps were honorable citizens, anxious to maintain order and repress crime, but the majority, and especially the chiefs, were revolutionists, by means of whom the French were secretly preparing the formation of a government destined to replace the Papal administration. Cardinal Gabrielli, and after him Cardinal Pacca, frequently complained to General Miollis of the outrages committed by many of the leaders of these bands on their fellow-citizens, but without obtaining any result. Pius VII., therefore, seeing the uselessness of his remonstrances, published at last, on August 28, a proclamation, in which he forbade his subjects, under pain of excommunication, to form part of these troops, which would probably be commanded to make war on his government, and, to the surprise of the French, the more respectable members of the civic guard immediately obeyed and laid down their arms.<sup>45</sup>

As General Miollis ascribed this energetic and successful action on the part of the Pope to the influence of Cardinal Pacca, he resolved to expel him from Rome. On September 6 Major Muzio, a Piedmontese officer on the general's staff, accompanied by another officer and a sergeant, entered his rooms in the Quirinal and informed him that he should leave Rome on the following day, with an escort of dragoons, for his home in Benevento. The Cardinal replied that while in Rome he could receive orders only from the Pope, and as the officers refused to allow him to leave the room, he sent the Holy Father a note to inform him of what had occurred. In a few minutes Pius VII. appeared. So great was his indignation at the insult to his Minister that, as Cardinal Pacca relates, his hair was standing on end. He told the officer to inform General Miollis that he was weary of undergoing such outrages and insults from one who still called himself a Catholic; that he saw that the object of this violence was to deprive him of all his ministers, one by one, so as to render it impossible for him to exercise his apostolic ministry and the rights of his temporal power. He therefore ordered Cardinal Pacca not to obey this illegal command, but to follow him to his apartments, and there share his captivity, and declared that if

<sup>44</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., p. 137.

any attempt should be made to take him away the general would

<sup>45</sup> Léon Madellin, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

have to break open all the doors by force and should be held responsible for the consequences.<sup>46</sup>

On the same day the aged Cardinal Antonelli, the Dean of the Sacred College, and Mgr. Arezzo, the Pro-Governor of Rome, were arrested and sent away the same evening under an escort. From that time greater precautions against a sudden attack were adopted at the Quirinal. The doors were strengthened with beams, the lower windows were walled up and the few Swiss still in the service of the Holy See watched unceasingly. On the other hand, French sentinels were stationed at the entrance of the streets leading to the palace; the carriages leaving it were stopped and examined, and persons carrying away parcels arrested and searched.<sup>47</sup>

The uncertainty which prevailed with regard to the future of Rome, the widely spread misery which resulted from the closure of manufactories and the exile of so many Cardinals and functionaries and vague rumors of an approaching insurrection contributed to entertain both among the Romans and the French a feeling of uneasiness and almost of terror. Thus it was assured that on the day of Cardinal Pacca's arrest twenty thousand persons were ready to rise, and that the Holy Father was obliged to send that night priests whom he could trust to restrain and pacify the people.<sup>48</sup> English cruisers also made frequent descents on the coasts, attacking the watchtowers and thus causing those who were loyal to the Holy Father to hope for a speedy intervention of an English army. An attempt was even made, about this time, by the English Government to rescue Pius VII., of which he was informed, but he declined to accept the offer, as he feared that his flight might be made the pretext for a still more cruel persecution of the clergy, and he preferred to remain at his post, even at the risk of being exposed to the greatest dangers.<sup>49</sup>

From a contemporary and hitherto inedited account by Padre Angiolini, a Jesuit Father, the idea would seem to be due to Robert Fagan, a British subject long resident in Rome, whence he was expelled by order of the Emperor in September, 1807, a Catholic, and probably an Irishman. His plan was heartily adopted by Ferdinand IV., King of Naples, then in exile in Palermo, who in May, 1808, placed a frigate at his service. From Fiumicino, at the mouth of the Tiber, he was able by means of a trusty messenger to enter into communication with Cardinal Gabrielli and the Pope,

<sup>46</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., pp. 146, 225.

<sup>47</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., pp. 150, 229. Madelin, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>48</sup> Mayol de Lupé. *Un Pape prisonnier*. *Le Correspondant*, 25 Décembre, 1884, pp. 991-995. Letters from Alberti, 11 April, 1808, and from Ortolì, a French agent in Rome.

<sup>49</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., p. 160.

who declined to leave Rome unless he were invited to Sicily by the King and assured of the protection of the English Court. Fagan was soon provided with letters from the King and from General Stewart, the commander of the English troops in Sicily, but as the Holy Father did not consider that the latter had been authorized by government to act in his favor, he declined to accept, and the enterprise seemed to have failed. About the same time, however, Mgr. Lorenzo Caleppi, the Papal Nuncio in Portugal, who, when the royal family had fled to Brazil on the approach to Lisbon of the French troops under Marshal Junot, had taken refuge in England, succeeded in persuading the English Government to interest itself in the fate of the Holy Father and to take steps to provide for his safety. In consequence, therefore, of orders given to Admiral Collingwood, then in command of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, the frigate *Alcestis*, of forty-six guns, under Captain Maxwell, was sent to Palermo, where it took on board Padre Angiolini, the superior of the Jesuits; two other fathers, Kenny and Gonzalez, and Padre Procida, a Franciscan, along with other persons who had taken part in the first expedition. They arrived at Ostia on August 30. Padre Procida succeeded in reaching Rome and having an interview with Cardinal Pacca, who promised to send an answer in three days. After waiting in vain for a week, the fathers returned to Palermo on an English sloop, but Captain Maxwell informed them that he had orders not to leave the coast until the affair was ended. A third attempt was then made by a Colonel Vanni, a Papal subject serving in the Neapolitan army. He landed at Fiumicino towards the end of September, and probably succeeded in reaching the Quirinal, but was seized by the French while on his way back, tried by court-martial and shot in Rome on the Piazza del Popolo. Nevertheless, Captain Maxwell, on board whose frigate rooms had been richly fitted up for the reception of the Holy Father, continued to cruise during all the winter off Fiumicino, cannonading the watch-towers along the coast, until April, 1809, when, as there seemed to be no possibility of communicating with Rome, he returned to Palermo.<sup>50</sup>

A striking proof of the loyalty with which the great majority of the Roman people still remained attached to Pius VII. was given at the time of the carnival of 1809. That of 1808 had been forbidden

<sup>50</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 482-493. Cardinal Gabrielli, who was Secretary of State at the time of Fagan's first message, was in favor of the Pope's flight from Rome, and had even made preparations for it. This may account for the fact that an apparently favorable answer was returned to his overtures. The Pope, however, does not seem to have ever intended to leave, according to Cardinal Pacca, who succeeded Gabrielli.—Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., pp. 157, 160.

by the Papal Government in order to avoid all danger of a conflict between the French troops and the Roman people, but in 1809 General Miollis announced that the usual feasts, races and masques would take place. The Pope immediately published a notice to the effect that his government had not given its authorization, and that in the painful conditions in which the Church was then situated, he invited his people to recall to their memory the behavior of the faithful of the primitive Church, "Peter, therefore, was kept in prison. But prayer was made without ceasing by the Church to God for him," and he had no doubt that his loving subjects would imitate their glorious example. This simple expression of the will of the Holy Father was enough. With few exceptions the Roman people refused to take any share in the amusements of the carnival, and it was only by the employment of force that General Miollis could oblige the workmen to make the usual preparations for the horse races run in the Corso. The street was abandoned by all save the French and the spies in their service, and all the shops and the windows were closed. On the other hand, on the 21st of March, the anniversary of the coronation of Pius VII., the entire city was brilliantly illuminated and even the poorest districts took part in this spontaneous demonstration of loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiff.<sup>51</sup>

Napoleon now considered that the time had come to seize what still remained of the Papal States and put an end to the temporal power; but, wishing to justify his spoliation of the Holy See, at least in the eyes of his partisans, he ordered M. d'Hauterive, one of the principal authors of the *Articles Organiques*, to draw up a series of accusations against the Papal Government which might furnish him with plausible motives for his action. This mass of calumnies and falsehoods was presented to the Emperor on January 21, 1809. It stated that the temporal power could not be made to harmonize with the safety of His Majesty's armies in Italy; all methods of conciliation had been exhausted, and the evil should be cut off at its source. The temporal power, he asserted, was a gift of Charlemagne and his predecessors, who had reserved to themselves the sovereignty of the territories they had given to the Pope. Pius VII. was then severely blamed for his obstinacy in refusing to join the Emperor in an offensive and defensive alliance, and as Rome had become a centre of English intrigues against France, the Emperor was advised to take back the gifts of Charlemagne, which were being used against the successors of Charlemagne. The Pope should, however, remain the most wealthy and the most respected of all the pastors of nations, and be surrounded with an incompar-

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<sup>51</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., p. 230. Rinieri, p. 502.

able dignity, but the time had now arrived to declare that the Papal States formed part of the French Empire.<sup>52</sup>

The campaign against Austria delayed the Emperor for some time, but when, after the victories of Ecmühl, Ratisbon and Ebersberg, he had occupied Vienna, he published, on May 17, two decrees at his headquarters at Schoenbrunn.

By the first of these decrees, after alluding to the misrepresentations contained in d'Hauteville's report, he declared that the States of the Church were united to the French Empire; that the city of Rome, the first see of Christendom, was to be a free and imperial city; that its monuments should be preserved at his expense; that the Pope was to enjoy an income of 2,000,000 francs, and that his palaces should be exempted from all taxes, jurisdiction and inspection. A second decree named a "*Consulta*," or commission of six persons to take possession of the Papal States in his name and prepare them for the establishment of a constitutional government.<sup>53</sup>

These decrees were not published immediately, as General Miollis was absent from Rome, but early on the morning of Saturday, June 10, the bridges across the Tiber were occupied by French troops, and at 9 o'clock the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo began to fire a salute of one hundred guns, during which the Papal flag was lowered and the tricolor hoisted in its place. The imperial decree was read from the Senators' palace on the Capitol by a herald, who then, accompanied by an escort of cavalry, repeated it on the Piazza di Venezia, the Piazza Colonna and the Piazza del Popolo. On the same evening the *Consulta* introduced itself to the Romans by a lengthy proclamation informing them that "the will of the greatest of heroes had united them to the greatest of States," and depicted in glowing colors the era of prosperity which was about to dawn for the Eternal City.

On learning that the long expected blow had at last fallen, and that the temporal power was ended, Cardinal Pacca hastened to inform the Holy Father. While the guns were still thundering forth a salute to the French flag he read to him the imperial decree, copies of which were being spread over Rome, and asked him if he would not publish the bull of excommunication, which had been already prepared.<sup>54</sup> Pius VII. hesitated. He said that some of the expressions applied to the French Government seemed to him too strong; but the Cardinal replied that since such an important

<sup>52</sup> Mayol de Lupé. *Le Correspondant*, p. 999.

<sup>53</sup> *Correspondance*, t. XIX., Nos. 15,219 and 15,220. *Décret. Camp imperial à Vienne*, 17 Mai, 1809.

<sup>54</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., p. 206. Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 515. The bull had been composed by Cardinal di Pietro, drawn up by Padre Fontana and approved by the Pope.

step had to be taken, it was necessary to paint such a picture of the injustice and the oppression caused by that government, that those who read it might say that the Pope had delayed too long to raise his voice against so many outrages and crimes. The Pope then raised his eyes towards heaven, and after a short pause said: "Very well; publish it. But," he added, "let those who carry out your orders take care not to be found out, for they would certainly be shot, and I would be inconsolable." A few courageous men, Lorenzo Mencacci and his sons, risked the danger,<sup>55</sup> and within a few hours the Papal bull, *Quum memoranda illa die*, was posted on the doors of the Lateran, of St. Peter's, of Sta. Maria Maggiore and in the other places where it was usual to publish official documents. A short summary of the bull, with the text of the excommunication, was posted up in many parts of Rome on the following day, as well as a protest, in which the Holy Father indignantly rejected the pension of 2,000,000 francs offered to him in exchange for his rights, the acceptance of which would cover him with shame in face of the Church, and he declared that he abandoned himself entirely to Providence and to the charity of the faithful.

In this bull Pius VII. recapitulated the long series of affronts, deceptions and outrages which the Holy See had experienced on the part of the French Government and the object of which was to overthrow the Catholic Church. He mentioned the fraudulent addition of the *Articles Organiques* to the French and Italian Concordats, in spite of his protestations; the unjust demands presented to him, and on his refusal to yield the invasion of Rome. Then came a slow and cruel persecution for the purpose of breaking down his resistance. His soldiers were forced to enter the French army; his guards imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo; the State printing office and that of the Propaganda subjected to military authority; newspapers full of calumnies against his government were published in Rome, while his protests were torn down from the walls and trampled under foot. Three of his Secretaries of State and most of the Cardinals had been seized and deported. Religious houses had been suppressed and their inmates expelled. The French code had been published containing laws opposed not only to those of the Church, but also to the precepts of the Gospel. The authority of the Bishops had been subjected to the secular power, and many of them had been forcibly driven from their sees.

What the Holy Father, however, most lamented was not his own sufferings, but the future fate of his persecutors, whose souls he would willingly save even by the sacrifice of his own life. But it was his duty to correct and chastise, and the time for mildness was

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<sup>55</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 519.



past. Unless he wished to be accused of cowardice, of sloth and of having shamefully abandoned the cause of God, he should obey the evangelical precept: "And if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican." The Pope then pronounced sentence of excommunication against all those who in Rome or in the States of the Church had been guilty of the outrages against ecclesiastical immunities and the temporal rights of the Church, of which he had complained in his consistorial allocutions and in the many protests published by his order, as well as their adherents and councillors and those who had assisted in the perpetration of these crimes.

Still the Holy Father, remembering that he "held the place of Him who even when manifesting His justice did not forget to be merciful," forbade his subjects and all Christian people to make this bull a pretext for injuring any one of those whom it mentioned. For in chastising them by that kind of chastisement which God had put in his power, his chief object was their conversion, and while placing his cause in the hands of God, he implored of Him not to reject the prayers which he offered up by day and by night for their repentance and salvation.<sup>56</sup>

Napoleon's fury in learning that he had been excommunicated was expressed in a letter to Murat: "I have just been informed that the Pope has excommunicated us all. It is an excommunication against himself. No more consideration should be had for him. He is a madman who must be shut up. Make Cardinal Pacca and the other adherents of the Pope be arrested."<sup>57</sup>

Napoleon then ordered his Minister of Worship, Count Bigot de Préameneu, to translate the bull and advise him as to the course to pursue. The count, who, though friendly to the Church, was a strong Gallican, was of opinion that as the Pope forbade to injure the persons censured in the bull, an act of indulgence which he considered to be a mere subtlety on the part of the Court of Rome, and as he described in an exaggerated style what he had undergone, the bull might be considered as one of those useless protests which the Emperor had always put aside, and might share the same fate. Besides, there was no one named in the bull, and it was the custom of the Church not to include sovereigns in the censures pronounced against secular powers unless specially named. Still it would be better not to bring it before the Council of State, as that might draw public attention to it. The Emperor gave, therefore, strict orders to prevent the bull from becoming known.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., pp. 234-273.

<sup>57</sup> *Lettres inédites*, t. I., No. 459. A Joachim Napoléon, roi de Naples. Schönbrunn, 20 Juin, 1809.

<sup>58</sup> Henri Welschinger, *Le Pape et l'Empereur, 1804-1815*. Paris, 1905, p. 94.

In Rome the partisans of the Emperor dreaded a popular rising and thought that the Holy Father would come forth from the Quirinal in his Pontifical robes to proclaim a religious war and to seek martyrdom at the tomb of Saint Peter.<sup>59</sup> The people, indeed, remained quiet, but all those who served the government in any way, not only the employés in the government offices, but even the porters of the custom house and the street sweepers, refused to work lest they should thereby incur the censures pronounced by the bull. A special congregation was, therefore, held by order of the Pope, which decided that as the persons excommunicated by name, they were not *vitandi*, and might be frequented in matters of business.<sup>60</sup>

The representatives, however, of the Emperor in Rome felt that the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff was a permanent protest against the usurper's government. Although he was a prisoner in his palace, his will was still obeyed. Most of the nobility still remained faithful to him, and Alberti, the envoy of Prince Eugène, accused him of "paralyzing everything with his obstinate resistance." There was also danger of a rising, for there were but few troops in Rome, and the appearance of an English fleet off the coast caused much agitation in the city, which necessitated the utmost vigilance on the part of the French. It was therefore decided that the Holy Father should be removed from Rome; but those who were chiefly implicated in the transaction would seem to have been anxious to avoid incurring the odium which would be naturally attached to it. General Miollis, writing to the Emperor, states that he had been ordered by him to maintain tranquillity in Rome, and had, therefore, ordered the arrest of Cardinal Pacca. As the Pope had resisted it, he was carried away, too. General Radet, who soon after June 10 had been sent to Rome along with 400 gendarmes by the Emperor, declares in his account of the event that he got written orders from Miollis to carry away Cardinal Pacca, and if the Pope resisted, to arrest him also. Others, on the contrary, assure that Radet obliged Miollis to give his consent. More recent researches tend to accuse Joachim Murat, the new King of Naples, of having played the most active part in the conspiracy. He had sent 800 Neapolitan soldiers to Rome to reinforce the garrison, and his Minister of Police, a Corsican named Saliceti, to hasten the accomplishment of the crime.<sup>61</sup> The identity, however, of the prime mover in the execution of this outrage against the Sovereign Pontiff matters little in presence of the fact that Joachim Murat was the grandmaster of the Italian Freemasons; that Miollis, Radet and Saliceti held high rank

<sup>59</sup> Cantù, p. 376. Alberti to Testi, 14 Giugno, 1809.

<sup>60</sup> Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I., p. 211. Rinieri, 532. Madellin, p. 223.

<sup>61</sup> Madellin, pp. 233, 681.

in that society, and that it may thus be safely asserted that "the storming of the Quirinal and the captivity of the Pope were nothing else than an exploit of Freemasonry."<sup>62</sup>

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## THE SOURCES AND DESTINY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

**N**O RELIGIOUS movement, save and except the great revolt of the sixteenth century, historically known as the Reformation, has had, and must continue to have, so vital and momentous an influence on the life and welfare of the Church as that which Froude has aptly designated "the Oxford Counter-Reformation," for, both in its professed object and in its inevitable results, it is no less. It is a movement, moreover, so contrary to all apparent probabilities, and which has, of late years especially, begun to assume a form which many of its earlier leaders deemed impossible, which only its enemies prophesied and professed to foresee as inevitable, that some account of its beginnings, of the sources and traditions whence it arose, however inadequate, will, I am convinced, prove of sufficient interest to justify my attempting so difficult a task.

It may be well, perhaps, to explain briefly at the outset that the main contention of those who inaugurated this counter-reformation, as of those who have carried it on, was and is that "the Church of England" which came into existence with Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity in 1559 is one and the same spiritual entity with the pre-reformation *Ecclesia Anglicana*, the Church of the English people founded by Saint Augustine. This contention rests chiefly on the fact that the new communion has retained from its inception, *ex professo*, the old orders of Bishops, priests and deacons, the old ecclesiastical divisions of parishes and dioceses, and that it was for nearly three centuries the only "Church" nominally "Catholic"—since it used the ancient creeds—of which the majority of Englishmen had any practical cognizance, or were willing to recognize, within the realm of England. The claim to "continuity" with the pre-reformation Church was and is, moreover, based on the fact that Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity did not, so far as words go, found a new communion, but set out to be merely a regulation of the existing religious controversies, to establish one form of worship, and one only, for all the Queen's subjects on the mediæval principle

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<sup>62</sup> Rinieri, p. 539.

then widely accepted of *cuius regio, eius religio*—of a national unity which should be not only political, but religious as well. The phrase “by law established,” therefore, will, on this showing, be found to be a parliamentary one simply—one of the many infringements by the State on the supposed “liberties and prerogatives” of its own creation, “the Church of England,” though it may, of course, be interpreted as referring to the act of uniformity, and “established” be understood in the sense of “ordered” or “constituted.”

According to this view of the events of the sixteenth century, there was for the vast majority of Englishmen no conscious, definite transition from one religion to another, from the one Catholic Church to a national and heretical communion. More, it was and is maintained by those who contend for the “continuity” referred to that there was, in fact, no such change or transition; that the ancient Church of the English people merely underwent certain more or less regrettable modifications of doctrine, ritual and discipline, and though cut off, partly by her own fault, partly by that of “Rome,” from her ancient allegiance to the See of Peter, continued her former existence unbroken and practically unaltered. It is a view which, if studied in the aspect in which it presents itself to “Anglo-Catholics,” will be found to possess—always apart from the divine and inalienable claims of the Vicar of Christ—much to make it plausible to the heirs of Cranmer, Parker, Jewell and Laud.

Pusey, Newman and Keble, therefore, to mention these names only, proceeding on this contention of the spiritual identity of the National Establishment with the Church founded by Saint Augustine, aimed at no less than a complete “restoration” of their communion to the doctrines, practices and liberties of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* prior to “the unspeakable misfortune of the so-called reformation.” It is of the sources and of the latest phase of this movement that I wish to treat and to show, to the best of my ability, that the very formularies which owe their existence to the religious changes of the sixteenth century may fairly be taken as supporting this “Catholic” contention rather than the opposite and Protestant one; how the very “Book of Common Prayer” has made the Oxford Movement not only possible, but logical and inevitable, even to its latest development.

It is, I need hardly say, in no mere spirit of national pride, but as a simple statement of a fact capable, as I hold, of ample proof, that I have claimed for this strange and wonderful “counter-reformation” so large and important a place in the Church’s destinies. The loss of the English-speaking races was beyond question the most serious and irreparable of those inflicted in the sixteenth century. Its effects have in a very real sense been greater and more extensive,

though far other, than that of the Eastern schism, in proportion as heresy is a deadlier enemy to faith than the latter. The Latin races, in a word, may be said to stand in greater need, so far as the well-being of the Church in these later ages is concerned, of the sober, practical, somewhat unemotional Anglo-Scottish element than of the subtler, more metaphysical Oriental one. What the return of the former to Catholic unity would mean to the Church can only be estimated by those familiar with the type of religious character commonly known as "Anglican," which has been developed by three centuries of a schismatical and distinctively national "church" life, devotion and ritual, more than ever, of course, though more clearly differentiated in the last seventy-five years.

It is, therefore, in its relation to the possibility of such a return that the Oxford Movement is chiefly of interest to Catholics. I must, consequently, in such account as I shall here endeavor to give of it, present what may be called the case for the defense, the "Anglo-Catholic" position, as strongly and as favorably as it may be in my power to do so. I must, that is, make plain their claim to represent not only the true views of the original leaders of the movement, but also of a school within their own communion which from the reign of Edward VI. to the present day has asserted the corporate and continuous existence of the "Church of England" as identical with the pre-reformation *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and has interpreted the formularies of the Book of Common Prayer in a Catholic rather than in a Protestant sense.

The Oxford Movement, then, according to this view of it, traces its real origin back to the year 1547, and not merely to 1833, and was a reversion to principles, doctrines and practices which had never been wholly lost sight of rather than, as its enemies declared and have never ceased to declare, a wholly unauthorized and indefensible innovation. These principles, doctrines and practices, it is maintained by the "Catholic" party, are sanctioned, if not, indeed, actually enjoined by the supreme and final spiritual authority to which all Anglican churchmen are bound to defer, the Book of Common Prayer, and have been the true heritage of the "Church of England" ever since its separation from the centre of unity, just as truly and as certainly as they were prior to that greatest of all her misfortunes. How far they may be said to have made good their claim I hope in due course to show.

Before doing so, however, it may be well to recall briefly the main events which issued in the creation of an Anglican "Church" not in communion with the See of Peter. Henry's final breach with Rome, in 1535, was, it must be remembered, on constitutional rather than on doctrinal grounds—a schism such as that of Constantinople rather

than an open and formal lapse into heresy. To the day of his death Henry professed himself a Catholic, and so little intention had he of changing the doctrines and practices of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* that, as is well known, he sent the Catholic impugnors of his own supremacy in spirituals and the Protestant impugnors of the ancient faith side by side on the same hurdles, to the same scaffold, and not only desired in his will that his son should be brought up "in the Catholic faith," but also left large bequests for the saying of Masses "forever" for the repose of his soul.

"So long as Henry lived," we are told by Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop, in "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer" (page 40), "the English Church, although deprived of some dignity and strength, in her outward appearance remained unchanged. Her system of worship was the same as it had been for many generations." Moreover, the same authors add (page 42): "Under Henry, however strong his mind and masterful his will, even as supreme head, the old forms of ecclesiastical government retained an ecclesiastical aspect." The point is worth noting, as it accounts in a measure for the acquiescence of leading churchmen under Henry in His Grace's attitude towards the Holy See. Schism, they may be supposed to have reasoned, is at least less intolerable and more easily remedied than hesy—a judicious pliancy most assuredly preferable to martyrdom on behalf of a "disputed" claim to the governance of the National Church.

Into the means and causes, spiritual as well as political, by which England was severed from the divinely appointed centre of Catholic unity, there is no need to enter here. But there is need to insist, in justice to all concerned, in justice most of all to those who are responsible for the Oxford Movement, that the separation, whether under Henry, under Edward or under Elizabeth, was the work of the laity rather than of the clergy, of a subservient Parliament—selected for the purpose—rather than of convocation. This, as there is abundant evidence to prove, is even more true of the definite religious changes in the two last reigns referred to than of the schism under Henry VIII. Under Edward VI., as Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Bishop have shown (pages 279, 280), it was "the policy of the Catholic party in the episcopate, whether rightly or wrongly, to contest every inch of ground with the innovators," and to put "a Catholic, even if a strained interpretation upon what had been imposed on the Church by the law." Further, according to Dom Norbert Birt, in his "Elizabethan Religious Settlement," not only did the convocation of 1559, the last free convocation of the ancient English Church, make full and valiant profession of loyalty to the one Catholic faith and to the Vicar of Christ, but the Bishops in

Parliament, supported by many of the Catholic peers, true to their traditions as the upholders of ancient liberties against royal aggression, fought strenuously against the Act of Supremacy, which placed England once more in a state of schism, and against the Act of Uniformity, which imposed the new and heretical "Queen's religion." The latter act, indeed, was only carried in the upper house by a *majority of three votes* (page 90), the "infallible three," as they were called, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln having shortly before been sent to the Tower on an opportune charge of contumacy.

These Bishops, it may be well to remember, were of those who, under Henry and Edward, had fallen into schism, though not into formal heresy. Some allowance must, as Dom Norbert Birt says,<sup>1</sup> be made for human nature, and still more for the circumstances and conditions of the times. "A certain attitude of mind" must, moreover, as Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Bishop have pointed out, be taken into account, "which, however hard now to realize, was then a potent factor in determining men's conduct. Apart from the idea of the King as 'supreme lord,' even in matters of religion, the law, as the expression of the will of the nation, consecrated by the royal sanction, seemed to men like Gardiner and Tunstall to have a claim not merely on outward obedience, but even on conscience. . . . However overstrained and unreasonable an attitude of mind such as this may appear now, it was then a fact and must be reckoned with."<sup>2</sup> "Such ideas," the same authors continue (page 80), "were closely connected with a sentiment of which it is now equally difficult to realize the religious and the patriotic aspects. Men have now long been accustomed to the idea of a people divided in religion. In Edward's days such disunion must have appeared to all fatal to the unity of a nation which till then had been one in faith and practice. . . . It never entered into the calculations of those who initiated the changes in England that the new system was to embrace anything less than the whole people. . . . In Edward's reign the outcome of such principles was to induce those who held a public position to put the best interpretation possible upon every measure, however much they may have resisted its imposition and disliked its object." It may be said, therefore, that loyalty to a present ideal of unity in Church and State—a unity of over a thousand years' duration—was the means whereby loyalty to the larger, divine ideal of the One Church, the Church of all nations, was to be driven out of hearts and lives. So looked at, however, and taking into account all that tended to make the larger loyalty

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<sup>1</sup> "Elizabethan Religious Settlement," p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer," p. 79.

difficult, all the circumstances that conspired to confuse the issues at stake, it becomes easy to understand how the new allegiance took the place of the old.

Of the readiness of so many of the clergy and laity to conform to the new religion under Elizabeth, Dom Norbert Birt, in the work already referred to, writes as follows: "The changes in belief and religious practice which had been witnessed in one generation (1535-1559)—therefore within the memory of persons of middle age in the year 1559—had been frequent in number, and had succeeded each other at close intervals of time. They could not but have proved bewildering to persons of less than extraordinary intelligence, hence men were so confused as hardly to know what to think, and, consequently, what to do for the best, both from a worldly and from a spiritual point of view. Some of the changes, too," he continues, "affected matters not of doctrine, but of discipline," matters that is, of ritual, the use of English in the public service of the Church and such like, which "did not, in their essence, imply a breach with Rome" (page 138).

"Many of the clergy, too," Father Birt adds, "who were buried in their country cures and had little or no converse with the outer world (and this applies still more to their parishioners)"—a state of affairs, it may be noted in passing, absolutely inconceivable at the present day—"were unlikely to be well acquainted with the latest phases of the many controversies that were then disturbing men's minds, . . . hence they could rarely have had the chance of understanding the true purport of the oaths they were suddenly called upon to take. . . . Such leaders as the Bishops, who had shewn a fearless front, and might have been to fight for the preservation of the old order, were removed; the flock, scattered, divided, left to their individual resources and individually confronted, succumbed. This is the true explanation," he concludes; "the only one that can reasonably account for facts otherwise wholly unaccountable" (page 139).

I dwell all the more strongly on this last word, as we may call it, of an English Catholic authority, one who stands, indeed, in the first rank among modern students of the Reformation period, in that I am writing for those whose ancestors endured, not a brief period, but three long centuries of persecution and martyrdom, with a patience and a heroism not surpassed in the annals of Christendom. But I would have them remember, at the same time, not only what the Catholic remnant in England underwent, but the special, deadly and insidious forms of persecution to which so many of them succumbed and from which, in the Providence of God, the Irish race were spared. They at least had never to choose between



national and religious unity; between loyalty to God and loyalty to King and country; were never called upon, by every motive of honor and patriotism, to fight against an Armada blessed by the Vicar of Christ; had never to face the charge that to be a "Papist" was to be an ally of the justly hated Spaniard and a traitor to England. Nor, again, were the Irish exposed to a more purely spiritual temptation—that, namely, of a vernacular liturgy, the outward forms and ceremonies of which remained, doubtless, long enough unchanged, outside the large cities, certainly, to make men lose sight of the fatal flaw, the schism that underlay a seemingly harmless change of custom. And whatever material losses the Irish had to bear under penal laws that are, and must ever remain, England's ineradicable shame, they escaped that which their English brethren suffered, the loss of those guides to whom, since the coming of S. Augustine, they had looked and whom they had followed. Lastly, to the Irish the new teachers were aliens and oppressors; to the English they came to appear as the true heirs and successors of those whose ancient titles they still bore, whose sees and rectories they held.

✓ The contention, therefore, that England did not deny, but was robbed of her faith, may, on this evidence, and much more to the same effect, be taken as proved. It is a contention of vital importance as regards the movement we are considering, inasmuch as to this sense of violent oppression by the State, of the involuntary separation of "the Provinces of York and Canterbury" from "the rest of Catholic Christendom"—the expressions are their own—more, perhaps, than to any other cause, the revival of "Catholic" life in the Anglican communion, the return, as it is claimed to be, to a lost rather than to a deliberately forsaken position, ritual and doctrine, may be said to be due. And this because it lends strength to that consciousness of a quasi-corporate existence as a "Church," and some measure at least of plausibility to that claim of "continuity"—through spiritual affinity, State enactments to the contrary notwithstanding—with the pre-reformation *Ecclesia Anglicana*, which have been the inspiring and guiding principles of the Oxford Movement from the first; principles the true bearing and import of which are only now beginning to dawn on those who so passionately cling to them.

• To discuss at any length the various measures and stages whereby the ancient "uses" of the English Church were replaced by a uniform "Book of Common Prayer," binding on all by act of Parliament, would take us too far from our present subject, though some reference to the principal changes will be made presently. It may, however, I think, be laid down as a general rule that all such rubrics,

articles and injunctions as are distinctively Protestant in tone and intention were imposed on the (schismatical) English Church, in Edward's reign especially—for Elizabeth merely revived and amplified them—by the sole authority of King and Parliament, against the will, though with the ultimate submission, as already shown, of the clergy in convocation. Further, that all such prayers and formularies as are capable of a Catholic interpretation—and they are very many—owe their place in the Book of Common Prayer chiefly to the conservative or "Catholic" party in both reigns, a party which may justly be characterized as intensely "national," squally opposed, under Elizabeth especially, to the "Popery" of Spain and to the ultra-protestantism of the continental "reformers." Not a little must, however, be attributed to Elizabeth's policy of making it possible, as she deemed and intended, for the whole nation to conform to her "ordering" of the national religion; of making Church and State synonymous and identical under the new conditions, as they had been under the old; under her supremacy in spirituals, as under "the usurped authority of the Bishops of Rome." And it is curious, to say the least, that the article on this point is worded to deny the Pope's claim to jurisdiction "in this *realm* of England," as if to exclude a temporal, while leaving a spiritual jurisdiction—should any be brave enough to draw so dangerous and "Jesuitical" a distinction. The result has been a typically English compromise not unlike the national tolerance of parliamentary and constitutional inconsistencies; an "Established Church," comprehensive of Puritans and "Catholics" alike, and a Book of Common Prayer—a manual of devotion, theology and canon law—to which all parties, High, Broad and Evangelical, appeal confidently in support of their contentions. But it may, further, be maintained that "germs of Popery," as they are called by a member of the last of these schools, are to be found in the Prayer Book, and that "of these," as he says, "the Catholic revival has been evolved." "*This witness is true.*" To some of these "germs," and to the forms into which they have grown of late, I purpose to return presently.

Meanwhile, it may be well to note here, as of immediate connection with our subject, the order in which, as it were, England lost the distinctive doctrines of the Catholic faith first preached to her by S. Augustine. The first to be discarded—the keystone, indeed, of the whole structure, as Henry soon learned—was that of the divinely constituted primacy of Peter and of his successors, the Vicars of Christ. The next, and inevitably that of the essential necessity of visible unity in communion with the Holy See, a necessity which only now the heirs of Henry's schism and Elizabeth's apostasy are beginning to realize. The doctrine of the communion

and of the invocation of saints, having all the strength of custom and habit and being interwoven with men's daily lives, was, we may fairly presume, more slowly lost sight of. Belief in some form of Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, even though the Mass as such was done away with by Edward and Elizabeth, would be kept alive, doubtless, by tradition, by personal devotion, by, one may say, its very naturalness and inevitability; by such of the ancient ceremonies as were allowed to survive the change from the old religion to the new, by the very prayers of "the office of Holy Communion." Belief—resting largely on national habits and instincts—in the corporate and continued existence of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, in spite of State tyranny and altered conditions, was, as I have pointed out, not only maintained from the first as a fundamental, incontrovertible principle, but was and is the chief contention of the "Catholic" or "Church" party, alike in Edward's days and in our own. It would be difficult, indeed, if not impossible, to overestimate its importance. It has not only made the Oxford Movement what it is, but must necessarily shape and determine its ultimate issue. We have to deal, that is, with an entity which lays claim to be as truly a "Church" as do the schismatics of the East, and it is only, so far as it is possible to see, in its corporate form that any hope of a real "reunion" is to be looked for.

The brief domination of what may be termed Continental Protestantism under Edward VI., the Protestantism, that is, favored for personal reasons by Cranmer and the Protector Somerset, is of interest merely, so far as its influence can be traced in the new English liturgy, in the differences between the first Prayer Book of 1549 and the second of 1552. It was this latter and more Protestant book which was imposed on the nation by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity in 1559, when "the Church of England, by law established," came into definite existence.

It is to this Book of Common Prayer—the Breviary, the Missal and the Manual of Devotion of millions of English-speaking people for over three centuries, a compilation, the linguistic beauty of which is only rivaled by the "King James" Bible and not surpassed by the Latin Offices of the Church—that we attribute justly that type of religious character best, perhaps, defined as "churchly;" which, while not in the strict sense Catholic, is most assuredly not Protestant in the ordinary acceptation of the term. If so, what is there, it may be asked, in the Book of Common Prayer to make such a type—and a very beautiful type it is—of spiritual character possible? To what "germs of Popery" must we ascribe the growth of virtues, doctrines, practices and, most of all, of lives "naturally Catholic?" And, since "it is the Mass that matters," since it is to

belief in the Mass that we attribute exclusively the distinguishing characteristics of the Catholic spiritual life, we are led to ask: Are there any traces of such belief—in the Real Presence, at least—to be found in the Anglican formularies?

In attempting to answer such a question in the affirmative, I must necessarily trespass on the patience of my readers with somewhat lengthy quotations and with such explanations as may seem to be required in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to their meaning and import. In so doing, moreover, I shall be dealing for the most part with those very "germs of Popery" referred to, from which unquestionably the "Catholic revival" of the present day has been evolved, thus bringing us to the sources and principles of that most wonderful "counter-reformation" which, surely and not slowly, is undoing the evil work of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1548, then, an "Order of Communion" was imposed on the schismatical, but not formally heretical English Church, by the ruling powers, which, however, "left the Latin Mass, according to the various rites hitherto in use in England, still intact. 'The varying of any rite or ceremony of the Mass,' up to and including the communion of the priest, is expressly forbidden by a rubric of this 'Order.'"<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, 1548 is to be taken as "the first and second year of Edward VI." specified by the "Ornaments Rubric"—to be referred to presently—this ordering of the traditional ceremonies, including obviously the vestments, is of supreme importance in considering the claim of the "Anglo-Catholics" that they are acting legally in their revival of ancient ritual and customs; that it is a revival, not an innovation; that the plain law of the "Church" is in their favor.

In this "Order," as in the first Prayer Book of 1549, the words of administration in "the Office of Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," were practically, if not actually, those of the ancient offices. In the second Prayer Book of 1552 all reference to "the Body of Christ" at the time of administration is carefully and, no doubt, purposely omitted. The form now runs: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." At the ministering of the chalice: "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." In the Prayer Book ordered by the Act of Uniformity in 1559, Elizabeth, in pursuance of her policy of comprehension, of making it possible for Calvinists and Papists—as she doubtless deemed—to accept her new religion, caused both forms, the Catholic and the Zwinglian, to be combined as they remain to this day. It is permissible, therefore, so far as these

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<sup>1</sup> "Edward VI.," p. 90.

particular words go, for an Anglican to hold either the doctrine of the Church on this vital point or that of Geneva.

Other portions of the Communion Office are capable of a like ambiguous interpretation. Of the "prayer of humble access," as it is called, which I am about to quote, it may be well to state that in the Prayer Book of 1549 it is ordered to be said, kneeling before the altar, *after* the consecration, but that on Bishop Gardiner's pointing to it as an act of adoration it was placed in the second Prayer Book immediately *before* the prayer of consecration.<sup>4</sup> The words to which I wish to call particular attention are these: "Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son, and to drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most Precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us."

The Rev. J. H. Blunt, a standard Anglican authority, says justly, in his "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," of these words that "the emphatic sense of 'so to eat' must not be overlooked." It is in this sense of "so to eat that we may attain the grace of union with Christ," that the prayer has been of vital import in the formation of the Anglican religious character. It is in this sense, moreover, that we must take account of it as the life-principle of that belief in the Real Presence, in a true "Holy Communion" which has never been lost in the Anglican "Church;" has, indeed, been more widely prevalent and of greater spiritual efficacy than can ever be known till the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed; has been the true spring and source of the "Catholic" revival, as it is its only possible source. For if we consider it rightly, who may begin to measure the spiritual effects of such a prayer in those to whom the "Church of England" was and is the True Church of God; to whom this maimed, imperfect rite has been and is the only "Holy Communion" of which they know anything?

But it is round the "Ornaments Rubric," that is, on questions of ritual as symbolical of doctrine, that controversy in the Anglican communion has raged most fiercely since the formal beginnings of the Oxford Movement. The "Order of Communion" issued in 1548 left, as has been shown, the ancient and accustomed ritual of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* intact and unaltered, forbade, indeed, any attempt to change it. The first Prayer Book of 1549 introduced no very marked changes, professedly or officially at all events, nor presumably did the second book of 1552, in matters of ritual as of obligation. The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, at all events, prescribed that "the Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof"—the vestments, evidently; compare the French word "*ornements*" as

<sup>4</sup> "Edward VI.," p. 290.

still commonly used in this technical sense—"shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England . . . in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." This rubric was again imposed at the final revision of the Prayer Book in 1661.

Of this ritual injunction the returned Protestant exiles had this to say at the time of its imposition: "The last Book of Service (1552) is gone through with the proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward. Our gloss upon the text is that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others"—the extreme "reformers," presumably—"in the meantime shall not convey them away."<sup>8</sup>

The contemporary expression, "*first and second year of King Edward*," is worth noting. Edward came to the throne in January, 1546-1547, according to the then method of beginning the year on March 25. The "first and second year," then, would be 1547-1548, the latter being that which saw the issue of the "Order of Communion" (April 1, 1548), enjoining, under penalties, the use of the full ancient ritual of the English Church. As to the modifications and legal interpretations which this "interpretation clause of the ritual law of the Church of England," as Mr. Blunt calls it, has undergone, I would refer my readers to that author's learned preface to his "Annotated Book of Common Prayer" (pp. lxx., 599). What is of more immediate connection with our present subject is the view taken of it by the gentleman to whom we are indebted for the phrase "germs of Popery." Under date of April 4, 1899, he writes to the *English Churchman* as follows: "They (the 'Romanizers') appeal to that book (the Prayer Book) with its 'ornaments rubric,' and claim, most plausibly, that it prescribes their Romish 'ornaments of the Church and Ministers,' the Mass vestments, and, as a corollary, the Mass!" This writer, at least, is under no illusion as to the real significance of the ritual revival brought about by the Oxford counter-reformation, a revival which only those who have seen it can estimate at anything approaching its scope and importance, which, indeed, only a series of illustrations and an array of facts and figures could convey to those not so familiar. Nor has the gentleman any doubt as to the part which symbols play in religious life and in the dissemination of doctrines and ideas. The Mass vestments, as he says, connote the Mass, as truly as a flag connotes a country or a victory. It is easy, therefore, to understand why the battle of the counter-reformation has been waged, apparently, over "externals." It is because the externals have a certain definite, unmistakable meaning. As he refers to other "germs of Popery," it may be as well to finish the quotation from his letter. "They

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<sup>8</sup> "Elizabethan Religious Settlement," p. 92.

assert," he continues, "from the pulpit. the platform and in the press that priestly absolution is the doctrine of the Prayer Book, and that the Sacrament of Penance is not alien to its teaching; and they quote passage after passage in support of their pretensions."

While on this subject, and if my readers will excuse the somewhat lengthy quotations already alluded to, it may be well to note the official teaching, the written *lex credendi*, as distinct from the *lex orandi*, of the Anglican communion. In the catechism—to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, and learned by all English churchmen—a sacrament is defined as being "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same (the grace), and a pledge to assure us thereof." It is an effectual means, then, whereby we receive the grace it is intended by Our Lord to convey, *ex opere operato*, if words have any significance—"a pledge to assure us thereof." Bearing this in mind, let us see what is said concerning "the inward part, or thing signified, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." This is declared to be: "The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Here the word open to misconstruction, to a Protestant, rather than to a Catholic interpretation, is, of course, "faithful," since it seems to imply that the receiving of Christ's Body and Blood, "verily and indeed," depends on the faith of the communicant, *ex opere operantis*. Interpreted, however, in the sense of "whereby we receive," of the prayer, "so to eat," and of the distinction, made by S. Thomas, between *sacramentum* and the *res et virtus sacramenti*, between fruitful and unfruitful, a worthy and an unworthy communion, it is evident that the definition—whatever the real intention of its framers—is legitimately capable of being understood in an orthodox sense. That it is so interpreted, the growth of devotion to "the Blessed Sacrament" among Anglicans, and its effects in their lives, not of late years only, but to be traced here and there during the three centuries of schism and heresy, is more than sufficient evidence. It is, if I may refer to the matter again, the inevitable and natural outcome of the faith nourished by the "Prayer of Humble Access."

But if both the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi*, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, favor the traditional "Catholic" or churchly view of the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, the so-called "Black Rubric," at the end of the Communion Office, seems to support the opposite, or Zwinglian view. In regard to kneeling at Holy Communion, "it is here declared," the rubric states, "that thereby no adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily received"—Query: To

the accidents?—"or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood"—*in specie sua?* "For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very Natural Substances"—this is the hardest word to interpret or to explain away—"and therefore may not be adored . . . and the Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here"—again, *in specie sua?*—"it being against the truth of Christ's Natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."

Concerning this declaration Blunt says, in his reference to it, that "it was first added to the Communion Office at the final revision in 1661," at the time, that is, when "peace at any price" was the chief aim of the authorities in Church and State. There can be no question, however, that it marks a victory for the Puritan Conformists of the Restoration, whom it was the policy of Charles II. to conciliate in religious as in constitutional matters; the former, indeed, being in his estimation of far the less importance, and therefore to be the more readily conceded. It marks, also, the influence of Cranmer, who was responsible for its original framing in 1552. One very important change was, however, made in it, doubtless through the instrumentality of the High Churchmen of the latter period referred to—namely, 1661. Cranmer, who was, it must be remembered, a scholastic theologian and knew the significance of every word used, framed the declaration to deny any "real or essential" presence of "Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood." For this the revisers in 1661 substituted "corporal presence." Thus, Blunt concludes, "they retained the protest against Transubstantiation, while they removed all risk of the Declaration . . . being misunderstood as even an apparent denial of the truth of the Real Presence."

This, it may be well to state, is the deliberate profession of a representative of the earlier Tractarians, who were distinctively Anglican and in many respects "anti-Roman," followers of the *via Media*. They held, so they maintained, to the older, patristic, pre-Tridentine doctrine of "the Undivided Church," and refused to attempt a definition of the mode of Christ's presence in the Blessed Sacrament. "Faith believes," wrote Newman, "nor questions how." For men not bound by the infallible dogmatic decisions of the Church, it is a perfectly lawful, as it is a perfectly reasonable attitude. "The Presence is real," they taught; "this is My Body." For them that was and is enough.

How, then, can "Anglo-Romans," as they call themselves, the present day leaders of the counter-reformation, teach, as they do, the Tridentine doctrine of Transubstantiation, notwithstanding the "Black Rubric?" As a personal explanation, from my own experience, if I may be allowed to refer to it, I would say that faith, when



it lays hold of a man's heart and soul, rises above mere definitions, above contrary ones most of all. "*Cor ad cor loquitur*," the Heart of Christ speaks to the heart of man, and there is no more doubt. Next, and more generally, I would say that the declaration in question was imposed on the "Church" by the State, is part of the burden of her "unwilling bondage," and consequently, as we have seen in the case of Gardiner and Tunstall, in respect to the Edwardine changes, is looked upon as a statement, probably heretical, to be interpreted as widely as possible, "saving the teaching of the Catholic Church," as Lord Halifax said, in reference to other Anglican dogmatic decisions. Moreover, as I have ventured to suggest, when quoting the words of the declaration, the definition of S. Thomas, *in specie sua*, may—or so it seems to a layman unfamiliar with theology—possibly afford a solution of the difficulty.

I would point out, further, since the fact remains that the doctrine is held and taught by Anglicans, that, as Mr. Spencer Jones says, in the introduction to his "England and the Holy See" (pp. xvii., xviii.): "In regard to transubstantiation, there is a statement of the doctrine by Cardinal Manning, to be found on page 31, volume II. of his life, which differs in absolutely nothing from the doctrine of the Real Presence as taught by accredited English (Anglican) divines." This, it is hardly necessary to insist, is of the utmost interest and importance, and only goes to show the importance of an accurate statement of doctrine, as it also shows how often real agreement underlies verbal differences arising from the lack of just such accuracy of definition. There is also a note, in which Mr. Jones quotes from Cardinal Newman's essay on the *via Media* in relation to the same subject. It is of too purely theological nature to be discussed here, but the terms of agreement, which make it possible for an Anglican to accept the Tridentine doctrine as not contrary to that of his own communion, may be said briefly to consist in the value given to such words as "natural" and "sacramental," "real" and "spiritual," the values that is given to them by the Angelic Doctor. How much is here gained there is surely no need to enlarge upon.

In respect, further, to the other "germs of Popery" above enumerated, absolution and the Sacrament of Penance, that is, to the authority of the apostolic priesthood and the power of the keys, the Book of Common Prayer is unquestionably, so far as words go, on the side of the "Romanizers," and a source of weakness—again as far as words go—to their "evangelical" fellow-churchmen. In the preface to the Ordinal we read that: "It is evident . . . that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons. . . .

And therefore *to the intent that these orders may be continued* (italics mine) and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England," the ensuing Ordinal is declared obligatory to validity and legality.

Here again we must, in common fairness to our Anglican brethren, distinguish between this deliberate and carefully worded purpose of *continuing the ancient orders* of Bishops, priests and deacons, a declaration which, taken in its plain and literal sense—as they have a perfect right to do—they regard as the true mind and purpose of their "Church," and any state enactments which may seem, in one way or another, to modify or invalidate it. Still less can we allow that its force and authority, so far as they are concerned, are lessened by Elizabeth's taking upon herself to validate the new orders by her own act and power. The twenty-sixth Article of Religion, as Blunt points out (page 536), "drawn up in 1562 and confirmed by convocation, 1571"—this is of vital import, as indicating the ecclesiastical action of the new "Church"—"had already decreed the validity of all orders conferred according to the new Ordinal since the second year of Edward VI." Elizabeth's declaration, therefore, merely gave the official sanction, and added the royal authority of the "Supreme Governor" to the decision of convocation, and made dispute or denial of the orders in question, whether by Papist or Calvinist, an offense against "the Queen's Majesty," with fitting penalties. The method of procedure had its advantages under the circumstances.

Again, the same author (*loc. cit.*) draws attention to a fact—easily capable of proof or disproof—which may fairly weigh more with them than with us, and, most of all, with those who are striving for corporate reunion with the See of Peter, while clinging passionately to a belief in the validity of their own orders. "Courayer," he writes, "mentions the important fact that Pope Pius IV., by his envoy, offered to confirm the whole English Prayer Book, of course including the Ordinal, provided the Church of England would be reconciled to the Pope and acknowledge his supremacy. Ch. xiii., p. 235." Now, the bull *Apostolicae Curae* of Leo XIII. pronounced Anglican orders "absolutely null and void," as being defective "in matter and form," but it is surely open to a devout Anglican to hope that some successor of Paul IV. and of Leo XIII. may yet validate Anglican orders by sanctioning the changes made in the ancient ordinal.

The actual "form" used at the ordination of a priest is as follows: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy sacraments."

No power of sacrifice, it has been contended, which is of the very essence of the Catholic priesthood, is here either alluded to or conveyed, hence the fatal defect of both matter and form. Setting aside any arguments that might be drawn from Oriental and even from ancient Roman ordinals, we must once more, in common fairness, give all the weight possible to the Anglican interpretation of the words as they stand, if we would realize why they maintain in good faith, and with so much earnestness, the Catholic validity of their orders. Blunt's note at this point (page 563) is, therefore, of special interest. "All sacerdotal power," he writes, "is derived from the Holy Ghost; the Church, therefore, holds that the reception of the Holy Ghost is necessary to constitute a Christian priest, and that this gift can be conferred only through the hands of a Bishop." As to the words themselves—and in the original Edwardine ordinal they were taken *verbatim* from those in the Gospel, the fuller form being added after a considerable period—he adds: "Being the very words employed by Our Lord when He ordained His Apostles, they are the original Charter of the institution of the Ministry, from which alone the limits and extent of its authority are to be known." This may, I think, be taken as the view of those who, so to speak, appeal to Scripture and antiquity as against "later Roman assumptions of authority," and who regard this "original form," the form used by Christ Himself, as sufficiently connoting all that the Church Catholic has ever understood as being "the office and work of a priest in the Church of God." It is, at all events, a perfectly reasonable view—apart always from the divinely given authority of the Vicar of Christ, to whom alone it belongs to decide what is and what is not a valid form of ordination to that priesthood of which, as of the kingdom of heaven, he holds the key.

Lastly, as to the Sacrament of Penance, which, with the power of sacrifice, has been entrusted to the apostolic ministry. In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick the following rubric occurs: "*Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him . . . after this sort:* Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offenses; and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." The authority here referred to is, of course, that professedly conveyed by ordination, and since it extends to "all sinners," there is justice in the claim of those who, like Lord Halifax, contend that absolution is as necessary to sinners in health as to sinners in sickness. There

can, at least, be no doubt that sacramental absolution is not contrary to the plain purpose and teaching of the Book of Common Prayer.

How comes it, then, one may ask, that with the last of the Non-Jurors of the Bishops and clergy who, while resisting the unconstitutional demands of their lawful sovereign, James II., refused allegiance to the usurper, William of Orange, the churchly, or Catholic party in the Anglican communion may be said practically to have ceased to exist? The reason assigned by an editorial in the *Living Church* of July 4, 1908, seems the most probable, if not, indeed, humanly speaking, the only one—the triumph, namely, of the Puritan conformists of 1661 and the following years. It is pointed out that at the restoration of the Stuarts large numbers of Presbyterian ministers were allowed to continue in their livings on condition of accepting Anglican ordination. "The Church," this writer continues, "was swamped by a number of clergy who had been made priests without wishing to be anything more than Presbyterian ministers. These merely tolerated conformists became the administrators of the Church, and barely tolerated the historic (High Anglican) conception of the Church. . . . When the old-time Churchly spirit began to reassert itself, in the middle of the nineteenth century, it was treated as an unwarrantable novelty, an usurpation from an alien communion ("Rome"), a monstrosity within the Church of England."

No better summary of the history of Anglicanism from 1660 to 1833 could, I venture to say, be given than this. It explains all that otherwise might seem inexplicable in a communion which had deliberately retained in its formularies, its legislation and its eternal organization, so much that was certainly more Catholic than Protestant, as all later history shows. It explains, also, the storm of opposition, misapprehension, hatred and calumny wherewith the "Catholic Revival" was met in its beginnings, the violence of which may be gathered from contemporary accounts of the movement.

For the state of religion in England during the eighteenth century, I would refer my readers to such works as the "Life of Whitefield," of the two Wesleys, including Macaulay's Essay, and to Froude's "Oxford Counter-Reformation," among many others. The spiritual life of the nation was, to all appearance, dead; even the Catholic remnant, as Lingard and others have recorded, was not immune from the blight of worldliness and indifference which, more than all else, marks the Hanoverian period.

Yet, cold and irreligious as England had become, she was to show that she had not lost all the qualities with which her ancient faith had endowed her. The exiled Bishops, priests and religious of Revolutionary France found ready and ungrudging welcome in a

country whose penal laws against her own "Popish recusants" were in full force. The effects of this hospitality on the religious life of the nation are not easily to be measured. For one thing, they made the Oxford Movement possible.

- Its immediate causes must, however, be sought in the political rather than in the distinctly religious conditions of the times. The Reform Act of 1832 had given an impulse to Liberalism, at which the Tories, mindful of the French Revolution and having the troubles of 1830 under their eyes, literally stood aghast. Liberalism of all kinds, it may be well to remember, was, to Newman and his friends, as it is to many of us, of the devil simply *et sans phrase*. But it was the Irish Temporalities Bill, passed in 1833, suppressing half the Irish Protestant episcopate, which really started the counter-reformation, since the very life of the National Church seemed to be at stake. On July 14 of that year Keble preached at S. Mary's, Oxford, his memorable sermon on "The National Apostasy." Newman in after years says of it: "I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the Religious Movement of 1833."<sup>6</sup>

Into the history of the movement itself it is not my purpose to enter here. I desire rather to draw attention, in conclusion, to its latest phase, the Anglo-Roman, or Reunion party, which may be said to have come into existence with the present century and is best represented by the *Lamp* and by Mr. Spencer Jones' "England and the Holy See: An Essay Towards Reunion." This reunion—the very word is full of import—must, these heirs of the counter-reformation, of the "Anglican" tradition, maintain, be a "corporate" submission of the "English Church" to the Vicar of Christ, even as the separation was, in their view of it, the "corporate," though unwilling, act of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. More, it is the divine *terminus ad quem*, the only possible destiny of the Oxford Movement.

It is a movement, moreover, which may be said to have only just begun, the true value and import of which its very leaders have hardly yet fully grasped. It is a position which, to a Catholic, seems wholly illogical and untenable. Why, it may be asked, do they not submit individually to the Pope, whose primacy and infallibility they acknowledge?

The answer must, I think, be sought, first, in that very sense of a corporate existence as a "Church;" in that belief in the "continuity," the identity, between the pre-reformation *Ecclesia Anglicana* and their own communion. This sense and this belief, while they are the vital principles of the Oxford Movement, while they have had, and must continue to have, divinely logical and inevitable effects, have not as yet attained the full measure of them. The conscious-

<sup>6</sup> "Apologia pro vita sua," p. 35.

ness of corporate existence must, it would seem, entail an ever clearer realization of isolation from "the rest of Catholic Christendom," as they say, of separation from that Divine centre of Catholic life and unity whose claims they are willing to recognize after three centuries of bitter repudiation and denial. The very belief in "continuity" must, in like measure, bring, in God's time, a full sense of the differences between the Church of the English people and the "Church of England," a full understanding of what—by their own admission—has been lost, and how, alone—again by their own admission—it can be regained.

But the answer to our question must be sought, secondly, and no less surely, in that conviction as to the validity of their orders, and, consequently, of their sacraments, which is founded not merely on the wording and professed intention of their formularies, but on their spiritual experience. Their communions, they will tell us, have been real, and, therefore, sacramental, clear proofs of validity; to deny their reality would be to deny, to blaspheme the work of God in their souls. How shall we persuade them that the graces given were real, were even attached to and dependent on the faithful reception of their rites, and yet in no sense sacramental? That the test of spiritual experience in this matter, even if it seems to amount to a *probabile argumentum*, to an actual proof of Our Lord's presence,<sup>7</sup> is not a proof of His sacramental presence; that it is of equal application to devout Methodists, Presbyterians and others, who lay no claim to the possession of valid orders? That it is, simply, the reward of good faith?

If, however, the sense of corporate existence and the claim to "continuity" with the ancient Church of the English people have not as yet worked out to their logical consequences, if belief in the validity of their orders and sacraments still holds so many back from a submission which, to us, is clearly of inevitable obligation, there can be no question for those who have studied the movement in all its phases as to its ultimate outcome. That outcome is, I am convinced, none other than the *terminus ad quem* which the leaders of the movement have come to recognize as divinely ordered—Reunion, the corporate submission of the Anglican communion to the Holy See. Such submission, such reunion, these leaders assert and repeat, is the only possible goal of the Oxford Movement, without which it has no justification, no meaning. It will be said that such a submission is impossible, inconceivable. Is it more impossible or less conceivable than that of the Arians? Is not the whole movement something wholly new, strange and unaccountable, this deliberate return of a schismatical, heretical body towards Catholic unity,

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<sup>7</sup> Imit. IV., xix., 2.

except as the work of God, a progress towards just such an end? The Church lost England—that is what it amounts to—in the open revolt of the sixteenth century, and that loss was, humanly speaking, brought about by the Anglican communion. Is it not natural—if one may say so—to look to the Anglican communion as God's instrument—however imperfect it may seem to us—in making good the loss? How else—so far as we can see—shall Our Lady's Dowry be restored to her?

But if this is so, what is our attitude to be towards such a movement, one which, it cannot be too strongly insisted on, is of vital import to the Church, in English-speaking countries especially? These exiles from the heritage that was once their—exiles, be it always remembered, through no fault of their own—are turning their eyes, their longings, their steps more definitely than ever before towards the fold to which, in heart and desire, they have always rightly belonged. They are learning—some have already learned—that only by submission to the shepherd appointed by Christ to rule His flock on earth can they attain entrance to the shelter of His one fold. They have come to believe, some less fully, indeed, some in full measure, as we believe, to pray as we pray, to seek, in maimed, imperfect rites, that sacramental union with Himself which He longs to grant to them and to us. And so far they are in the valley of shadows and the mists of illusion; there is a wall between them and us, a wall of misunderstandings, of inherited estrangement, which neither they nor we, but our common fathers, built up between us, but for which they and we shall answer before God if we do not labor to remove it.

Yet surely, with a common faith, common hope, a common fellowship—however partial or imperfect—with Him who is the One Shepherd of all His sheep, whose last prayer on the night of His bitter Passion was that they might all be one, "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me," the barrier that divides us grows transparent and will vanish ere we know it, like the mist at sunrise. Then, and then only, will the Oxford Movement have fulfilled the task appointed to it, have attained the destiny which, in its very sources, in the very formularies of the communion it has quickened to new life, God intended and marked out as its ultimate and only possible issue. Then shall the Good Shepherd's own promise be kept at last: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also must I bring, and they shall hear My voice, and there shall be One Fold and One Shepherd."

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## ANARCHISM IN INDIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE murder of Sir Curzon Wylie brought home to the door of the supreme power a condition of affairs in India either disregarded in England or lightly or contemptuously regarded. It was very well known among the officials in that great dependency that disaffection led now and then to murder by the knife or the revolver, by the wrecking of trains or by bomb-throwing; and that this or that method of evincing discontent, though limited in operation, was not confined to the assassins, but represented the passions and hopes of associations if not of "classes."<sup>1</sup> All this time constitutional reforms were in progress, and not merely associations, but the "classes," into which for the purpose of political discrimination all above the ryots or tillers of the soil were labeled, believed that the reforms were due to those acts of violence.

That this was an unfortunate conclusion may be easily admitted; that it was a natural one to the Eastern mind, those acquainted with the subtle and treacherous disposition of the Indian races, especially of the most intelligent race among them, the Bengalis, will at once conclude. Gratitude has no place in the East, justice has no meaning; fear or interest is the only intelligible motive in administration as it is in the relations of private life. The only part of the Indian people that can be reckoned on as attached to the government and its "foreign" officials is the tiller of the soil; and with him it is the stern teaching of experience, for he knows that the native landlord and the native tax-gatherer are greedy and heartless to a proverb, while the English collector is just and compassionate. The latter steps in on complaint between the tenant and the native landlord, and sees that the tenant shall only pay what the law itself provides—namely, an equitable rent in proportion to the produce of the year. It is right to add that tenants will only apply to the English official in extreme cases when utter misery from the exactions of the native landlord gives them the courage of despair.

That some automatic and constant protection to tenants should be contrived to render it unnecessary to apply to the English officials against the landlords will be conceded when one knows the hopeless condition of the tenants in a quarrel with the former. The law is excellent, but in their dealings with the tenants the landlords are above and outside the law, except in those desperate cases when the authority of the English collector is invoked. The tenant, destitute of means, submits to any demand rather than apply to the English

<sup>1</sup> The word "classes," like the phrase "babu clerks," has a local Anglo-Indian application.



official. With time he is in hopeless arrears; there are two consequences, starvation or eviction. The landlord is anxious to get possession of the land to work it for his own immediate profit. The tenant may become a laborer without any longer the conditional ownership the law had given him or seek subsistence elsewhere. The strange circumstance in connection with this mischief is that the tenants in some mysterious way blame the government and not their own countrymen for all the consequences; but the sentiment is artificial, as I shall presently point out, produced by the agitators, in fact.

It may be objected that such a state of feeling could hardly be produced by the agitators if the ryots fully realized their indebtedness to the imperial government for the admirable land legislation which conferred on them a perpetual interest in the soil, subject to the payment of rent when the zamindars were intermediate landlords between them and the State, and to the land tax where the State was the immediate landlord. The ryots, in truth, are aware of what the imperial government has done for them, and it can be safely said they would not wish to be transferred from the English possessions to those of the great fundatories of the Crown, much as the glamor of immemorial dignity and descent invests these princes in their eyes.

I briefly pass from the consideration that the contempt evinced by the imperial race for all classes of the natives, including the wealthy commercial class and landholders of the most ancient ancestry and great possessions, makes a difficulty. I shall notice it more in detail later on. What I wish to do is to clear the ground in the beginning by a statement which may cause astonishment to the American reader and to the Irish politician, who looks on English rule everywhere outside the great self-governing colonies as an unmitigated despotism.

This certainly is not the case in India. The land laws are excellent. When the administration of them is oppressive—and it is that most frequently to a frightful extent—the native landlords and native magistrates and deputy collectors are the cause. There is a greater degree of local self-government in the four great provinces called the Presidencies and the Central Provinces, the latter under one Governor and his lieutenants, than in English counties before the last education act. No doubt the ryots are not represented in the Provincial Councils. Eighty years ago Manchester did not send a representative to Parliament, while some petty village, with its electorate of the parson, the parish clerk and the squire's gate-keeper, sent two. Old Sarum, I think, was something like this.

The famines in India have naturally enough stirred the hearts of

humane men and very seriously occupied the judgment of sincere Radicals, who look at results not like the Doctrinaires, who adhere to theories whatever be the results. These gentlemen of Bentham's leading in the science of government and of Mills' abstractions in the principles of legislation remind one of the old physicians laughed at by Moliere, whom even death did not convince that extreme weakness was not to be cured by blood-letting and powerful purgatives. The patients were criminal, that was all about it, for they chose to die in defiance of the rules of science. Now we have the theory of the Doctrinaire-Radicals of Bentham's lead and Mills that India should be governed by a constitution like that of the United Kingdom, plus an electorate of every man and woman of good character. Well, good character is a relative term. When the probability that every man in India is a thief when he can,<sup>2</sup> a liar always, a perjurer when his evidence needs deflection from the truth, I find it hard to call him a person of good character. As to the ladies, a Sikh military chief the other day declared that if English rule were driven from India not one article of value would be found in any house within a week, not a virgin would be found throughout the British provinces or possibly in the native States. If the Zenana did not secure an Indian's wives and daughters, I can hardly think that female suffrage and the excitement of an election to the Indian Parliament would contribute to character. Contested elections are not fair or honest, but women should be both; therefore they have no business with the suffrage in India.

The other alternative is practical, but an anachronism—namely, a despotism with the stern qualities of Orientalism as seen in the ancient monarchies, tempered by the patriarchal form commonly called paternal government. Such was the rule of the English in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such the rule of Russia in Poland according to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, when Dukes were royal incubi planted on the earnings and destitution of the masses and before Duchesses became gracious ladies with a monopoly of the virtues which are crowns to their husbands. In fact, the right honorable gentleman's political psychology, since as Colonial Secretary he superseded the Foreign Secretary and took up empire-making as an industry has risen to Bismarckian heights. Like the "Imps"<sup>3</sup> in Great Britain, he would establish a despotism in India, but, mind you, it should be an enlightened despot that filled what Richard III. called the chair. Can an enlightened despot be found anywhere save Birmingham?

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<sup>2</sup> I am not speaking of the native princes and the gentlemen in the provinces who have grown up and lived among the British officials.

<sup>3</sup> Liberal Imperialists.

Possibly the Civil Service, so far as it is represented by the high-minded gentlemen from Ireland, England and Scotland, may be considered an enlightened despotism in the aggregate. But they are described as rather haughty to the natives, while their judicial and executive action is above all praise. I understand that the military men sometimes deputed to discharge magisterial functions follow the rules laid down by the vice regal and presidential councils. These rules are mindful of the susceptibilities of the natives so far as the claims of impartial justice, but from what I learn even now and what I learned in my young days from gentlemen who had served, there is a tone of superiority over wealthy and well-born Indians which rankles. The assumption may have been forced in early days by the duplicity and Uriah Heap humility of the Bengalis. They fawned, but woe to the army man or the civilian whom extravagance placed in their power. They were, in his trouble, taking satisfaction for the innumerable times they bowed to the earth and shaded their eyes before the Sahib.

The enlightened despot may do in a polity of the imagination. History does not produce him in the aggregate as an Athenian or Venetian republic or in the individual like that superb actor, Augustus. In spite of Gibbon I fail to find the impartial justice I should look for, say in Tragan, with his sham forms of trial, and that a marked Patrician or knight that is an eques died without a trial, as though Caligula wanted a sensation or Nero desired to be his heir. I think, therefore, Edward, Emperor of India, cannot be made absolute in India as Mr. Disraeli's followers seemed to have thought possible.

I have hinted that the sentiments of returned officers were those, in my young days, of men who looked upon the Indians as simply a population without rights.<sup>4</sup> To a very considerable extent even now the successors of these gentlemen carry this social and political estimate home with them. "Shoot them down!" is an expression employed with reference to excited meetings of the people in England or Ireland by your Anglo-Indian. Now I can hardly think such ferocity is indigenous in England, though Mr. A. Balfour as Irish Secretary telegraphed to a police officer in Ireland: "Don't hesitate to shoot!" It was Napoleonic. "Shoot the burgomaster," writes Napoleon to one of his generals. Unrestrained power is not a good thing for those who may feel its exercise. The Radicals of England stood against its exercise in Ireland in 1865. I remember the incident well. The class of honorable men to which Mr. Balfour belongs—yes, the Tories are all honorable men, widely extended branches of the great house of Barnacle; all honorable men, just as

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<sup>4</sup> Even to-day the native is spoken of as an "outsider."

honorable as when they lived upon the three kingdoms, as officials whose subordinates did the work at a tenth or a fifth of the salaries, as sinecurists who did not pretend to do work, as pensioners whose term of work was short and joyous as a midsummer night's dream—I say that that aristocratic, territorial, ecclesiastical class demanded that Sir Hugh Rose should be sent over to Ireland that year to play the part he had played in India. A weak-kneed Whig administration was in power, but Manchester, Birmingham, the Midlands were against the class of honorable men who wanted Indian methods in Ireland, because three or four enthusiasts started a newspaper to overthrow English power in Ireland. If this class would be so masterful at home, at the very heart of the empire, one can possibly understand that their relatives would be insolent and despotic in India. During the height of the land war in Ireland retired army men settled in England were pretty constantly advertising in the newspapers for agencies of estates. Among their qualifications honesty, the security of bonds, experience of the work, skill in dealing with different orders of men and so on were not mentioned. The advertiser had served in India, had been accustomed there to deal with lawless, seditious, rebellious natives, whom he had kept in awe, and was consequently the man for a disturbed district in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> These little touches and more from personal knowledge I could give must help me to discern wherein lies the probabilities between the rose-color of my fellow Radicals and the fire and brimstone of the class which rendered government in India the detestation of Indians by their encouragement to the insolent demeanor and oppressive usages of the army men and magistrates of the uncovenanted kind of British origin, the engineer's clerks who pride themselves on their white skins, as Noah Claypole bragged over "Work'us," as he called *Oliver Twist*, and the commercial men of Calcutta, who think they are the East India Company resuscitated. I have already drawn a distinction between the Civil Service officials and all other kinds of men serving in India. In connection with this body, the like of which is not to be found in history, a reckless purpose seems to be descending on English reformers at home and panic-stricken officials of rank and experience in India, whose condition of terror seems to indicate an unconfessed sense that the United Kingdom's tenure of India is unstable as a rope of sand. It is proposed to confer the Civil Service appointments on the natives, possibly by examination as to a certain extent they are now open—

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<sup>5</sup> My countrymen are not fools. The English "goneer"—so they called a fellow kicked out of employment for drunkenness or something that could not be overlooked, say, forging a friend's name or obtaining money or goods under false pretenses—failed to recommend himself to Irish landlords. They preferred the devils they knew to the devils from India.

to confer them, I say, to such an extent as to exclude candidates from the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the idea is to stop the reforms and to deprive the natives of all administrative and such modified legislative power as the Councils possess and to make the Viceroy an irresponsible ruler, subject to the shadowy authority of the Secretary for India. In other words, to make him "an enlightened despot."

"Hastings, the lieutenant of a British monarch, claiming absolute dominion!" exclaimed Burke. Such an idea was a paradox in the eighteenth century, but what is it to-day, when events have marched to an infinite distance from the fierce, lawless, uncontrolled aggressions of that period? Fortunately the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords knows his India as his party does not, and between him and Lord Morley a way out of the difficulty will be found safe to the empire and just to the natives.

It would seem clear, however, that the spreading anarchism must be put down in a manner to show that no example from the rise of Japan, that the invincibility of the West is a thing of the past can be relied upon, for the power that established a rule over India which no invader had accomplished is stronger to-day than ever. That this lesson may be insisted upon with far less difficulty than may be supposed may be concluded from the effect produced by the deportation of the Bengali editors. The outrages were stopped, a fact which proves that the awe of the supreme power is still a great influence; and then there is the rather uncomfortable inference that the outrages were inspired by political associations instead of being the isolated deeds of fanatics, as some optimists inform us.

Patriotism is a motive all men respect, but it should be expressed by methods that the conscience of mankind approves of. Assassination, whether in England or India, is not the path to redress. The justification of Dinghra read in the police court after he murdered Sir Curzon Wylie and the Indian gentleman by his side reads like a page from the manifesto of some martyr giving up his life for a sacred cause which was the passion of his life. If Dinghra were not insane—and it appears he was not—a murderer using the language of a lover of liberty while his hands were red with the blood of his own countryman, accidentally the companion of the destined victim, and the destined victim himself conspicuous among the many humane and generous friends of India employed in the service of the Crown, is in the last degree that sort of mental product which revolts the moral sense while it paralyzes the understanding. If you look at him as one rendered morbid by reflections of a dark and gloomy cast, the analysis is not satisfactory; you can only find the history intelligible when you regard him as a unit in a movement to

advance which sensational crime is a means. It may be called fanaticism, but if there be many fanatics of the kind, society must defend itself or surrender to the law of the dagger. There is something almost grotesque as well as portentous in writing the sentiments of a Tell, a Kosciusko, a Russell, an Emmet while practicing in a shooting gallery to make sure of his victim. If some dissolute Cavalier stabbed Cromwell he was getting rid of the tyrant of three kingdoms. One is not amazed at the deed of Charlotte Corday. The assassins of Roman Emperors slew enemies of the human race. When Scaevola went to the tent of Pyrrhus he meant to kill the genius and ambition which appeared fatal to his beloved Rome. One of the most mischievous consequences of the State education in India is to sow on a moral soil Western conceptions and traditions which the soil turns to poison. The wretched youth who killed Sir Curzon Wylie, from what one learns, is like the mass of the Indian students in London, the mass of the students in their own country, and all are the products of an education which assumed honor, obligation, duty, loyalty and gratitude in races or religions which, with one exception—even if one—did not possess the rudiments of these virtues. Why, the cultivation of the intellect as in the State schools of India, in keen, conscienceless, mendacious, subtle minds was the careful shaping of instruments to sap the "foreign" authority, as the imperial government is generally spoken of.

Of course, I am not opposed to State education—I should hope it is unnecessary for me to say this—but I deprecate a system divorced from religion and the morality it sanctions and which is conceived by philosophical statesmen destitute of experience and ignorant of the first principles of legislation.\* One principle of legislation is that an account should be taken of those qualities in a people which constitute character. National character is a pretty constant force. One sees it surviving in great part the ordeal of historic trial despite the pressure of hostile influences. The State system in India took up in the different races supple intellects devoid of the elements which we seek for in a conception of social morality apart from primary domestic virtues; took up the 80,000,000 of Bengalis, the most intellectual people in India, and not merely in India, but in the world, at least as far as certain studies lead, and taught the methods of advancement in life and the implied morality that success justifies everything.

Life and property, the moral elements which hold society together are burned out in the incipient anarchism of the State schools.

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\* The Godless education in India has been condemned by Protestant Bishops in that country, who would prefer education coupled with the teachings of any form of religion to blind, rayless secularism.

Sentence had hardly been passed on the murderer of Sir Curzon Wylie when a prosecution is instituted at the Old Bailey against one Aldred for printing and publishing a seditious libel in the *Indian Sociologist* on the Government of India. This man, an Englishman doubtless, described himself as an Anarchist-Communist. The policy of the paper was to bring about the destruction of government in India by the murder of English men and women. I wonder where men can be found to regard incitements to assassination as political offenses merely? The editor of the paper was an Indian named Krishna Farma, who fled like a man after the publication, fled to France, as "the great and good" Emile Zola had fled to England after doing all the noble work by which he illustrated the honor and dignity, the political faithfulness and patriotism of La Grande Nation as now exhibited.

Now, whatever may be one's feelings with regard to patriotism, even though as a boy he may have debated on Harmodius and Aristogeiton and justified Sidney for pocketing the bribes of the great King, even though he may have been deeply interested as the son of a Tory, afterwards himself to be a squire and magistrate, a chairman of county boards and even of Quarter Sessions<sup>1</sup>—deeply interested, I say, in the pamphlet "Killing No Murder," directed against the life of the greatest Englishman of the seventeenth century—whatever may be one's feelings with regard to patriotism, he certainly must agree with the hundred and forty-six members of Parliament who wrote to Mr. Asquith to the effect that there should be no toleration of any "of the various forms of anarchical violence." This was written by certain Liberal, Laborer and the majority, I think, of the Irish members; but it seems to me that these gentlemen did not quite appreciate the situation. The deportation of the editors was followed by tranquillity.

I give the members in question the fullest credit for the wish to sustain the promoters of reform in India, but they may do—men of the kind always do—incalculable mischief through want of knowledge. Certain concessions, very small ones, might have postponed the War of Independence in America. The modes of thought in the mother country and the colonies were fundamentally alike. The people were one people separated by the ocean, and I venture to say the colonists were more attached to the King and the royal dignity than the people of England of any class whatever except ministers and placemen and the hangers-on of the court and the purlieus leading to pension or promotion.

<sup>1</sup> In Ireland, however, the chairman of Quarter Sessions is the county court judge. He presides over the unpaid density of his fellow-magistrates, and my friend the late Sir Francis Brady has even contributed to it.—V., "Irish Land Times."

The words quoted from the members of Parliament were written to the Prime Minister in a letter protesting against the deportation of the eight Bengali editors. There was nothing arbitrary in the proceeding, for it was provided in a law passed as far back as 1818, if I mistake not, under which gentlemen could be removed without trial from the scene of their mischievous writings or speeches.\* Orators and leader writers who recommend assassination as a means to reform, or, even more, the forcing "the foreigner" from India, should count the cost of their utterances. The 146 Parliament men have kindly dissociated themselves from the arguments of the knife, the revolver, the poisoned fruit or the poisoned wine, the bomb-throwing and the train-wrecking, but surely they ought to have seen that the revolver of Madar Lal Dinghra and "the sweet reasonableness" of the editor of the *Indian Sociologist*, Mr. Krishna Varma, were startling comments on their interference with the action of the Indian executive and Lord Morley. The editor of this print holds up Dinghra as one of the immortals who gave their lives to the cause of liberty and reason. I can see him only a half-madman, eaten up with the desire for notoriety, or the instrument of a murder conspiracy upon whom the lot fell to "remove" a tyrant.

I am not disposed to condemn him so very much for his contempt of those loyal and sympathetic addresses poured out by the Indian residents in London. I was inclined to distrust them. Still, I must remember what took place during the agitation for the removal of Catholic disabilities, the overreadiness of Catholics to show their horror of crime and outrage when a few wretched peasants whose little crops were utterly destroyed and whose one small lamb or pig, whose goat or few hens were carried off by the tithe farmer or proctor—the ever-readiness, I say, to show horror because our poor ruined people now and then battered the proctor's head, the policemen's heads, the infantry and cavalry heads before being slain by carbine and musket at their own doors or amid their corn sheaves.

At any rate, what may be deplored in connection with this case of Dinghra's is that it has done more to call attention to what is obligingly described as "the condition of unrest" in India than hecatombs out there offered on the altar of English supremacy. The situation from the original conditions was difficult, but the difficulty has been increased to an extent almost insuperable by the irresponsible play of parties at home, the injudicious sympathy with the cause

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\* The revolutionary and "friend of man" government of France called the Consulate dealt in this way with editors faithful to the principles of 1789 as understood in 1793. What writer dared criticize proceedings of administration or Deputies from 1791 to 1799 in a reactionary sense? He would have been freed by the guillotine.



of justice on the part of the sincere Radicals, the monstrous readiness of the squire and the jingo to call for martial law untrammelled even with the pretense of trial. Jedwood justice, "Hang first and try afterwards," is the motto of the squires, the parsons, the lords and the Bishops whose hatred of reason, intolerance of right lost the American colonies and brought the empire to its knees in South Africa the other day. Now, in this age, when reform is the word, when the Turk speaks the language of constitutional liberty, when Persia imitates the Turk and Russia has her representative assembly, it would never do to stop reforms in India. The United Kingdom should sustain Lord Morley.

The reforms were in one sense instituted by the late Marquis of Ripon, but in reality they began long before his viceroyalty. What he did was to give a deeper meaning to national aspirations as he believed them to exist, to native interests as, of course, they really appeared to stand in the judgments of capable and fair-minded men. National aspirations were a foreign plant just like patriotism. The East knew nothing of these influences since Titus carried away the remnant from the ruined city of Jerusalem. In India, as in Persia and the great monarchies of old, there was the despot, the only man who could be called free, and a nation of slaves; there was no country in the sense of a parent passionately loved;<sup>9</sup> the idea was never dreamt of. Though the occupiers of the soil could defend it against an invader—for the *vae victis* was a perennial possibility—they submitted to defeat with equanimity. The conqueror was accepted, a task master hardly different from his predecessor, but this indifference to the most fateful events never applied to the origin and inroads of the East India Company, the aggressions of commercial clerks, the wars waged by counting-house chiefs on long descended princes, in whose blood the protection of their gods and the claims of their thousand cults were embodied. If a rajah bowed before the captain of a company of white men, he did so in that Eastern suppleness which would bend to the present exigency and wait with smiling face for the blessed hour of victory and revenge.

The Bengali pickle dealer parted with the tax levied on his with the bated breath and whispering humbleness of a good slave, all whose wealth and even life were at the service of the Sahib and the Emperor-King.<sup>10</sup> But it would not be well for the Sahib to go on foot to the pickle dealer's house unescorted or to dine with him with-

<sup>9</sup> The motherland is now a name from end to end of India. The idea has come from English teaching; the native schoolmasters, seditious and unscrupulous have adopted it as a catching cry.

<sup>10</sup> Not a Frenchman in the time of Napoleon I. was prouder of the term emperor-king than an educated Indian. In Oriental pride the word emperor appeals as an equivalent doubtless of the old form, "king of kings."

out witnesses. Yet this confidence was of late spreading, a circumstance hard to explain on any theory save the unreasoning confidence of these military men and civil servants from the United Kingdom, who think in India, as their countrymen do in Africa, that the white skin is an armor of proof. I understand that orders have been issued recently that officers of the army and officials in other services must be attended like Irish landlords or agents, boycotted tenants and herdsmen by armed men. These orders are looked upon as humiliating to the imperial race.

Lord Ripon's policy was to make the influence and usefulness of the natives a reality in the whole system of government, but it seems to me that his policy was misunderstood by those who in England took the cue from the officials, the military, the commercial men, the engineers and the clerks in India. Educate the natives for the work of self-government has been the policy all along. It was under this idea that a very high grade of education was set up, that the Civil Service examinations were open to Indian students, that they were encouraged to flood the inns of court and get called to the bar, that the prizes and prestige of Oxford and Cambridge were dangled before their eyes. Lord Ripon in proposing a larger proportion of natives for the administrative and legislative councils was affording the test for the value and safety of the system of education which is tersely expressed by Grattan as the policy of reforming governments—dealing with a subjugated people, "Greatly emancipate or fundamentally destroy!"

The cry of the oppressed officials went to England. Manor houses and castles, parsonages and sacristies, the parish school for the squire's tenants, maintained at the expense of the State; the athletic club, where the squire's tenants learned the doctrines of muscular Christianity from the young curate and the principles of high Toryism from the Lady Bountiful and her daughters, assisted by the ladies from the parsonage—all of these seats of political science thrilled and echoed to the enormity of allowing black men to govern white men.<sup>11</sup> Now the policy of the Marquis is that which Lord Morley is trying to get sanctioned in his scheme of reforms. He declares that he aims at conceding all administrative and legislative powers to the provincial councils, with the important constituent amendment that the nominated members shall henceforth be in a minority, but that a measure of national self-government is not to be dreamt of. The leader of the Opposition, Lord Lansdowne, gave his support to the measure on its introduction, but it is to be feared

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<sup>11</sup> Among the many blazing indiscretions of his life Lord Salisbury described an Indian gentleman seeking election for an English constituency as "a black man" violating the traditions of Parliament and the country.

that the anarchism in India and its transplantation to England will stop the comprehensive enlightened, though tentative scheme of Lord Morley.

The Civil Service being open to the natives, one would at first sight suppose that a great number of the important appointments in that service would be filled by them. This, I believe, is not the case. This may be accounted for by the expense of going to England to attend the examinations, a burden on persons of limited means, and the Indian students in London are for the most part such persons. When one thinks that the British colleagues of those Indians in the Civil Service are gentlemen of high character and admirable antecedents, that their way of looking at matters of justice and administration is as far asunder from the Indian way as the North Pole is from the South, I am not at all sure that a change calculated to increase the number of Indian, and particularly Bengali candidates, will be an improvement on the existing provision. But the experiment is worth trying.

The character of land tenure was slightly outlined. The zamindars and the native collectors of the State rent, in those parts where the State is the landlord, are extortionate and heartless as Shylock where not restrained by the higher British officials. A large number of Indians in the districts now administered by our countrymen and kinsmen from the United Kingdom would be like locusts on the sadly visited regions. There would be the despair of a widely spread slavery and impoverishment; but the influence of the educated natives in the press, on the platform, as teachers in school and college would be employed to direct popular hatred to the imperial government instead of to the native collectors who violated justice as magistrates with an itching palm, who lifted the taxes with the insatiable cupidity of Turkish officials of the good old days. I judge the Emperor of India, if he had not a rebellion more dangerous than the great Mutiny of 1857 on his hands, would have territories emptied of inhabitants who had died of famine or had fled from it; would hear that the suburbs of his towns were swept by pestilence, the townspeople kept behind the walls lest they should contract the plague and were dying of famine in the streets, in the open sewers, at the foot of the ramparts which feebleness prevented them from climbing to precipitate themselves on the suburbs if his British subjects were replaced by natives.

The complaints made of British subordinate judges for the sentences they impose for petty larcenies, assaults and the like are listened to by high officials in the Viceroy's and the provincial Governors' courts, and cause head shaking among the squires of England, whose own sentences at Petty Sessions for poaching, sleeping

out, thefts of small things by children and first offenders are a sign and wonder to intelligent and humane men. Let it not be supposed that the squires think the sentences on black men who thieve that they may eat excessive; no, but complaints to the India office may injuriously affect the interests of younger sons and relatives to whom India is still a land of good things. This is why they shake their heads.

It is said there is a good reason for the severe sentences. The Indian thief steals as a matter of course; the Indian generally lies unless it is more profitable to tell the truth, perjures himself in a court of justice with complacent facility, no matter what the judicial occasion may be. During the period of transition from the violence of entrance on land *vi et armis* to the time of peaceful conveyance by fine and recovery in England a successful method of appropriating estates took the place of the armed entry by numbers. A pre-contract, a secret conveyance and "competent false witnesses" did the business of robbery under the aegis of the statute of uses. Our ancestors were magnificent in their scoundrelism, but the perjury following the footsteps of a zamindar taking his tenants' conditional fee-simple, or his neighbor's estate guaranteed under a survey in pursuance of a land settlement investigation for assessment was a triumph of subtlety, treachery, cowardice, meanness, supported by a court full of instructed witnesses. The lands in such a case would, of course, be of small area, not like the wide lordships or baronies acquired by document and oath in Tudor England; but what

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the litigation lacked in the dignity of the subject matter it infinitely surpassed the old English iniquity in the multitude of the swearers, their ingenuity, plausibility, earnestness. When one remembers that it has been unsafe for the past few years for the Sahib to call at a friend's house unless he had as many attendants through the streets of Calcutta as a baron required going to the Tower to pay court to royalty in pre-Tudor days, that he could only safely dine with his Bengali fellow judge or collector by precautions similar to those that should be taken by the guest of a podesta in the sixteenth century on the eve of turning his magistracy into a principality, when one remembers the widespread falseness and the carefully nourished hatred of the natives, he can hardly blame our brothers of Ireland, our kinsmen of England and Scotland if they serve out a sharp dose of justice to the natives. I do not say that in the higher branches of the administrative and judicial services there are not to be found honorable men of the Indian races; of this the testimony is clear and convincing, but this is due, I submit, to an environment wholly un-Oriental from infancy. I can only think this when the

proof is irresistible that the educated natives, from the class called the Babu clerks up to great land holders and merchants, are poisoned to the finger-tips by a hatred of "foreign" rule.

To state the aspect of affairs in India as fairly as I can, I cannot wonder at the result just presented. One must regard the characteristics of the Orient; they are in the Asiatic, whatever may be his race, hardly differentiated except in the prominence of some with this, of more with the other quality. The Arab is as great a thief, for instance, as the Hindu; and this despite the manly virtues Mohamedanism is said to foster. I think it important to say that Oriental characteristics are fundamental elements of human nature as we find them in the savage, but subordinated to the intellectual control of interest as they are not in the savage. This is the case with all the races in India, but it is sufficient to consider the Presidencies and the Central Provinces, for each of these has a sort of autonomy favorable to examination; and, as I hold, in the chief characteristics the inhabitants are not very far apart from the men of the Northeast who roamed about naked, who committed murder with as little hesitation as a Scotch borderer in the sixteenth century, a red man on the warpath, a black man skulking round a Transvaal farmhouse.

The characteristics of the native, then, are hardly due to the scorpions with which the military clerks and afterwards the soldiers and officials of the East India Company scourged them, though I can allow that the vices begotten by servitude were intensified under European rule. I have already said that the prejudices of the imperial race are strong and carried out to India. There, hostile opinions and interests, possibly fears and resentments, are added to the imported prejudices. Such forces must produce an effect. They are reflected in the dark masses of the population, who, however, will not forfeit present advantages for words. They flashed out in the Mutiny, and the alarmists say they will flame out again from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and not a white man will escape. The alarmists, though not inspired, predict that in spite of the benevolent platitudes of good-hearted Radicals in England, retired officials whose graciousness of mind is the outer sign of their congenital imbecility, but, above all, in spite of the loud hopes of the missionary, on whose good words hang the habits of Exeter Hall, the old ladies with their purses, the directors and promoters of wild-cat speculations whose promised checks are to appear in the reports of the proceedings, members of Parliament who combine a feeling for our black brothers with a desire to pose as public men—in spite of all and each of these hopeful classes the alarmists cry out India is lost; that if India is to be held "drastic measures" must be

resorted to and the reforms of "eccentric statesmen" must be arrested.<sup>12</sup> Let theirs be the fate of Cassandra, to be disbelieved. Panic is the source of their inspiration. Both the alarmist and the optimist are wrong. Great things have been done for India, and these in time must produce an era of peace and prosperity. There is such a form of loyalty as that of interest. The appeals of the irresponsible educated classes to the tillers of the soil are unsuccessful, though listened to with placidity. This class knows that their predecessors never enjoyed the security they possess for profitable labor. There is, indeed, no enthusiasm in their attachment to the empire, but theirs is the tranquil bearing of men who hope for improved conditions as they stand, and who dread that a transfer of dominion to native princes or to strangers would reduce them to hopeless servitude. They are aware that taxation under the native princes who hold semi-independent States under the protection of the Crown is higher than what they are required to bear. In one instance at least this has been proved when there was an offer of exchange of lands between the imperial government and a native prince. The ryots proposed to pay increased taxes rather than consent to the exchange. Now, the ryots constitute the population, for the educated classes to which reference has been already made so often, are only one per cent. of the Indian people. They are a disastrous product of a vicious system of education; they are the criminal associations whose methods are those of European Anarchists, whose activity can be checked at any moment by the offer of places, however subordinate and salaries however trifling under the imperial government. To deal with factitious and interested discontent, with the native army loyal and the native feudatories<sup>13</sup> attached to the greatness of the empire cannot be beyond the resources of statesmanship.

GEORGE McDERMOT, C. S. P.

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<sup>12</sup> Lord Ripon has been so described recently. I am sure Lord Morley, a notorious Radical, would get credit for any kind of treason.

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that the attachment of these princes to their Suzerain, the Emperor-King, may be less binding than is thought. Residents should not be permitted to play the part of spies as well as ambassadors. All the natives felt keenly the trial of the Gulkwar of Baroda on a charge by a resident of attempting to poison him.

## THE SITUATION IN SPAIN.

THERE are, perhaps, few lands more difficult to handle in public print than Spain. This revolution-ridden country presents to us a kaleidiscopic picture of intrigues, varying politics, constitutions and conspiracies, civil wars and assassinations that are simply bewildering. Yet whosoever should judge Spain by what appears upon the surface would be far wide of the mark. Still more would he err who would permit himself to be guided by the current reports circulating through the British, Continental or American press. Spain has had in the past more than in the present bitter political and religious enemies, and even to-day that feeling of hostility has not completely subsided. Every now and then news comes to us from the Peninsula which often proves to be false, or at most fiction founded on fact. What assertions were not made, what groundless reports circulated some years ago concerning the domestic affairs of the Madrid palace which fell to the ground of their own weight! A few years since a very sensational story appeared in a highly respectable paper of Baltimore, taken from a well-known and much read New York journal. It concerned a certain Moorish woman named Fatima, who it was said had escaped from the harem of the Sultan of Morocco, and whom Spain, in spite of many protests, was, through the workings of diplomacy, to deliver up to the tender mercies of the Sultan. The facts were ascertained, and the true story of Fatima, who had nothing at all to do with the Sultan's harem, was sent to the Baltimore paper in question, but it probably found its way to the wastepaper basket. At least I am not aware that anything ever came of it.

The causes of present conditions in Spain must be sought for as far back as the period of the French Revolution, when the equilibrium of the whole world was disturbed. At that time Spain, as own, was politically a united kingdom, but to understand the Spaniards it is necessary to remember that that kingdom was the outcome of a number of originally independent States, each with its own characteristics that have been, to a large extent, retained down to the present time. What may be said of the people of one province, Estremadura, for instance, can by no means be predicated of that of other provinces, taken singly or collectively. For the Spaniard, his native province, Castile, Andalusia or whatever it may be, is first and foremost his country, with its manners and customs, its traditions and its dialect.

Jeromino Becker, writing in *Nuestro Tiempo*, sees precisely in this lack of unity one of the greatest reasons for the decline of Spain's

power. The union of States did not produce unity, and the provinces continued to hold on to their several interests. I am not prepared to endorse this view entirely, although there can be no doubt that the ethnological differences that have existed and that still exist had much to do with the revolutions and civil wars which on various occasions have swept over the Peninsula. There was at one time a party that strove to add to these divergences by advocating a Federal Republic, a measure which probably would have hastened the disintegration of the nation by leaving complete autonomy to each separate province.

Under the Roman, and later under the Visigoths, Spain was united for period of nearly a thousand years, since the Punic wars, which had put an end to Cathaginian sway. During this long period the foundations were laid for the Spanish people, the outcome of Celtiberians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans and Visigoths, and for the Spanish dialects, daughters of the Latin. In the eighth century another element was introduced into the Peninsula, that of the Moors, who overran it, and, finally, kept the southern portion until successive wars drove them away forever.

Shortly after the battle of Guadalete, when Don Rodrigo fell, in 711, the reconstruction of the monarchy began with a number of independent States that gradually grew closer together until they coalesced. The kingdoms of Oviedo, the Asturias and Leon, uniting with the County of Castile, became the monarchy of that name. At the base of the Pyrenees arose Navarra, to the south Aragon, while the County of Catalonia stretched along the Mediterranean shores. Gradually Castile and Aragon encroached upon the country of the Moors until their crowns were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella and Granada fell. Charles V., the Emperor, who was Charles I. of Spain, beheld himself by the annexation of Navarra monarch of all the Spains and of a united kingdom which he bequeathed to his successors.

In the eighteenth century the House of Austria was followed by the House of Bourbon, though it took a bloody war to effect the succession.

The mediæval Spanish States were carried on upon democratic principles, and no people in Europe, perhaps, loved freedom so much and enjoyed such a degree of it as the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. By the sixteenth century the old feudal system passed away throughout Europe and absolutism of monarchy prevailed. This was especially true in Spain, where from Charles V. to Ferdinand VII. the sovereign's rule became supreme. The spirit of liberty was, if not annihilated, at least held under such control that, with the exception of the Basque provinces, it dared not assert itself.



The Inquisition, with its countless ramifications, was a most powerful adjunct to this absolutist power of Church and State, though it certainly kept Spain free with an iron hand from the heresies that swept over Northern Europe. The Bourbons and the Stuarts remained almost to our own time the last representatives of absolutism in Western Europe.

The French Revolution, with all its horrors, was a tremendous upheaval of the old established order of things, and the world has not yet quite recovered from its effects. It spread the terror of its arms over a portion of Europe, while its ideas flew like wildfire over the world. Spain was one of the first to catch the contagion. Ever since the advent of the House of Bourbon French literature had invaded Spain and the Spanish American colonies, and the works of the encyclopædists became quite familiar to educated readers. Thus the principles of 1789 found an entrance into Spain, but Spaniards were not prepared to break with monarchy or adopt a republic. Their attachment to their Kings was paramount, and it may be said to pervade the masses still. The constitution of 1812, drawn up at Cadiz, when Ferdinand VII. was an exile and Napoleon was foisting his brother, Joseph, on the Spanish people, was not a republican constitution. No matter how much it was impregnated with French ideas, it had monarchy for its basis. Yet, though short lived, it inaugurated a new era and furnished the keynote for that struggle between conservatism and liberalism which went on all through the nineteenth century, and which still continues.

Neither was the constitution of Cadiz tainted by the hatred of religion which marked the French Revolution. Though the Inquisition had fallen and only the extreme reactionists wanted it back, the masses were strongly attached to the ancient faith, and under the constitution the Catholic religion remained the religion of the State. The day had not yet come, but it was coming, when men would cry, "Viva la Republica," and war would be waged against the Church.

The early struggle was between absolutists and constitutionalists. Under the restoration, when the troops of the Duke d'Angouleme, acting for the Holy Alliance, had strengthened the throne of Ferdinand, the former triumphed and the latter conspired. The work of the secret societies increased.

When Ferdinand died, after abrogating the Salic law, constitutionalism gained the upper hand under the regency of the first Cristina, Ferdinand's widow, but a bloody civil war was the result. The Church ranged itself on the side of conservatism, and when the word meant absolutism she took that side. Hence it is that in both civil wars we find so many of the clergy on the side of the Carlists.

The clergy were feared by the liberals, who dreaded their influence on the throne and on the people, while the clergy looked askance at liberalism, which more than once meant suppression of the religious orders and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Unfortunately for the Church and for the people, the best example did not emanate from the palace, and there is no doubt that scandals in high places culminated in the downfall of the dynasty in 1869.

In the meantime political opinions had assumed the most variegated shades, and at one time there were about thirty different parties in Spain. Republican tendencies had been gaining ground, and socialism had crossed the Pyrenees. However, the country was not ripe for a republic. It was tried after the short reign of Amadeo, but as Castelar, who had himself been President, said, it was impossible to have a republic without republicans. The masses were monarchical, and in the north, where the troops of Don Carlos were operating, the people were strongly for legitimacy, which, though its Princes professed their willingness to accept constitutional government, in the beginning at least represented absolutism.

With Alfonso XII. peace returned to distracted Spain. The Carlists were driven over the border and the malcontents contented themselves with speaking and writing or ventilating their grievances in Cortes. During his reign and during the minority of Alfonso XIII., under the regency of the universally respected Maria Cristina, Antonio Canovas del Castillo was the leading spirit in Spanish politics. He had put Alfonso XII. on the throne, and his influence continued until he fell a victim to the machinations of Anarchists.

I well remember Don Antonio and his commanding presence, as well as his oratorical powers. Little did I dream when I heard him speak at the opening of the International Congress of Americanists at La Rabida, in 1892, that before many years his life would end so tragically. About the same time I stood not far from the boy King on the balcony of the Palacia de la Deputacion Provincial, in Huelva, and once as my glance met his I could not help wondering what the future of this boy would be. He has had a troubled reign. First, there were difficulties with the Moors at Ceuta. Ever since the sixteenth century Spain has held a number of ports on the coast of Morocco, and it is one of these that is responsible for the recent outbreaks. Hardly had this trouble passed than the Cuban war broke out, and poor Spain was drained of its men and money. Still she willingly made the sacrifice, for Spanish pride could not brook the idea of parting with Cuba. But her colonial system was doomed, and the Spanish-American War deprived her of her colonies. With this incubus removed, there was hope for her. When I had the

pleasure of conversing with the late Admiral Cervera at Annapolis, shortly after the destruction of his fleet, I remarked to him that I thought the loss of the colonies would enable Spain to concentrate her energies and develop her own resources. What the courteous old gentleman thought I could not know; he merely shrugged his shoulders. Had he perhaps in mind the numerous political differences that would continue to distract the unfortunate country? The fact is that since the loss of the colonies Spain has been advancing on the road to prosperity. Luis Garcia Ginjaro, professor of the University of Madrid, writes<sup>1</sup> that "the liberation of Cuba and the Philippines was the beginning of Spain's regeneration." There is no doubt that with the loss of the colonies a great weight was raised from her shoulders and a tremendous drain on her resources ceased. At present a taste for agriculture is developing; modern agricultural machinery is replacing the obsolete instruments used until a late day, and there are general signs of awakening industry throughout the country.

Political parties still exist. At present there are four especially prominent—namely, the Conservatives, Liberals, Republicans and Carlists. The government is now Conservative, with Señor Maura at the head. As a rule the laboring classes in the great centres of industry are of Republican or Socialist tendencies, while, on the other hand, the peasantry is strongly Conservative, though susceptible to influences.

In the liberal ranks no little hostility to the Church still exists. An echo of this may be found in an article, written for the *International* by the late Nicolas Salmeron, at one time President of the Spanish Republic, and completed after his death by his son, in which he places the blame for the decline of Spain, as he views it, on the influence of the Church and on the defective system of education that generally prevails.<sup>2</sup>

Señor Ginjarro writes: "For the people to be Republican means to be hostile 'à outrance' to the government, to the Church and to property rights. Naturally those who hold these opinions have had to separate little by little from those who believe in law and order, whence came the division of the party into 'governmentals' and 'radicals.'"<sup>3</sup>

The young King has also had his trouble with the Anarchists, and the dastardly attempt on his life and that of his bride is still fresh in memory. The present signs of revolution in Spain are different from all others. Other rebellions, riots or revolutions were

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<sup>1</sup> "Spain Since 1898," *Yale Review*, May, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *International*, London, August, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> *Review of Reviews*, September, 1909.

directed against a political party in the nation or against real or supposed abuses on the part of its rulers. The present agitation is rather international than national. It is directed against the basis of society and against society itself. It is a manifestation of that universal spirit of socialism and anarchy that pervades the world from autocratic Russia to democratic America. And yet there are few countries where agitators on the socialist stage have, at least from an economic standpoint, less reason to agitate than Spain. There social legislation in favor of the poorer classes has reached a high stage. Its law on professional risks and accidents to laborers has been in operation since 1900. Laws, too, exist to regulate the labor of women and children, the observance of Sunday, tribunals of industry and the right of association. All this was brought about, not by the agitation of the so-called proletariat, but by the mental labor of the middle classes and of those who for the last thirty years have devoted themselves to the study of economic conditions, not in theory only, but with practical results. The aristocratic class instead of opposing these measures of reform, have endeavored to promote them. The unfortunate movements at Barcelona may be a drawback to these efforts, for there are those that point a warning finger at the danger of a reaction. Such a reaction would be nothing new in Spain, where principles are rigorously carried to their conclusion, and where retaliatory measures are apt to be extreme. The events of July may also greatly retard any movement in favor of autonomy in Catalonia.

The present trouble began with a conflict in Morocco. Since the early part of the fifteenth century, years before the fall of Granada, Ceuta, on the African coast, has belonged to the Christians. It was conquered by King John I. of Portugal. With the union of Portugal to Spain, in the reign of Philip II., it passed over to the latter country, and it is to-day, with other Moorish territory, still in the hands of the Spaniards, although it has been several times besieged by the Moors. For a long time before Cuba was lost to Spain its name was a terror to political offenders, for Ceuta is a penal colony.

In 1859, while Isabella reigned, Spain got into trouble with Morocco and declared war because that country refused to cede territory which Spain claimed for the protection of its settlements on the coast. The Moors were defeated at Castillejo by General Prim, and a month later Tetuan surrendered, giving to O'Donnell his title of Duke. Peace was signed shortly after, when Morocco agreed to pay 20,000,000 piastres. O'Donnell had earned his title, unlike others of the period, when titles of nobility were so lavishly bestowed upon favorites.

The strip of land along the coast of Morocco where lies the zone

of Spanish influence is known as the Riff, which means cultivated land, though to judge by the character of the ground the name is a misnomer. This influence of Spain has been acknowledged by France and England, and it was recently confirmed by the Algeciras conference, which left the policing of the region to Spain, although France has continued to wield predominant power in Morocco.

General Marina a few weeks ago, addressing his troops, said: "Europe has entrusted us with a glorious mission to prepare the way for the civilization of this savage country. We know how to accomplish it."

The tribes inhabiting this district are of a most primitive character and practically independent of the Sultan of Morocco. War between tribes and the *vendetta* are common among them. They are well provided with firearms of various patterns, and as a general rule they are excellent marksmen.

The Spanish settlements are Piñon de Velez, Alhucemas and Zafarinas, on islands, and Ceuta and Melilla, on the mainland. This last remnant of her great colonization system has, perhaps, cost Spain more blood and treasure than any other of her colonies. These "presidios," as they are called, were for a long time absolutely worthless except as penal colonies, the purpose for which they are employed. It is doubtful as to whether the prisoners suffer more than the unfortunate soldiers who drag out many a weary day in watching them. It ought to be a relief for Spain to get rid of this nuisance. Yet Spanish pride would probably revolt at the idea, as it revolted at the thought of losing Cuba.

Last year the tribes of the Riff were under the authority of Roghi, the pretender to the throne of Morocco. From him the Spaniards obtained permission to open up some mines about fifteen miles from Melilla and to build a railway which was to be known as the Spanish North African Railroad. Last October the tribes revolted and raided the mines, which ceased work until June.

The new Sultan, Muley Hafid, who had succeeded his dethroned predecessor, the one who had signed the act of Algeciras, was hostile to this agreement and to European influences. He was naturally averse to ratifying concessions made by the Roghi, whom he regarded as a rebel against his authority.

Spain began to prepare for hostilities and despatched troops to the troubled territory. Under the cover of their guns the miners resumed operations. Amicable means were also resorted to, and Don Alfonso Merry del Val, the Spanish representative in Morocco, was sent to conduct negotiations with the Sultan, but without practical result, as the decision was postponed until a Moorish embassy should be sent to Madrid.

On July 9 Sid-Ahmed-Ben-el-Muar, Ambassador of Muley Hafid, Sultan of Morocco, reached Madrid with his suite. The Moors were clad in their national, Bedouin-like costume, the same they, no doubt, wore when, in the eighth century, they first invaded Spain. They were received with true Spanish dignity at the southern station, and the Madrilenos opened their eyes in wonder at the unaccustomed spectacle, familiar enough at Gibraltar.

The Moors had hardly taken up their quarters at the Hotel Russia, not far from the Puerta del Sol, than the startling news arrived of an attack on the workmen who were building the railroad to mine Francesa, near Mafra.

As the Spaniards had refused to cease operations, obnoxious to a party of the tribesmen, the attack was suddenly made. Four laborers—Emilio Esteban, Tomas Almeida, Cristobal Sanchez and Salvador Perez—were killed and one man was severely wounded. General Marina, who commanded the Spanish troops, at once started to the front with two companies of the regiment of Africa, some artillery and other forces. The enemy's position was taken and the bodies of the laborers recovered. The Moorish loss was supposed to be about one hundred and fifty in killed and wounded, but the Spaniards paid dearly for their victory, having lost one officer and five men killed, besides a captain, two officers and twenty men wounded.

On July 23 a fight occurred between the Spaniards and the Moors, with disastrous results to the former, who lost a colonel and six officers, besides a lieutenant colonel left in the hands of the enemy. A major, four captains, seven lieutenants and two hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded. The Spaniards had proceeded directly from the steamer to the battlefield.

Another fight occurred on July 26, in which the Spaniards fought with their accustomed bravery. Yet their losses were serious, though it is supposed that the enemy suffered more. A number of officers fell, prominent among whom were General Pintos and Colonels Arapiles and Las Navas. A young officer named Angel Salecedo was killed while leading his men mid a shower of bullets, exclaiming: "Come on, boys; this is nothing."

The Spaniards had then 20,000 men in and near Melilla. By this time the reserves had been called out. Realizing the fact that a large number of these men had families dependent upon them, their countrymen hastened to their support with pecuniary assistance, individuals and societies contributing to the families of the reserves. The whole royal family were on the list of subscribers, and on July 25 the *Epoca*, of Madrid, opened a subscription list, headed by the

Marquis de Puesto Segnro with 25,000 pesetas, or nominally about \$5,000.

As a general rule the Republicans were opposed to the war. As to its popularity among the people at large there appears to be some difference of opinion. Conservative authorities insist that the people were with the government, while, on the other hand, we are told that when the first troops were ordered to Melilla the nation was aroused by an anti-war outcry, which, begun by the women and children, was taken up by the working classes and culminated in a mutiny among the soldiers.

On the one hand, we are told that the Reservists resented being sent out of Spain, and, on the other, we hear that they responded with great alacrity and that even the mothers of the boys urged them on to do their duty. It will probably take some time before we reach the exact truth in the matter.

The news from the front created great excitement, and the Socialist and Anarchist elements in Barcelona were not slow to make use of their opportunity. Catalonia has often been a nucleus of revolutionary movements, with aspirations for liberty or at least autonomy.

Barcelona, the commercial centre of Spain, has become also the centre of socialistic agitation, not only for Spain, but for the world, although it is not unlikely that the heads and leaders of the movement are Frenchmen and other foreigners who have settled there. For a long time Barcelona had been feared by the law-abiding elements, and in the early part of July four bombs were found; one in the theatre, the Teatro Principal, though being charged only with powder, they were probably intended more as a menace than anything else.

A tourist in the Peninsula, who has formed his ideas of the country by what he has seen in the Castiles, in Andalusia or in Aragon, is surprised on reaching Barcelona to see how un-Spanish everything seems. Certainly there is much that is old; there is the Cathedral, for instance, and there are other remnants of mediæval Spain, but, on the whole, Barcelona, the chief city of Catalonia, is a beautiful, modern, up-to-date town, teeming with life and activity. Here one observes little of the easy-going manners noticeable elsewhere. Here all is quick, alert, businesslike, for Barcelona is the city of industry, the city of manufacturing and commerce. An industrial depression is bound to affect Barcelona more than any other Spanish city, and, like other monetary centres, nothing will disturb it more than an appeal to its pocket.

Even the popular dialect of Catalonia is different from that of the rest of the country. The Catalan is a form of the Limousin, or

Provençal, a dialect once so widespread, the earliest literary language of the Romance family, the one in which the troubadour wrote and sang. Politically Catalonia has been noted for its restless spirit. One of the worst riots of its history occurred on July 25, 1835, when in one night the convents of Calced and Discalced Carmelites, of the Dominicans, Trinitarians, Augustinians and Minims were burned to the ground. Plunder reigned supreme. Churches were desecrated and sacked, archives and libraries scattered to the winds and religious massacred. There was greater loss of life than in the disturbances of this year, though perhaps the loss of property is now of vaster proportions.

Trouble began to manifest itself on the present occasion as early as July 25, when *El Progreso*<sup>4</sup> published an article, in which the burning of the convents was hinted at. It appears quite evident that the riots of the following days were the results of a preconcerted plan, and the events in Barcelona show us what to expect if Anarchists ever get the upper hand. We may witness another Reign of Terror, and the French Revolution may be repeated.

There seems to have been much exaggeration in the foreign press, but enough remains to show that the matter was very serious. The calling out of the reserves furnished a pretext. The organizers of the revolt spent their money lavishly, and an appeal was made to the workingmen. The latter, imagining that there was only a question of protesting against the war, gave their support to the movement. When the laborers who were in good faith discovered the real animus of the agitation they tried to withdraw, but it was too late. However, they made the condition that no factories should be burned, and in effect none of these was destroyed. The mob succeeded in obtaining possession of nearly all the petroleum and other inflammable substances in Barcelona, and the price of the former article suddenly rose very high. The doors of churches and convents were smeared with the oil and the dastardly work of destruction began. Although scarcely more than six victims lost their life, the havoc to property was immense. A number of churches were totally destroyed, and the following convents and monasteries were either completely or partially ruined: First we note a chapel of the Franciscans, the house of the Marist Fathers, the Convent of San Sebastian, those of the nuns in the street of St. Eulalia and another in the street of Mallorca, the convent of the Escolapian nuns and that of the Carmelites, the convent of San Carlin de Grinnardo, that of the French Marists, of Casanova and an educational institution directed by priests. In another district we find totally destroyed a convent and orphanage, the convent of the Sacred Heart and that

<sup>4</sup> See "La Epoca," cited by *La Lectura Dominical* of Madrid, August 7.



of the Discalced Carmelites. The house of the Marist Brothers and one of the Sisters of Charity were also burned, besides those of the Immaculata, of the Sisters of the Servite Order, of the Paulas, la Madalena, la Punxa, of the Missions of the Sacred Heart and of the Penitents. Other sufferers to a greater or lesser extent were the convents of Mount Sion, of Bernardine nuns, of the Child Jesus, of Carmelites again. The magnificent college of the Escolapios was burned and the prior of the monastery of San Magin was among the killed. We are particularly horrified by what occurred at the convent of the Jeronymite nuns. On July 28 several groups of the rioters proceeded to the convent, where the nuns, having learned of their danger, were spending the time praying in their church. The building was besieged and the nuns were subjected to ill treatment. Not content with this, the wretches dug up the corpses of the Sisters who had died last and carried them in a ghastly procession through the streets, leaving them at various places in the city, such as the doors of churches and at the houses of citizens. It is said that the authorities gathered fourteen of these corpses.

Another sad feature of the occasion was the sight of about five or six thousand children, driven from the asylums, wandering about the streets, imploring charity. It must be added, to the great credit of the citizens of Barcelona, that in spite of the risk they were running, they gathered up the unfortunate little ones, and dividing them among various houses, undertook to care for them.

The wretches, to whom the city was for a while delivered over, spared nothing. The magnificent library of the Pious Schools, of 80,000 volumes of great value, as well as their costly museum of natural sciences, was consumed by the flames, ignited by these products of modern theories.

We are ashamed to relate that in this city of New York men were found of similar opinions to sympathize with the so-called anti-war demonstrations of Barcelona.

Thus far I have not mentioned the Jesuits. Let us see what happened to them. It would, indeed, have been passing strange had they been left unmolested. About seven o'clock on the evening of July 28 the mob stood before their residence in the Caspe street. But the Fathers were prepared for them. A detachment of the Civil Guard, the famous *Guardia Civil* of Spain, was stationed in the convent, and the mob was held at bay, although the proposal was made among them to blow up the building with dynamite. The rioters kept up demonstrations until ten o'clock, when they dispersed. Thus the Jesuit house escaped the fate of so many other institutions.

This unfortunate state of affairs, says the *Lectura Dominical*, was

undoubtedly brought about by the frequent utterances and the propaganda of an irreligious press, which, finally alarmed at the consequences resulting from its own premises, raised a hypocritical cry of distress.

It is almost incredible that Barcelona should thus have been delivered over to mob violence before the insurrection could be repressed. The authorities were taken by surprise and the city was undefended. At all events, they were unable to cope with the evil in the beginning. It has been said that at first the soldiers fired over the heads of the mob. Whether this be true or not of one or the other detachments, I am assured that the Spanish army as a whole is perfectly loyal and that the nation is in sympathy with the war.

Among those who gone to the front figures the name of the Duke de Medina de Rioseco, of one of the most ancient families of Spain.

His wife accompanied him in the steamer to assist the wounded at Melilla. The whole batallion to which the Duke belongs was roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm by this example. A project was also found by a number of young men to organize a body of mounted troopers at their own expense, modeled after our own Rough Riders. It is thus quite evident that the cavalier spirit of the fifteenth century is not yet extinct in Spain.

From all this we may infer that the opposition to the war was the work of a faction, incited by a number of demagogues. At all events, after the first shock of surprise the government became master of the situation. Don Luis de Santiago, captain general of the district, set the troops in motion as soon as he could, and when reinforcements arrived fierce fighting began. The revolution, if it may be styled thus, was completely crushed in Barcelona and at other places in Catalonia where it had made its appearance. Measures were also taken to prevent an outbreak elsewhere, for from July 28 until peace was restored constitutional guarantees were suspended and martial law was proclaimed.

The disorders in Barcelona, contrary to what the agitators may have expected, have contributed to rally the country to the support of the government and strengthen its hand.

Spain has also the good fortune to be ruled by a strong hand, for Señor Maura is a powerful statesman and probably the leading Spaniard to-day. He is a Conservative and a good Catholic.

Two conspicuous figures have this year passed from the Spanish stage. Admiral Cervera died on April 3, the day after the Cabinet had decided to reconstruct the navy. It is safe to say that no more admirable figure appears in the history of the Spanish-American War. His correspondence, published shortly after his defeat, shows

him to have been the victim of mismanagement and blundering, if not worse. Knowing that he was doomed, yet obeying orders, he made his famous dash for liberty in broad daylight, and carried his fleet to destruction. Though defeated, he commands our respect and our admiration, and I am sure that American historians will always mention him with sympathy.

The other distinguished personage whose death has been recorded is Don Carlos de Bourbon, Duke of Madrid, known also as Charles VII., or the pretender. With him closes a romantic yet sad chapter of Spanish history. His son, Don Jaime, has succeeded to his rights. It has been supposed that he has been watching his chance in the present troubled state of the country, and that another Carlist uprising is among the possibilities. The Carlist party, though it has a comparatively small representation in Cortes, is still a force. Carlists, unlike the Republicans, are generally recruited from the peasantry; but it is precisely in the peasantry, uncontaminated by foreign influences, that the bone and sinew of the nation are to be found. It is possible that the party will change its name and become "Jaimistas," as many of the Carlists have thus been styled for some time. Although the government contends that Carlism need no longer be reckoned with, the party still lives, and it seems to be in a better condition than any other party. It has more than forty newspapers throughout Spain, and clubs in almost all cities, even where Republicans are in the majority. It is not so clerical as in 1873, but the lower orders of the clergy still support it. The death of Don Carlos and the succession of Don Jaime may mean a rejuvenation of the party.

The war in Morocco between the tribesmen and the Spaniards still continues, but it is difficult to obtain reliable information owing to the strict censorship of the press which is enforced. There are those in Spain among the conservative elements who would gladly behold a continued censorship of the press, as they believe, and not without foundation, that the organs hostile to Church and State are the greatest cause of the spread of dangerous Socialist and Anarchist principles among the masses. On the other hand, the Liberals as such have always contended for the freedom of the press in Spain as well as elsewhere.

What the outcome of all this will be it is hard at the present moment to prognosticate. We know that it is in the nature of the Spanish character to fight to the bitter end. As long as there is a foreign enemy to be encountered the better elements of the nation will remain united. The King himself set an example of patriotism by his desire to go in person to Melilla, thus imitating his royal father, who personally advanced against the Carlists. However,

he has yielded to the wishes of his subjects in remaining at home, where probably his presence is more needed than at Melilla.

It is unfortunate that these troubles should have come at the present moment to retard Spain on her way to prosperity. All of us who remember the great benefits she conferred in the past on civilization by her achievements in literature, in the arts and in the exploration of unknown countries, as well as the laborious and patient labors in the historical field in our own day, will surely express the wish that this cloud which now obscures the brightness of her sky may soon pass.

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Washington, D. C.

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## "THE CHRIST OF HISTORY AND THE CHRIST OF FAITH."

Le Christ de l'histoire et le Christ de la foi: Le Programme Des Modernistes.

WE ARE living in an age of warped mentality. Right reasoning seems to be a lost art. Sane habits of thinking seem to have gone completely out of fashion. False principles, false reasoning from true principles and consequently false conclusions confront us everywhere. They have been the rule for over half a century. Perhaps the most striking instance of this is Herbert Spencer's once famous principle of the "survival of the fittest." It was once the great shibboleth of the evolutionist. From evolution it passed into every branch of knowledge. It not only completely superseded its great Darwinian synonym, "natural selection," in their own special field of science, but it was at once extended to every department of science, to history, to literature, to politics, to economics, to sociologics, to religion—everywhere. The principle was echoed and re-echoed on the platform, from the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, in the press. No argument was complete without it. It was the *pièce de resistance* of every debate. It was the climax in every bit of forceful oratory and soaring eloquence. It was the crowning glory in every hypothesis and new-sprung theory. It was the recognized principle which held paramount sway throughout every realm of nature, whether organic or inorganic; throughout all institutions, whether moral or social; throughout all organizations, whether physical, political or religious. It extended even to the living cells of which the living organism is composed.

At last, through sheer force of criticism, Spencer was forced to

admit that no such principle exists or ever existed; that the expression itself contained a glaring fallacy; that it was a mere sophism, a vicious circle, which, like the dog pursuing his own tail, began nowhere and led nowhither; that it audaciously assumed the very thing which it was supposed to demonstrate, declaring, on the one hand, that the reason why a thing survived was because it was the fittest, and on the other, that the proof that it was the fittest was the fact that it survived. It should not have taken a whole generation to detect the patent fallacy in the boasted principle; yet the fact is that even when Spencer was driven to confess its absurdity and repudiate the phrase, the world was loath to part with an expression which it had taken to its bosom so fondly and cherished so tenderly; and so reluctant was the abandonment of it that even now, more than twenty years after its repudiation by its creator, there may occasionally be found a literary or logical backwoodsman who still clings to it with pertinacious tenacity.

The reasons for this warped mentality are not far to seek. During the past half century men's minds have been drawn to the study of the physical sciences almost to the utter exclusion of other subjects. Philosophy—"divine philosophy," as Milton styled it—has been practically ignored. Logic and metaphysic have suffered more perhaps than any other department of learning; and the consequence is that it is difficult to find a modern work which purports to give us accurate reasoning on any subject, which is not thicksown, as the night with stars, with every species of glittering fallacy.

With this reason another—a kindred one—is closely linked. It is the extraordinary impulse given to hypothesizing in every direction by the speculations of Darwin. Speculation, theory, hypothesis, became the order of the day. In the various departments of science, in the vexed problems of history, in the perplexing mysteries of religion speculation became supreme, and in the breakneck speed with which men strove to arrive at their predetermined conclusions sanity of thought was abandoned and logic flung to the winds.

The most noteworthy and the most deplorable instance of this in our day is to be found in what is now known as "modernism;" and among the modernists the most remarkable instance of baseless hypothesis and its concomitant recklessness of thought is the theory which, in spite of the admonition of St. Paul, would divide the Saviour of mankind and give us "The Christ of History and the Christ of Faith."

The modernistic creed may be found in a strange volume compiled or written in reply to the Papal encyclical, "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*," originally published in Italian, a copy of the French translation of which, "*Le Programme Des Modernistes*," lies before

us. It may be said in passing that if "la critique" be the art of obtaining correct knowledge, "la logique" is the art of correct thought, and that the former should be always accompanied by the latter—if we are to arrive at true conclusions. In other words, correct knowledge depends upon correct thinking and cannot be had without it. In the volume before us it is amazing to find how far men may wander from correct principles of thought and by what tortuous ways they toil and travel to false conclusions, apparently without the slightest suspicion of their knight-errancy or the absurd consequences of their aberrations. This seems to be the leading characteristic of the entire school of modern Biblical criticism. "Back to logic" should be the slogan to recall them to reason. At present in their mad wanderings the whole wildly roaming herd ruthlessly tramples down everything sacred and profane, while the sacred principles of Christianity and the safe and sound principles of logic suffer most severely from their lawless depredations.

In this article we shall confine ourselves to that portion of "Le Programme Des Modernistes" which treats of "The Christ of History and the Christ of Faith."

It should be stated at the outset that it is not always easy to get a clear view of the modernist's opinions. Indeed, it is very doubtful whether the modernist himself has a very clear conception of his own views upon any particular point. Logic is not the only thing lacking in the volume before us. There is confusion of thought and contradiction of statement throughout. It not unfrequently happens that, apparently alarmed at his own statement, the modernist again and again returns upon it, modifies, cancels and contradicts it. There is an unstable element in all his opinions whether he puts them forward with hesitation and timidity, whether he delivers them pleadingly and beseechingly or whether he sounds the note of defiance, assurance and arrogance. This inconsistency with himself renders the task of refutation rather difficult; for the modernist of one page is never the modernist of the next.

This is especially true of his theory of a divided Christ where we find statements as broad as anything in Renan or Strauss, and again when we find orthodoxy and fervor which might have been dictated by St. Bernard. If there really be the distinction between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith which the modernist would persuade us there is, there should be no difficulty in drawing distinctly the line of demarcation between the two. Nothing should be easier than to take the facts of the Gospel history and align them in accordance with the new distinction. Prescinding wholly from the Christ of prophecy—which does not seem to come within the purview of the modernist in this distinction—and prescinding also of the Christ

of mystic theology, which, too, seems to come but remotely—if at all—within his scope, there is left to us the Christ of the New Testament. For the sake of simplifying the problem, we may even eliminate the allusions in the epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, and confine the problem to the facts which the Gospels relate of Christ during His earthly sojourn from the time of His birth to that of His return in triumph to His Father on the clouds of Olivet. Now if there be in reality the distinction, which the modernist insists there is, between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith, it should be an exceedingly simple matter to mark off these facts according to the distinction, and thus classify the sayings and doings of His terrestrial career each under its proper heading, showing which belonged to the Christ of history and which to the Christ of faith. Indeed, if the doctrine is to be at all effective, such an alignment would seem necessary for our proper edification and instruction. At the same time nothing could corroborate more strongly the logic of the clear-cut distinction than a clear-cut classification of the facts in accordance with soundly established principles. With a principle that was unfailing there should be no difficulty for any of us in determining almost offhand under what heading should be assigned any particular fact or saying in the Gospel narrative of the life of Christ where the facts are at once so salient and diversified. Yet much as the modernist insists on the distinction, nowhere does he undertake to make such an alignment of facts or to introduce us to such a guiding and unerring principle. Nor can it be said that the principles are so clear and their application so evident that the wayfarer and the unstable may walk surefooted therein. Indeed, so far is this from being the truth that the modernist himself is unsteady and unstable, and his embarrassment and bewilderment in the alignment of the facts are as great as those of the uninitiated. Wavering and uncertainty, hesitancy, doubt are manifest almost in every line, when the modernist comes to make application of his famous distinction. Thus we are told that in the Gospels the modernist “with the eye of criticism can detect the historic Christ, *but not everywhere.*” The words are: “Ainsi, dans les Evangiles, avec l’œil de la critique, nous découvrons le Christ historique, mais non pas partout.”

And again we find the modernist in this same connection reassuring himself as it were that he is really able to distinguish the Christ of history from the Christ of faith, or, what is the same thing to the modernist, from the Christ of legend and of theology, thus unconsciously betraying his uncertainty, and at the same time admitting that the distinction is not quite so self-evident as he would persuade us it is. Here are the words of “Le Programme:” “Nous savons

bien distinguer le Christ de l'histoire du Christ de la légende et de la théologie."

Elsewhere he tells us that "the two elements are very often united in such a manner that one can distinguish, but not separate them: "Les deux éléments sont très souvent tellement unis entre eux qu'on peut bien les distinguer, mais non pas les séparer."

Indeed so vague and shadowy is the distinction that the modernist admits that some of his own colleagues refuse to recognize it at all; nay, they are so provoked by its insipidity that it is with difficulty they abstain from attacking it. The more ardent and refractory spirits have no patience with these paltering distinctions and will not have them on any terms. Hence we see that although the distinction has a clear ring, the ring is wholly misleading. There is the reverse of lucidity when we come to its application.

But what is more, the distinction at first at least seems to have been put forth by the modernist but tentatively and timidly. Even now—like the entire modernist programme—the theory is a haphazard one. Even though he now talks defiantly, the modernist is not sure of his ground. It seems to be an incontinent terror of the so-called higher criticism that has driven him to invent his theory of distinctions as the only means of saving Christianity. Traditional Christianity—the Christianity of the ages—seems to his overwrought fancy to be completely undermined by what, half in awe, half in admiration, he superstitiously calls "La Critique." Any port in a storm seems to have been the modernistic motto when it found itself on the high seas of modern criticism. It is this criticism, it appears, which has rendered the modernist completely panic-stricken and which has paralyzed all his powers of logical perception.

"C'est . . . la critique," we are told, "qui nos a amenés à formuler spontanément, quoique d'une manière encore timide et incertaine, quelques conclusions philosophiques, ou plus exactement, à préciser certaines attitudes intellectuelles qui, du reste, n'ont jamais été ignorées de l'apologétique catholique."

From this confession, then, it appears that the modernist, dismayed and overawed by the threatening attitude of "la critique," of which he seems to be in mortal dread, felt himself constrained to formulate philosophical conclusions, or, more accurately, to outline intellectual attitudes for the laudable purpose of saving Biblical Christianity; but that his confidence in these conclusions and intellectual attitudes was not unbounded, and that consequently he put them forward only timidly and with uncertainty. With critical science in the ascendant and faith hanging her head for shame, it was unwonted heroism in the modernist to rush in to the rescue and formulate a hypothesis which might snatch Christianity from the awful fate that awaited



her. Timid and uncertain as he was about its value, it was, in his opinion—viewing matters as he did in his state of alarm—it was for Christianity, that or nothing. So doubtful was the remedy that, as we have already seen, some of the more impatient temperaments regarded it as wholly worthless and with difficulty could restrain themselves from assailing it. We read:

“Cela est si vrai, que l'on n'a pas de peine, à trouver parmi nous de savants (mark the modesty of parmi nous de *savants*) qui, réfractaires par tempérament à toute préoccupation synthétique, dédaigneux de toute tentative de conciliation apologétique, font profession de criticisme pur et négligent, s'ils ne les combattent pas, ces nouvelles hypothèses générales que nous enonçons timidement pour réconcilier la foi qui décline avec la science critique qui se renouvelle.”

Manifestly, then, the modernist had little faith in his theories from the start. They were given out in the hour of desperation as emergency remedies or forlorn hopes which even their companions scorned as of no value. This is preëminently true of the theory of “the Christ of faith and the Christ of history.” But the confidence of the theorists seems to have grown with the acceptance of their theories by men who, like themselves, did not have the penetration or the courage to question the methods or challenge the conclusions of the dreadful “la critique;” and now the words of arrogant defiance are in marked contrast with the terms of weakness and timidity which announced the first introduction. Now they boast of it as the new form of apologetics which has “such a profound power of persuasion among their contemporaries.” Here are the words:

“Et c'est pourquoi en acceptant, comme le doivent faire tous ceux qui ont confiance dans le possibilité de conciliation de la science et de la foi, les resultats de la critique avec tout ce côté immuable qu'exige la vérité intrinsèque du Christianisme, nous avons fait appel à quelques nouveaux motifs apologétiques qui nous semblent posséder une profonde force de persuasion auprès de nos contemporains.”

In the present opinion of the modernist, then, his experiment has succeeded even beyond his expectations. What was begun in doubt issues in certainty. The fear and trembling becomes confident assurance, the timidity becomes audacity; what was sown in weakness has arisen in power, but not in the power of theories proven or hypotheses demonstrated, but on the somewhat doubtful premises that their theories have met with an easy acceptance on the part of men who were quite as terror-stricken as themselves. Nevertheless we still find that when it comes to an alignment of the words and works of Christ of the Gospels we are no better off with the aid of

the modernist confident than we were with that of the modernist timid and hesitant. Indeed, some of his assignments are positively startling and not a little bewildering. It is true, of course, that in dealing with such a fact as the resurrection of Christ, there can be no doubt as to the category to which the modernist would assign it, but with such a palpably natural fact as His death, which we might ordinarily expect to find catalogued under the heading of "The Christ of History," the indications are that the modernist would class it rather with the facts in "The Christ of Faith," for everywhere he seems to associate it, and rightly, with the resurrection. But since he regards the Christ of history as a mere man, the transfer of His death to the realm of faith (which with the modernist is not, as we shall see later on, fact at all, but pure fancy) the logical consequence is a little strange, not to say grotesque. However, there is no doubt about the modernist's classification of the fact. On page 87 we read: "En lui, par le moyen del'histoire, nous reconnaissons l'homme qui a parlé et agi pour notre enseignement; et par le foi, le saveur qui, par sa mort et sa résurrection, nous a donné une vie nouvelle."

This is very perplexing; for to a mortal man—such as they declare the Christ of history to be—nothing can well be more natural than his death; and if we find this transported into the realm of faith (and consequently, if we are to believe the modernist, into the realm of fancy) we at once are bewildered, and, of course, when we come to the other facts less palpably natural of His life as related in the Gospels, we naturally blunder hopelessly.

But while the modernist fails to align the facts in the life of Christ in accordance with his distinction, he leaves us in no doubt about his general wishes and ultimate intentions in the matter. His famous distinction of the Christ of history and the Christ of faith is made out of deference to the agnostic principle in latter-day criticism, which at all hazards he manifestly wishes to conciliate. That principle is the old principle of Hume, which bans and bars from consideration all suggestion of the supernatural. No matter what the evidence for a supernatural fact, according to the agnostic principle, such a fact can have no claim on our recognition. Instead of challenging boldly the illogical position of the defenders of this principle and showing its absurdity, the modernist seems to have succumbed to it completely and made to it an absolute surrender of the supernatural. Consequently to oblige the agnostic the supernatural in Christianity—and in Christ Himself—is withdrawn from history altogether, their supernatural claims at the bar of history are wholly abandoned by the modernist, while the full claim of the agnostic false principle is allowed and its edicts are permitted to be

put into execution. In order to accommodate himself to the agnostic principle, the modernist undertakes to exclude every suggestion of the supernatural from the life of Christ. Accordingly, in theory at least, he assigns to "the Christ of history" what he regards as the actions and words of "Christ the man," taking care, however, not to categorize them. But, on the other hand, the modernist wishes to be before all a devoted Christian and an ardent Catholic, and consequently feels in duty bound to conciliate Christianity as well. What, then, was to be done with the facts of the Gospels? Here they were, sober facts of history, written by sane men, some of whom were themselves eyewitnesses to the facts which they faithfully recorded, while all the recorded events were as duly authenticated as any facts in human history; nay, some of them the best authenticated facts in all history. How dispose of those? With most of them—indeed, it might be said with all of them—the supernatural was so hopelessly intermingled as to defy disentanglement. The modernist's concession to the agnostic, however, had excluded them from consideration as history beyond hope of recall. Yet there they were, the most salient facts in all history. Surely this was a dilemma to stagger most men. *Que faire*, as the French say. But the modernist is nothing if not resourceful. He took counsel with himself and decided that the time had come to take up new positions in the science of theology (a *prendre en theologie de nouvelles positions*). To prevent his faith from being strangled by the dread higher criticism (*afin que la critique ne put pas choquer leur foi*), he transfers the entire supernatural element in the Christ of the Gospels, inseparable and often indistinguishable though it be from the human, to the realm of faith; and thus we have "the Christ of faith." Hitherto the Christ of the Gospels was the Christ of faith and, too, the Christ of history; but now these two must be divorced; separation was imperative. Christianity could be saved only by lifting its supernatural elements out of the region of history and lodging them safely beyond danger of molestation from history and its criticism in the mysterious cloud-region of faith. And what a providential thought! Christianity was thus saved. *La foi* and *la critique*, thanks to the modernist's ingenuity, could now clasp hands without a blush—at least on the part of *la critique*. The nuptials of agnosticism and Christianity—impossible though they had seemed—was now an accomplished fact.

But it would be wrong to suppose that the modernist remained satisfied with this compromise, sweeping though it had been. In philosophy as in morals a man seldom remains long superior to his principles. With the modernist, from faith to fiction was but a step, and he was not long in taking this step. All that was supernatural

in the Gospels concerning the sojourn of Christ on earth was transposed, as we have seen, from the realm of historical fact to the region of faith, in order to accommodate the views of the agnostic; and in order to conciliate him still further a further advance still is made; the supernatural is again removed, this time into the realm of fiction. As facts of history everything related to supernatural is incredible and impossible. And even as facts of faith they must be regarded with strong suspicion. But to seriously think for a moment of regarding them as deserving of consideration as historical facts is to deliberately invite the just ridicule of *la critique*, than which the modernist evidently can conceive no greater disgrace.

But, it may naturally be asked, if the Christ of faith be not at all the Christ of history, and only in a vague, indeterminate way even the Christ of the Gospels, what then is the Christ of faith? And it is in working out the answer to this question that the modernist demonstrates at once his lofty genius, his superb intellectuality and his extraordinary capacity for moral dealing even with moral issues. We shall try to epitomize the modernist's answer.

All the truths related in the Gospel history concerning Christ are to be divided into the truths of history and the truths of faith. The truths of history actually occurred; the truths of faith never occurred at all. The truths of history belong to the sensible and natural order, and in this way can be known; the truths of faith belong to the supernatural order, and consequently, we are told, cannot be known except through a supernatural medium. The man Christ (!) belongs to the sensible and natural order, and as such can be known to history; but to Christ, the Son of God, the Messiah, history must be inexorably blind. He belongs to the supernatural order, and consequently, however much history may stumble against Him, He can have no place in history—not even though He occupy so large a place in all human history. Consequently the supernatural events narrated in the Gospels never took place at all. There never occurred any such thing as the changing of water into wine; as walking on the waters; as healing the sick, much less such a thing as the raising of the dead to life, especially His own resurrection from the tomb. The open tomb, the risen Saviour, the discourses with His disciples, the ascension—these were not facts of history at all. The evangelists, it is true, relate these things, and relate them, too, as facts; but we who know better must not mind them. The modernist knows precisely what occurred and how it occurred. But those things which the evangelists describe so elaborately never occurred at all. Nay, what is more, they could not occur, because they are supernatural and could never as such come within the range

of sensible experience. Such is the assurance which the modernist gives us.

But, since these things never happened, how came they to be written down as facts of history? The answer to this question is where the modernist makes his grand *coup d'état*. Thanks to the imagination of the modernist and the "*positions nouvelles*" assumed by him, we have a clear understanding of the whole matter. After the lapse of nineteen hundred years the modernist pushes aside the evangelists who have misled the world by their false representations of historic facts, and quietly tells us what did occur actually; and, what is more, how those things came to be written down as sober history by the evangelists. And it is this:

The Christ of faith occurred. Although all such things as signs and wonders in the life of Christ must be promptly discredited; although we must set our faces like flint against all supposition of such follies as the supernatural in His historical career; although above all we must declare Anathema Maranatha all suggestion of such a thing as a physical resurrection of Christ, nevertheless this same Christ, after His death, in some inexplicable, mysterious manner, gained an ascendancy over the hearts and minds of the people of Judea, so that the man whom they put to death as an impostor and a malefactor became the dominating spirit in their lives. His spirit was in some mysterious manner now united with God, and in some more mysterious manner it was also united with their spirits. In a word, they now believed in Him, had faith in Him; and, strange to say, all the signs and wonders which the modernist tells us were impossible to Him in the flesh, His followers at once begin to imagine concerning Him now that He was dead. This faith was not confined to one or two disciples merely, but spread everywhere and instantly, like wildfire. The modernist does not explain how this happened, it is true, but he assures us of the fact all the same. Each believer began now to have his experiences, and the experiences of faith were so marvelous that they sometimes even surpassed in reality the wonders which the modernist anathematizes in the Gospel history. There was an outpouring of the spirit of Christ upon His followers which manifested itself in their spirits and lives, and the reality experienced by faith came to be the one important feature of their religious faith. Then, too, one believer placed his experience beside that of another believer, and alongside of these a third, and a fourth, and a fifth, each in turn, placed his experience, until out of this comparison of experiences there arose a sort of collective experience, and in this way they arrived at what the modernist terms the collective Christian conscience. To this ferment of faith, however, everything contributed. Perfervid imagination,

strong emotion, overexcitement, overstatement of fact, speculation, even fiction—all had their share in this work of faith experience. No matter what the degree of culture—high or low—its dreams and experiences were free to aid the faith by their additions to the common fund of the experience of the believers. Legends, too, sprang up and were, of course, duly incorporated in the experience of the collective Christian conscience. All seems to have been grist that came to the Christian mill. The main interest centred in what the modernist calls "the reality experienced by faith." But the outcome of all this overheated imagination, all this ferment of excited feeling, all this legend and extravagance of statement, together with what were actual experiences, constituted what the modernist calls the Christ of faith. It was, we are gravely informed, the result of the life of Christ living in His early followers. Thus, for instance, we are told:

"C'est pour cela que, dès le début du Christianisme, on a été libre d'aider la foi au moyen d'explications variées répondant aux divers degrés de culture des fidèles. Tout l'intérêt se trouvait dans le réalité expérimentée par la foi; ses explications et ses spéculations y relatives n'avaient de valeur qu'autant qu'elles servaient à mieux faire comprendre et à vivre la réalité de la foi."

And again we read:

"Toutes ces diverses conceptions qui se succèdent et parfois se superposent l'une à l'autre ont été évidemment imaginées pour expliquer le fait, dont la foi chrétienne a une expérience continuelle et toujours nouvelles, que le Christ vit en nous et que c'est lui qui baptise dans le Saint Esprit."

Or again:

"Nous avons bien distingué le Christ de l'histoire du Christ de la légende et de la théologie. Mais avec l'œil de la foi, soit sous le Christ de l'histoire, soit sous celui de la légende et de la théologie, nous voyons partout le Christ selon l'esprit."

Here we see the modernist himself professing a faith in the legendary Christ as in the real Christ, the Christ of faith being discernible by him no matter under what disguise. And once more we are told:

"De même que la vie surnaturelle du Christ dans les fidèles et dans l'Eglise a été revêtue d'une forme historique qui a donné naissance au Christ que nous pourrions appeler, quoique d'un mot inexact, le Christ de la légende, de même aussi cette vie a été assujettie à une élaboration ou explication doctrinale qui a créé le Christ de la théologie ou de la dogmatique."

Thus we see that all the supernatural claims of Christ are swept by the modernist bosom into the land of fiction. His miracles, His

Divine Sonship claimed by Himself, His Messiaship, His union with the Father, His resurrection and ascension, the promise of the Holy Spirit, the establishment of His Church, the institution of the sacraments, the commission to His Apostles—all had no actual existence in the real life of Christ. They are all an aftergrowth. They were all the result of the spirit of the dead Christ working on the lives of the first Christians; but they were by no means realities in the life of the Christ of history. They were, perhaps, Christian experiences, and the aggregation of them gave us the Christ of faith. Into the texture of this Christ of faith, as we have seen, strange elements were interwoven. Fiction, legend, imagination, vision, hallucination, daydreams—all had their part and all shared in shaping the concept of the Christ of faith. The gross extravagances of the vulgar were found side by side with the more refined speculations of the cultured, and all were enriched by the splendid fancy of the Oriental imagination. Then there was the old Hebraic notion of the Messiah and the apocalyptic figure which was to come miraculously on the clouds of heaven, both of which the disciples united in the person of Christ. Then, too, the notion of the Son of God, synonymous with the Hebrew expression for the Messiah, in passing over into Greece—a land where men were accustomed to imagine mysterious relations between the divinity and the Grecian warriors—gave rise to the conception of the intimate relations between the Father and the Christ, while the old Hellenic notion of an intermediary between the supreme being and the world suggested the notion of identity in Him also with God the Father to those who were anxiously expecting the redemption of Israel—all, however, culminating in the coalescence of the Messianic idea with the Platonic notion of the *Logos*. These were some, and only some, of the threads that were woven, we are gravely assured, into the fabric of "the Christ of faith." All had their place in the extraordinary human mosaic which was fast assuming such massive proportions.

Now this Christ of faith is the Christ which the New Testament presents to us. This extraordinary aggregation of religious excitement, Hebraic expectation, Hellenic transfiguration; or, if you will, of imagination, fiction and legend, constitutes the Christ of the Gospels. If we are to believe the modernist, the statements of fact met with in the Gospels never took place at all. Instead, the evangelists took this wonderful combination of subtle Greek thought and vulgar Hebrew excited imagining and set it all down as grave facts of history. Matthew, who had been the companion of our Lord, did not see or hear the wonders of which he wrote; he simply prevaricated. John, who vouched for the reality of the occurrences which he recorded on the strength of the fact that he was an eye-

witness and competent to give testimony on the points of which he wrote, drew on his imagination. Luke, who expressly claimed that he gave the facts of his Gospel on the authority of eyewitnesses, fabled. Even Mark, who, according to the modernistic and higher criticism, wrote what formed a basis for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke—even he gave only the experiences of surcharged Christian feeling for veritable facts of history. The evangelists simply "projected it all into the history of the mortal Jesus," but as fact it never had any actual existence. We are gravely told:

"Or les Evangélistes, pour mieux marquer la dépendance de ces institutions postérieure de l'Esprit toujours vivant du Christ, les projettent dans l'histoire même de Jesus mortel."

What if Matthew were the companion of our Lord? What if Mark could learn the truth of his statements from St. Peter, whose companion he had been? What if Luke had his knowledge directly from St. Paul, and in consequence assures his reader that the contents of his Gospel are true, vouched for on the authority of eyewitnesses of the facts? What if St. John expressly declares that he was competent to give testimony of the truth of his statements? Of what value is it all? Who are the evangelists that their asseverations could be for a moment considered in comparison with the word of the modernist, who, looking through the perspective of two thousand years, is apt to see more clearly and describe more accurately what really took place than a mere eyewitness or paltry contemporary? For, be it remembered, the modernist does not give any reason for his theory and makes no attempt to corroborate his hypothesis. He is simply taking a "new position" because he regards the old one as untenable. And the only real reason why he regards the old one untenable is because it has the hardihood to record supernatural occurrences as facts of history, a thing which the agnostic world will not abide.

Of course, there is much here that is far from new, strange and ingenious as it all is. Strauss and Renan and the later critics had, of course, long familiarized us with the vision and hallucination theories, and the later agnostics have resolutely set their faces against the admission of the supernatural; but we believe the attempt to solve the difficulty in the peculiar fashion of dividing Christ—in direct opposition to St. Paul's protest—the ingenious device by which the facts related in the Gospel are accounted for by claiming them to be merely the experience of the collective Christian conscience projected by the evangelists into the mortal life of Christ, all this is the peculiar invention of the modernist. He is fully entitled to whatever credit there is due to it. But Strauss and Renan and the Tübingen school, as well as the entire school which



calls itself the higher criticism, were at least consistent in their denial. They were logical in rejecting Christ and Christianity altogether when they imagined they had demolished the foundation of the Gospel facts. The modernist, however, wants to eat his cake and have it, too. He wants to demolish the supernatural character in Christ and yet retain Him as his God, his Saviour and his Redeemer! It is difficult to understand the mental twist which can in all seriousness prompt the strange suggestion, perhaps the most curious and extraordinary in the entire history of eccentric hypothesis. The modernistic attitude opens up a view of mentality which is, we believe, entirely new. It is like turning a sharp curve at a high elevation and suddenly coming on a new region whose very existence was undreamed of, and where the landscape is not particularly inviting; nay, is at times positively forbidding.

Let us try to grasp the logic of the entire situation as a whole. The Gospel history is supposed to be a truthful record of actual occurrences. It is perfectly manifest to the reader that the writer in every instance intended that the facts which he related were to be taken as true representations of reality. The narration of the events in the Gospel is, in every instance, intended by the evangelists to be a veritable record of historic facts—facts as real as the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal, the crossing of the Rubicon by Cæsar or the crossing of the Delaware by Washington. They are not given as fiction, or guesswork, or hypothesis. If the evangelists meant anything at all they meant that the reader should take them as a true presentation of actual realities. And now comes the modernist, after a lapse of twenty centuries, and assures us that from his vantage ground of observation the events narrated never occurred at all. The early Christians, the evangelists among them, dreamed dreams, and then the evangelists sat down deliberately and recorded those dreams as actual occurrences. To the ordinary mind there is but one conclusion from all this—that is, if the modernist contention be true—viz., that the evangelists were impostors and, to use a word which has seen much service within the past few years, were mere historical fakirs. Indeed, the charge of fraud is so direct here that if it were made against a contemporary author a suit for libel would be the outcome. The charge is either true or else is a vicious slander on the sacred writers. The evangelists, however, have been dead nearly two thousand years, and their heirs, according to the flesh, might have some difficulty in proving title, while their Christian heirs can only try to defend them against slanderous assaults.

And now comes the startling feature of the case. So far from condemning the evangelists for imposing upon us false history under

the name of fact, the modernist sees nothing wrong in the action of the evangelists at all. Instead of being shocked by the mendacious assurances of the sacred writers, and so far from finding anything reprehensible or immoral in the audacious deception (as the modernist will have it), the modernist undertakes to justify the imposture. This is surely a singular attitude. Instead of branding the Gospel statements as the bold impostures which they tell us they are, the modernist becomes actually the apologist and defender of what he declares to be nothing but evangelistic frauds. The evangelists had a perfect right to palm off on an unsuspecting world the vaporings of overheated imaginations as actual facts. It is true, the modernist feels bound after the lapse of over nineteen hundred years to repair the errors of the evangelists and correct their mistakes and make reparation to the world (pour operer cette reparation, are the modernist's words) for the mistakes of the sacred writers; nevertheless, the evangelist was perfectly justified in his rather crooked proceeding. He had a perfect right to do it. He was quite right in deceiving his readers. Deceiving was even good for them. Surely this is strange moral teaching, and in passing it may be remarked that possibly we have here the key to the modernistic morality and the explanation of his extraordinary insistence on remaining in the Church while preaching a rampant rationalism. However this may be, we are told that the evangelists were quite right—quite as right as were the Pentateuchal writers in attributing all the Jewish laws and institutions to Moses.

"En agissant ainsi ils usent d'un droit plus certain encore que les écrivains du Pentateuch rapportant à Moïse l'origine de toutes les lois et institutions judaïques."

And when we turn to the reasons which, according to the modernist, justify "the writers of the Pentateuch in attributing to Moses the origin of all the Jewish laws and institutions," we find a variety, all of which may be summed up in one briefly: Sacred history must not be regarded seriously. Neither the writers of these histories nor the manner of narration must be held too closely to fact. "Religious history is not history at all in the proper sense of the word"—all of which doubtlessly means that, as there is a discrimination against the supernatural, there is also a conspiracy against sacred history among the rationalistic and agnostic critics of the day in which the modernist cheerfully joins. Extravagance of statement, imagination, even pure fiction, must not be regarded as serious blemishes in such works; they are religious histories. We are told with all apparent gravity that:

"Les livres descriptifs de l'Ancien Testament composés . . . de plusieurs sources racontant diversement les faits et usant en cela

d'une souveraine liberté, soit que cette liberté tienne à la nature de l'auteur ou de la tradition à laquelle il se rattache, ne sont point de l'histoire au sens propre et moderne du mot."

And again:

"On ne doit pas non plus considérer tout élément fictif comme décidément opposé au caractère d'histoire religieuse."

Surely this is an extraordinary statement. Sacred history may romance, then, as much as it pleases; it is good for it. When the evangelists or other writers of sacred or religious history indulge their fancy and treat their readers to the supernatural and the miraculous, false as are their statements, they are not to be reprehended. They are but using their privilege as sacred writers, which seems to be something more than a poetic license; for it admits the intention to deceive. In a word, the evangelists and other sacred writers, as well as the writers of religious history, are a sort of privileged falsifiers, licensed impostors or chartered libertines in the realm of truth, and when they draw the long bow and indulge in extravagance of statement, they are entirely within their prerogatives as writers of religious history.

All this is very singular, and we believe is entirely new with the modernist. But it is all the result of his accommodating spirit. He desires, as has been seen, to conciliate the agnostic, who insists on excluding the supernatural, and the Christian, to whom the supernatural is spirit and life. Hence the astonishing shifts to which he has been driven. He essays the difficult feat of riding at the same time two horses going in opposite directions, and, of course, with the usual results. How much easier it would have been, however, to have stood his ground logically. The full force of the absurdity of his position, however, becomes apparent when we remember that all the rubbish which is written as biblical criticism, both by the agnostic and the modernist, crumbles to pieces the moment we admit the supernatural, which cannot be excluded. This once admitted, all the ingenious devices of the modernist, their theories, hypotheses and "new positions," together with all the grave, learned and enlightened methods of the agnostic critics, becomes a mass of puerilities or the important drivel and imposing trifles of senility. How far his yearnings for reconciliation have driven the modernist, and how far from all logical moorings he has drifted, may be understood when we hear him soberly declaring that indeed religious histories wholly or partly imaginary edify us more than those which are strictly true, and that we should attach great value and read with profit the ancient legends of holy men and women, although we know that they are mostly to be traced to the imagination of the pious writer. The exact words are:

"Les histories (religieuses) en tout ou en partie imaginaires édifient davantage que les faits rigoureusement vérifiés et nous avons raison de faire grand cas des antiques légendes des saints et des saintes et de les lire avec profit, bien que nous sachions qu'elles contiennent des éléments dont la souce doit être cherchée en grande partie dans l'imagination du pieux écrivain."

The ordinary intellect would, we think, be inclined to say that such histories gave edification precisely in proportion to the amount of truth which they contain, and it is difficult to place oneself *en rapport* with the psychological (or is it hysterical?) constitution which one moment renounces the supernatural altogether and the next, as if to atone for the sacrilege, plunges into the very depths of superstition. To our thinking, the robust, sane, logical mind, though it might be regarded as old-fashioned, would, in dealing with history, whether sacred or profane, brush aside the rubbish of modern elaborate, long-drawn distinctions and say that the facts related in any given history were either true or false, and that no ingenious devices could bolster up the false, much less impart to it the nature of truth. In regard to the facts related in the Gospels generally, and in the life of Christ in particular, a well-balanced intellect would say that the facts related were either true or false, and if shown to be really false, the sooner the books were committed to the flames the better. He would maintain that, like all other history, the writers regarded the truths which they recorded as corresponding with the reality, to use the phrase of "Le Programme," "qu'on la regarde comme une affirmation de la réalité," and that they intended that the reader should so regard them. The evangelists—and no quibbling can evade it—manifestly believed that the facts which they committed to writing concerning the history of Christ on earth constituted true facts of history, and what is still more certain and still more to the point, they intended that their readers should so understand them; and if the modernist can show beyond mere peradventure that either of or both of these positions be untenable, the evangelists were either dupes or prevaricators, their histories are worse than worthless, for they are misleading, and the sooner their books are committed to the flames the better. No ingenuity of the modernist can rescue the records of the New Testament from the degradation, and no good intentions on the part of the modernist can remove from them the stigma of falsehood. Indeed, we prefer the frank brutality of the rationalist and the agnostic, which flatly refuses to recognize the supernatural, to the mincing pietism which offers such pitiable drivel—even though with the best of intentions—as food for thought to full-grown men, and which then turns round and tells us in the same breath that, notwithstanding that they have

tried to convict the New Testament of falsehood, "they will not admit that there are any real errors in the Bible." Read:

"Nous n'admettons aucune erreur proprement dite dans le Bible et encore moins des mensonges, même officieux."

What is to be thought of this style of simpering idiocy? Better Strauss or Renan at their worst than such silly trifling with sacred things!

But this is not the worst. The grade of mentality and intellectual morality which the whole matter throws open to view as prevalent in the modernistic world constitutes an interesting study. All that is supernatural in the life of the Christ of the Gospels is, as has been seen, resolved into the Christ of faith, and, according to the modernist, the Christ of faith is a coalescence of exaggerated statement, over-excited religious enthusiasm, imagination, legend and even fiction. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that this is the self-same Christ whom the evangelists have portrayed to us as the real Christ of history. We have already touched upon this point, but it is well to get it clearly in mind. We must try to grasp this strange feature, which, among so much that is confused and vague in the modernist's programme, is so fully elaborated that there is no mistaking the position. This Christ of faith, so curious and fanciful, what is it? Whence comes it? The Christ of history was, we are plainly informed, a mere mortal man—a prophet, if you will. No miracle or superhuman fact, however, can be predicated of the historic Christ, much less any such extravagance of imagination as His resurrection from the dead. How, then, has it happened that the Christ of faith has assumed such gigantic proportions? How has a Christ of fable so imposed upon the evangelists that they should write Him down as the Christ of history, ascribing to Him, as if real and actual, phenomena which never had existence outside the minds of the faithful, and which, at best, were merely the experiences of faith? Here, of course, is where the marvelous logic of the modernist comes into full play. Although Christ was nothing more than a mere man, although miracle or divinity must not be mentioned in connection with His name, although He was neither mediator, nor Redeemer, nor long-promised Messiah, and although the people rejected Him in life and triumphed over Him in His ignominious and painful death, nevertheless in some mysterious unheard-of way He triumphed over them after His death. Without resurrection or miracle, without intervention of the supernatural at all, the spirit of Him dead obtained an ascendancy over those whom He in vain tried to influence when living. The spirit of Him dead accomplished wonders more miraculous than His real physical resurrection could ever have effected. His spirit began to work like a

ferment in the minds of the people of Judea. It wrought upon their imaginations, their spirits, their lives. His life began to exert its influence on their lives, and His spirit began to energize their spirits until marvels and wonders sprang up—at least in the imaginations of the faithful—on every side to such an extent that, from the standpoint of the supernatural, the resurrection itself becomes commonplace in comparison with this greater miracle. And all this—even to the recording of it by the evangelists—is, it must be remembered, the work of the spirit of Christ operating on the spirits and lives of the first Christians. It is all the work of Christ and His spirit. All the various conceptions of Christ which the faithful imagined were, as has been seen, fabricated for the express purpose of explaining the experience of faith.

"Imaginées pour expliquer le fait, dont la foi chrétienne a une expérience continuelle et toujours nouvelle, que le Christ vit en nous et que c'est lui qui baptise dans le Saint Esprit."

And again, as before quoted:

"Ressuscité à une vie nouvelle et spirituelle, il nous communique son esprit, c'est-à-dire qu'il vit en nous de sa vie propre, et non pas seulement en nous pris individuellement, mais bien socialement unis dans l'Eglise, nous initiant ainsi à la vie plus haute qui est la vie future."

Nay, we are told that in this life of Christ in us is essentially contained the entire essence of Christianity.

"Dans cette vie du Christ en nous, vie intérieure par la communication de son Esprit et vie extérieure par l'accomplissement de ses commandements, réside toute l'essence du Christianisme."

Consequently the Christ of faith, though never having had a corresponding reality outside the minds of believers, and although in the last analysis it is but a mass of crude faith, imagination, religious excitement and such like, is all nevertheless the work of the spirit of Christ acting on the spirits of the first Christians, and the work of His life operating on their lives. All the exaggerations, overstatements of fact, religious speculation and imaginings which the modernist tells us is not and never was real fact at all (although gravely written down as such by the evangelists in their different Gospels), is directly traceable to the experience continuous and ever new of faith in the soul of the believer vitalized by the soul of Christ working upon it.

And now comes the very pertinent question: If the facts of the Gospel are not actual and real, and if the experience of them through faith led the early Christians to believe that they were actual when they were only fanciful and true when they were really false and imaginary—if we are to believe the modernist—if all this is due to

the Spirit of Christ acting on the lives of the early Christians, what are we to think of the Spirit of Christ which suggested as fact notions which never had happened at all and could never happen? Is not this a spirit of falsehood rather of truth? Did the Spirit of Christ simply mislead His followers, making them believe as actual occurrences and facts of history matters and events which had no deeper foundation "than the imaginations of the pious" believers?

And then, too, what of the evangelists who wrote these products of the Christian imagination down as actual facts of history? The work of the sacred writers of the New Testament in general and of the Gospels in particular was also a part of the religious ferment caused in the Christian mind by "the operation of the spirit of Christ on their spirits and the working of His life on their lives." Putting aside altogether the fact of divine inspiration in what may be called the technical sense of the term, and which does not come into the question at all, the commitment to writing by the evangelists of the facts which we find in the Gospel is the direct result of the action of the spirit of Christ on the spirits of the evangelists and of His life on their lives. But, as has just been said, according to the modernist, the evangelists have imposed upon their readers and have given to them not the real Christ of history, but the Christ of faith. Like the deceitful nurse who swaps the babes in the nursery, the evangelists have given us spurious facts in the Gospel life of Christ for true ones; they have given us for "the Christ of history" merely "the Christ of faith." But this Christ of faith is but an agglomeration of imagination, over-excited religious feeling, speculation, enthusiasm and highly wrought fancy. Did the Spirit of Christ lead the evangelists to give to the world all this as historical reality? Did the Spirit of Christ mislead the evangelists and cause them to believe that they were writing truth when they were writing mere falsehood? Or did this deceptive spirit simply impart a share of its own sinister nature to the sacred writers, thus influencing them to write down as truth what they knew to be false? This, of course, sounds very irreverent; but it is the modernist, with his warped mentality and even warped notions of intellectual morality, who forces it upon us. There is, however, no escape from these conclusions. The logic is direct and overwhelming which traces back to the action of Christ Himself the evangelistic falsehoods which the modernist tells us have been imposed upon us in the name of true historical fact by the sacred writers.

And there is the further question: What are we to think of the modernist, who, in spite of all this fraudulent and spurious substitution, still professes to be a firm believer in the Christ who has been directly the author of it all? For it must not be forgotten that the

modernist is still a devout believer in the Christ of faith, unhistorical though He be. In this Christ he founds his "hopes of life." In the "life of this Christ in us," "interior and exterior," he places "the whole essence of Christianity." In Him he discovers "the Saviour, who, by His death and resurrection, has given us a new life." He regards this Christ as the being "who alone serves for our salvation." What are we to think of this intellectual, moral and religious jugglery? Is not the plain agnostic or rationalistic infidel logical compared with the modernist in his "nouvelles positions," which he has imagined to prevent Christianity from being strangled by the formidable "la critique?"

Here is his own profession of faith:

"Ce n'est pas de la spéculation théologique en elle-meme, mais du Christ, dont cette spéculation peut nous aider a comprendre la personnalité et la valeur, que nous attendons la vie."

It is then from speculation instead of from history and revelation that we come to grasp the meaning of Christ's personality; but it is from this Christ, however, the modernist expects life. And we find added:

"En lui, par le moyen de l'histoire, nous reconnaissons l'homme qui a parlé et agi pour notre enseignement; et par la foi, la saveur qui, par sa mort et sa résurrection, nous a donné une vie nouvelle."

And lastly we read:

"Mais avec l'oeil de la foi, soit sous le Christ de l'histoire, soit sous celui de la légende et de la théologie, nous voyons partout le Christ selon l'esprit dont les Evangélistes, en composant leurs livres, ont exclusivement cherché à répandre la connaissance, comme étant celle qui, seule, sert à notre salut."

In spite of it all, then, the modernist seeks for salvation through the Christ that was not God, nor mediator, nor Saviour, nor Redeemer; that did not rise from the dead, performed no miracle, established no Church, instituted no sacraments or other means of divine grace, could lay no claim to the supernatural—in a word, who was but the mere Christ of history, a mere man, or, at best, a prophet, yet who nevertheless mysteriously influenced the evangelists that they attributed, in all grave sincerity, all those impossible things to Him, and who so worked on the minds of His followers that He persuaded them that this mass of falsehood and imagination was really divine reality. In spite of it all, the modernist finds in Him all these, marvelous though it may seem, and in Him all his hopes of life and salvation as well. Compared with this new position, the new philosophy of "Pragmatism," which gives such chameleon hues to truth that it shines effulgent even under the rays of darkest falsehood, is logical and plausible.



Such are some of the results of the warped mentality which we find in the modernist world. An examination of even the flimsy reasons which the modernist puts forward to lend color of justification to his absurd speculations will, we think, demonstrate still more fully this condition of warped intellectual development. It will also show plainly the depth of the boasted intellectuality which has undertaken to educate the rest of the Christian world. Not many feet of plumb-line will be needed to take the deepest soundings. But to make an adequate examination of these reasons will require another article.

SIMON FITZSIMONS.

Lima, N. Y.

## Book Reviews

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**CARMINA.** By *T. A. Daly*, author of "Canzoni." 12mo., pp. 193. New York: John Lane Company.

Mr. Daly does not need an introduction to persons of good taste. His merit was recognized almost in spite of himself. For a long time he sang for his own amusement, and then for the amusement of a comparatively small circle of friends in *The Catholic Standard and Times*, which he manages so ably. It can hardly be said that he sought public favor; it would be nearer the truth to say that public favor sought him. Songs like his cannot be confined by time, or race, or country, or station. They cannot be restrained by the narrow limitations of language. They are so human that they appeal to man, who is nine-tenths the same throughout all nations, races and times. The music of the human heart never changes, and it appeals to every human being. Mr. Daly is very skillful with that most perfect musical instrument. It is not surprising that his poems are already known and loved throughout the English-speaking world, and that they are beginning to be sung in foreign tongues.

The new collection is almost altogether new. It is divided into four parts—*Italice*, *Hibernice*, *Anglice* and *Songs of the Months*. The first part is devoted to the inimitable Italian dialect poems, which probably have done more to help persons to see the better side of the Italian emigrant than learned essays could have done. The second part is made up of Irish dialect poems, no less pleasing and useful in their way than the others. In the third part we have poetry of a more legitimate kind, using the word in a technical sense, and the book closes with a song for each month that is full of atmosphere.

Mr. Daly is developing every day. While he has already given us much that is very good, the best is yet to come.

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**LE HACHICH.** Par *Raymond Meunier*. Paris, Bloud et Cie, 1909. Pp. 217.

It is still one of the unsolved problems both of philosophy and of science why it is that human beings, from the remotest ages down to our own time, and probably not less to-day than of yore, delight in violent and stupifying intoxication. Two answers have been proposed corresponding to the double influence, stimulative or depressive, of toxicants. On the one hand, some seek in their favorite poison surcease of pain or sorrow—"respite and nepenthe

from the memory of Lenore ;" on the other hand, some take to drugs because they love the excitation or the temporary exaltation of their mental faculties.

Prescinding from the case in which the toxicant is taken as a mere anæsthetic, neither of these answers solves the problem. Each simply states a fact, but gives no reason therefor. Perhaps no reason can be given, since the matter in question is one of the primary facts of experience, answering in the abnormal order to the gratification of natural appetites in the normal. The origin of the abnormality doubtless must be assigned to original sin and its consequent disorganization of human tendencies. Be this as it may, the study of the phenomena of intoxication, produced by whatever substance, has an interest for the psychologist as well as for the physiologist and physician. Such a study is presented in the book above introduced. The author thinks that "hashish"—an extract from India hemp—is a substance whose peculiar influence on consciousness best enables the student to follow the stages and the mechanism of intoxication. Its active principle, the chemical nature of which is still but imperfectly known, produces a somewhat persistent state of inebriation, which consists first of a phase of excitation, associated with delirium, with lucid intervals, and, secondly, of depression. Repeated use of the drug results in a chronic "hashishism"—a disease of the cerebral cortex and the medulla oblongata—which is apt to end in various forms of persistent insanity—the price human beings must pay for their fitful indulgences of sensuality. However, like most other drugs which the perversity of men so wantonly wrests to their own destruction, hashish has its legitimate use, so that when administered with discretion its effects may be beneficial in certain physical as well as psychical disorders.

M. Meunier's essay, like the preceding volumes of the collection to which it is the latest addition (*"Bibliothèque de Psychologie Experimentale et de Métapsychie"*), addresses physicians, professors, special students and serious well educated readers. To these, and to these only, the book appeals.

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**CATHOLICITY IN PHILADELPHIA.** From the Earliest Missionaries Down to the Present Time. By *Joseph L. J. Kirlin*, priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. 8vo., pp. 546, illustrated. Philadelphia: John J. McVey.

This is a very notable contribution to the history of the Church in the United States. The importance of the Diocese of Philadelphia, measured by its age, its development, its size and its location, is so great as to make its story one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Church in this country. The author rightly

concluded that it could not be well written or rightly understood unless it stretched back to the beginning, and therefore he covers the whole ground and calls his book "Catholicity in Philadelphia." It would be impossible to write a complete and detailed history in so small a space. This is especially true in regard to the parishes. Indeed, the author has not done more than give a sketch in a few words of the beginning of most of the parishes. For this reason also the work does not pretend to be full biographically. Only those priests are mentioned who have been connected with special work, and in the sketches of parishes, only rectors, as a rule.

The book is strongest in the history of the early Church of Philadelphia. It is weakest in not pushing things to completeness. For instance, in the account of the process of beatification of Venerable Bishop Neumann, mention is made of only one commission during the apostolic process, whereas there were two, and the names of some of the most prominent officials who were longest and most intimately connected with the work are not mentioned at all.

Father Kirlin deserves great credit for his work. He is especially well fitted for it, being a man of good literary ability, and he labored indefatigably for at least six years to gather materials and knit them together. During part of that time he was assistant rector in one of the largest city parishes, with its urgent demands and frequent distractions, and more recently he has been engaged in forming a new city parish, with all the worries and anxieties that beset the new pastor.

The wonder is, not that his work lacks perfection, but that it approaches so close to it. The book is splendidly made—thick creamy paper of light weight, with broad margin; large, clear type, with a quiet dignity that becomes so serious a work; excellent half-tones, several reproductions from paintings, and the whole becomingly and strongly bound. It is a book which ought to be in every parish house in the province, in every Catholic educational institution in the country, in all the larger secular educational institutions and in all the public libraries.

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**STUDI E RICERCHE INTORNO A S. GIOVANNI CRISOSTOMO; a cura del comitato per il XV. Centenario della sua morte. Fasc. II-III. Roma, Libreria Pustet, New York, 1908.**

The general character of this work was described in a previous number of the *REVIEW* in connection with a notice of the first fasciculus. Of the two portions here presented the first contains the essays (prepared for the celebration of the fifteenth centenary of the saint's death) relating to the liturgy of Chrysostom, the

origin and development of the liturgy and of its texts (Greek, Armenian, Arabic), the Byzantine liturgy in the Melkite Patriarchates, (Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem), the various versions (Roumanian, Syriac, Slavic, the Ruthenian modifications).

The third, the concluding fasciculus, contains besides the Greek text of a hitherto unpublished discourse on the chains of St. Peter, attributed to St. Chrysostom, two papers on the cult and the iconography of the saint and an elaborate dissertation on the remains and various sacred relics pertaining to him.

The three fasciculi are paged to bind into one stately quarto—a volume that both for its wealth of biographical and historical material as well as for the splendid form in which it is presented is a worthy tribute to the memory of the saintly hero to whom it is dedicated and a monument to the scholarship and munificence of the authors and the makers of the work.

HISTOIRE DES DOGMES. Vol. II. De St. Athanase a St. Augustin (318-430). Par J. Tixeront. Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1909. P. 538. Fr. 3½ francs.

One can hardly exaggerate the present importance of positive theology—of that branch or rather method of expounding the truths of divine revelation which traces them to their sources in Scriptural and ecclesiastical tradition and manifests their development in the writings of the early Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Not only does the historical sense, ever growing in the religious as well as in the secular spheres of learning, demand this recurrence to original sources, but the mistrust or at least misappreciation of scholasticism renders it imperative to develop more the positive elements and channels of doctrine. Of course, the well informed student knows how to evaluate both sides of theology—the scholastic and the positive, the speculative and the historical—seeing as he does that the two aspects or methods of theology are mutually supplementary and both necessary to complete and give concreteness to a system of what St. Thomas calls *sacra doctrina*. In answer to this growing demand for positive theology we are getting a steady supply of solidly learned works. Germany has recently produced a number and France has taken them into her language and added others no less meritorious. Of them all perhaps none is more valuable than M. Tixeront's "Histoire des Dogmes," the second volume of which is here introduced. The preceding portion of the work deals with the Antenicene theology. The volume is now in its fifth edition. The present volume follows the history of doctrine through the fourth and the first third of the fifth century. Having drawn a

general sketch of Greek and Latin theology during the fourth century, the author analyzes the heresies pertinent to that period in the East (Arianism, Apollinarianism) and subsequently in the West (Donatism, Priscillianism, etc.). The positive doctrines are treated topically and analytically, the teaching of the individual Fathers being grouped under didactic headings. Exceptions to this method are made in the case of the Syrian writers (Aphraat and S. Ephreme) because of their language, and St. Augustine because of the great comprehensiveness of his teaching. Besides the table of contents there is a very good analytical index—a feature not too often found in French books—which enables the reader at once to survey the teachings of the individual Fathers as well as to follow the history of the individual doctrines themselves from the year 318 to 430. The present volume, therefore, closes at the death of St. Augustine. A concluding volume, now in course of preparation, will carry the investigation down to Charlemagne, the limit of the author's design. Not the least valuable feature of the book is the table of the works of St. Augustine cited in the volume—the list showing at once the date of their completion and their position in the Latin Patrology. While the work has primarily in view the needs of professional students of theology, it is one which the average cultivated reader can peruse with comparative ease and certainly with profit, the author having the peculiarly French art of making the rough ways plain.

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**THE CATECHISM IN EXAMPLES.** By *Rev. D. Chisholm*. Five volumes, 12mo., net, \$1.50 each. Vol. I., Faith: The Creed; Vol. II., Hope: Prayer; Vol. III., Charity: The Commandments; Vol. IV., Grace: The Sacraments; Vol. V., Virtues and Vices. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The appearance of the fifth volume of "The Catechism in Examples," which completes the new edition, revised and enlarged, emphasizes the value of the work and calls for additional notice. One of the most striking features of the book is its completeness. It covers the whole course of Christian doctrine, furnishing examples for all the truths as they are presented and furnishing them abundantly, not under a few general headings, from which the instructor must gather them to make the special application himself, but in the most specific manner, fitting them to each chapter, to each answer, and sometimes even to parts of answers.

Another striking feature of the examples is their aptness. They really illustrate the truths to which they are attached, and they do it quickly and clearly. They are never long and sometimes they are very short. They are not obscured by exordiums and perora-

tions, for the sake of literary display, but without useless waste of words the example is skillfully culled from its source and set before the student so logically and attractively as to force home the truth which it is intended to illustrate, while the truth is fresh in the pupil's mind.

A third strong feature of the collection is its variety. The examples are chosen from every legitimate source—the Sacred Scriptures, philosophy, theology, history (sacred and profane), biography (sacred and profane), legend and fiction, the natural sciences—every field yields something to the harvest which is rich and tempting enough to furnish an intellectual feast for the hungry minds of boys and girls innumerable. The wonder is how did the author ever gather so many examples together and how did he classify them?

These are not the only features of the book that are worthy of notice, but they will suffice to show its indispensable worth. Catechism alone is dry and hard, but the teacher or instructor who uses these examples can make it easy and pleasant.

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**THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS.** By *Rev. Michael Cronin, M. A., D. D.*, professor Clonliffe College, Dublin. Vol. I.: General Ethics. 8vo., pp. xx.+680. Dublin: Gill & Son. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author says: "The main purpose of this work on Ethics is to present to students of ethical science a full and connected account of the ethical system of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. To this system the author gives his fullest assent and adherence, and adherence which is no mere blind acceptance of a tradition, but comes of a conviction, which has grown stronger and clearer with time and study, that the Aristotelian and Scholastic system is the only true ethical system; that it is unrivaled by any other theory, and that it will survive every other theory."

This is certainly a plain, clear statement, and it tells in a paragraph the purpose of the book and its general purpose. It is not to be supposed, however, that the work is in any sense limited in its fullness by its orthodoxy. The author tells, and his declaration is verified by his accomplishment, that he has studied all the great modern systems of Ethics. He devotes 230 pages to the examination of current systems. This is an unusually good feature of the book, and in this department the two chapters devoted to evolution stand out as exceptionally clear and convincing.

This characteristic runs all through the book. The author has the rare quality, especially in subjects of this kind, of excluding irrelevant matter and carrying his reader right to the heart of the question, which he dissects like a skilled and expert anatomist.

The book is very good and is sure to attract widespread notice and excite favorable comment. We shall await the second volume with a great deal of interest.

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THE CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO FOR 1909. Edited by *Sir F. C. Burnand*. 12mo., 550 pages, cloth, net, \$1.50. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The first edition of the English Catholic "Who's Who," which appeared in 1908, was excellent; the second one for 1909 is better. It has all the excellencies of the former book and many new ones. The editors and compilers are gaining in experience, which counts for much in all kinds of work. Their lists will become more complete with time, the allotment of space will be done more judiciously, they will grow more familiar with their subjects, who will stay with them for probably several years, and little inaccuracies, which are sure to creep into a work of this kind, will be detected and removed.

In the present volume we notice the names of several Americans and others who are not English, or don't belong to the British Kingdom. We fear the editors will have trouble deciding who shall enter if they wander too far.

All the good things which were said of the 1908 edition may be repeated with emphasis concerning the new book. It is not only a complete collection of short biographical sketches, which is indispensable for consultation and which may be read with profit, but it is also a collection of much literary and social information, made up of expressions of personal appreciation on the part of the able literary editor, who has personal knowledge of a very large number of the subjects, and literary anecdotes and sparks of humor. Altogether it is a splendid example of what such a book should be, and we hope that the American Catholic "Who's Who" will equal it in excellence.

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HISTOIRE DU CANON DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT DANS L'EGLISE GRECQUE ET L'EGLISE RUSSE. Par *M. Jugie* des Augustins de l'Assomption. Libraire Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes, 117, Paris.

This work shows that the so-called Orthodox Church of the East is not justly entitled to the reputation it enjoys for its supposed immutability. People usually imagine that apart from the old-time quarrels between the Greeks and Latins, which subsisted in the Middle Ages and still subsist, there exists on all other points of doctrine the fullest accord between these two Churches. For some time at the period of the Reformation the Oriental Church successfully repelled the attacks of Protestantism. But since the sixteenth



century, owing to the want of a central vigilant and infallible authority, it has failed to maintain the struggle. The history of the canon of the Old Testament in the Greek Church and in the Russian Church furnishes a striking demonstration of this fact.

The book contains four chapters. The first deals with the canon of the Old Testament in the Byzantine Church after the Council in Trullo; the second, with the canon of the Old Testament in the Greek Church and in the Russian Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the third, with the same canon in the Russian Church since the eighteenth century; the fourth, with the same canon in the Greek Church since the eighteenth century.

The whole work manifests the powerlessness of the Orthodox Church to keep intact the deposit of Revelation. Its perusal brings clearly before the reader the indispensable need for the true Church of God to have an infallible Head, whose vigilant eye detects and unmasks error at its first appearance and protects forever the sacred deposit of faith.

**THE LAW OF THE CHURCH AND GRAVE.** *The Clergyman's Handbook of Law.* By *Charles M. Scanlan, LL. B.*, author of "Scanlan's Rules of Order," "Law of Fraternities," "Law of Hotels," etc. 12mo., pp. 265. Benziger Brothers, New York.

"The three learned professions, medicine, law and theology, overlap; and a man who does not know something of the other two cannot be prominent in his own. Laws relating to church matters are scattered through such a vast array of law books that it would be a burden for a clergyman to purchase them, and without special training he would not know where to look for the law. Therefore a law compendium covering those subjects relating to church matters must be of great value to a clergyman."

The author's purpose was to produce such a compendium, and his guiding star has been harmony. All law tends to good order, and therefore there should be no conflict between Church and State.

The author does not give a great multitude of authorities, but he furnishes enough to sustain the text, and the citations given are sufficient to guide the way. Brief statements of the rules of law characterize the book. The work is admirably arranged, and the full table of contents, with an exhaustive index, make the way easy and pleasant.

**MEDICINA PASTORALIS** in usum Confessariorum et Curiarum Ecclesiarum. Auctore *Joseph Antonelli*, Sac. Naturalium Scientiarum Doctore et Professore. 3 Volumina, 8vo., \$6.50. Neo-Eboraci: Fred. Pustet.

The new edition of the full and complete work on "Pastoral Medicine," by Rev. Joseph Antonelli, which has just come from the

press of Frederick Pustet, is worthy of very special attention. We have had several works on the subject in recent years, but most of them have been on certain phases of it only, and none of them, as far as we know, has pretended to be exhaustive. Father Antonelli's book is exceptional in this regard—it is full, complete and exhaustive. It is profusely illustrated, many of the drawings being colored, and is a really scientific work. The priest who has it need not look for anything else on the subject, for he will find in it clear and concise answers to all questions which may confront him in this field.

The third edition has been brought down to date. Changes have been made in some of the drawings, all decisions of the Sacred Congregations have been considered and much additional matter has been added. It is not likely that Father Antonelli's work will be superceded for a long while. No priest's library is complete without a reliable book on this subject, and this is the book.

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NEW SERIES OF HOMILIES FOR THE WHOLE YEAR. By *Right Rev. Jeremias Bonomelli, D. D.*, Bishop of Cremona. Translated by *Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D. D.*, Bishop of Nashville. Four volumes, 12mo., each about 300 pages. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We are glad to place before our readers this exceptional sermon book. On several occasions we have said that we look on the multiplication of sermon books as an evil, because very few of them are by exceptionally good preachers or interpreters of the Sacred Text, and most of them are quite ordinary and not worthy of frequent use or imitation. The farther away we get from the Divine Word, the less we are benefited unto salvation. Moreover, we have always contended that every man who is worthy of ordination ought to be able to teach his people the eternal truths, and to bring them to God. We might go further and say that if he is not able to do this and is not doing it, he does not know the eternal truths himself and is not drawing nearer to God. If he meditates, if he says Mass devoutly, if he reads his Breviary faithfully, if he prays, he will preach well, and nothing can stop him. Therefore we are opposed to sermon books as a rule, and we believe they do more harm than good, if they prevent preachers from preaching God instead of preaching somebody else, and we fear they do. The reproduction of thought may be compared to the reproduction of a photograph. In both cases the oftener the reproduction is made the less clear and true the picture will be.

The book before us is the exception to the rule in sermon books, principally because it is not a sermon book in the strict or ordinary

sense of the word. It is a return to the old homily of the early centuries of the Church and her great doctors; to the plain, unvarnished explanation of the literal meaning of the Sacred Text, and its application to present needs, without bothering about other meanings which are not essential and which are often arbitrary and distracting. This was the spirit which moved the Fathers of the Council of Trent when they enjoined on pastors and those who take their place to explain to their people *briefly* and *clearly*, every Sunday and holy day, the Gospel or some part of what is read in the Holy Mass. This was the spirit that moved Bishop Bonomelli to prepare this series of homilies on the Gospels and Epistles of the Sundays of the ecclesiastical year.

Those who are familiar with Bishop Bonomelli's pastorals on religious worship will understand the excellence of this series. The Bishop writes clearly, strongly and right to the point without wasting a word. He has something to say, he knows what it is and how to say it, and he says it. The book can be recommended to preachers without exception. It will do immense good.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Bishop Byrne for an excellent translation. He has preserved all the good qualities of the original without violence to the English translation. We shall close this notice with a lengthy quotation from the book, which we consider too good to need an apology:

"In all the homilies that I have seen," says the Bishop, "I have uniformly found an explanation only of the Gospel of the current Sunday. This has been the common and universal custom for some centuries back, but we know that the Fathers of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries explained to the people in the form of homilies not only the Gospel, but also the Epistles and other canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. Of this, Origen, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great are an incontestable proof. And why should we not do the same now? It seems to me that it would be a good and wise thing to do, if for no other reason than because this bit of novelty, if it may be so called, will excite a laudable and a profitable curiosity in the hearers, will increase their knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures and give them an opportunity to enjoy its beauties. I have thought that I shall do a good and an acceptable work if in my Series I add to the homily on the Gospel one on the Epistle of the current Sunday. The fifty-two Sundays of the year will give fifty-two homilies on the Gospel and fifty-two on the Epistles, or one hundred and four in all; and since the year is divided liturgically into four seasons, I have distributed these hundred and four homilies into four volumes, each containing twenty-six.

"In explaining the books of Scripture we should make every endeavor to ascertain the true and precise sense which the Holy Ghost intends to convey to us, for this and this alone is the word of God. Other senses, which may be derived from passages of the Bible, we respect and receive with reverence, but our duty and our chief and direct aim should be to get at the true and literal sense, since only then are we really giving an explanation of the Sacred Scriptures. But as a rule what is done by those who profess to explain Sacred Scripture in a homily? They collect together at random certain moral truths, which they derive from the Sacred Text as they might from any profane author, and having done this much they are content. They will certainly have stated many truths, excellent if you will, but they are not the truths taught in the Gospel and in the Epistle by Jesus Christ and the Apostles, and these, above all, are the truths we should seek to find. The homilies, however, which I have the honor of setting before you will, I am confident, have this merit—they will be an elucidation of the true and literal text of the Gospel and Epistles. It is hardly necessary to say that I shall strive as best I can to make the moral applications, so necessary for the people, and they will be solidly grounded on the literal sense of the text. I shall say nothing or very little of the mystical sense, for the reason that an occasion to do so will rarely present itself, and if it should it is not always easy to make the sense clear or to deduce from it any profitable lesson."

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**THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH:** From Its Foundation to the End of the Third Century. By *Monsignor Louis Duchesne*, Hon. D. Litt., Oxford, and Litt. D., Cambridge, Membre de l'Institut de France. Rendered into English from the fourth edition. 8vo., pp. xx.+428. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

The first impression in favor of this book is made by the knowledge that a second edition was called for two months after the appearance of the first. The reputation of the author is its second recommendation. Its third is its subject matter. There is a fascination for the historical student about those early ages of faith, with their heroic characters, who stand out so clearly after centuries, and who defy the ravages of time more surely than figures of bronze or stone. Monsignor Duchesne recognizes the value of original sources; witness his reference to Eusebius:

"At the time of Diocletian's persecution, when the churches were destroyed, the sacred books burned and the Christians proscribed, or forced to apostatize, one of their number was quietly working away at the first History of Christianity. His was not a mind of the highest order, but he was patient, hard-working and conscien-

tious, and during many long years he had collected materials for his contemplated book. He succeeded in saving these materials from the general shipwreck, and even in turning them to account. Thus Eusebius of Cæsarea became the father of ecclesiastical history. And the first duties of those who take up the same task again—so long after, but in days not much less dark—is to recall his name and his incomparable services. But for his unrivaled diligence in searching through those Palestinian libraries, where the learned Origen and Bishop Alexander had collected the whole Christian literature of early days, our knowledge of the first three centuries of the Church's life would be small indeed. We cannot, of course, but lament the destruction of these libraries, yet, thanks to him, and to the remarkable fragments he preserved, we can appreciate in some measure what they were."

But Eusebius is not the only witness to the treasures of this ancient literature. Several of the early books he mentions have come down to us, and others have been read and passed on, by painstaking students like St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome and Photius. It is possible, therefore, to write the literary history of Christianity from the earliest times.

After referring to others who have labored successfully in this field, the author mentions, with special commendation, the honest and judicious Tillemont, who based his treatises on the most conscientious study of all the sources of information available towards the end of the seventeenth century. Although much has been discovered since then, the progress of research has not essentially or even greatly modified the tradition set forth in his learned volumes. Nevertheless, many wild theories have been broached from time to time, and only the skillful, conscientious historian is able to steer a safe course. Monsignor Duchesne adopted a wise plan. He says, speaking of the extremes of historical declaration:

"But there is a middle position represented by the judgment of serious, right-minded men, which commends itself to the common sense public. I need not say that I believe that position to be mine; I may deceive myself. But the folly of some of the theories is as repugnant to me as to the foolishness of some of the legends. I think if I had to choose I should prefer the legends, for in them at least there is always some poetry and something of the soul of a people."

His purpose is to explain and popularize his subject, and he believes he is justified in this by the great progress of learned research. Therefore, although he has consulted all authorities and sifted them well, he has not permitted himself to be led into discussions. In speaking of this, he says:

"Sensible and understanding people will comprehend why I have not encumbered my text with discussions and bibliography, why I have not lingered long over the very first beginnings, and why, without entirely ignoring theologians and their work, I have not devoted overmuch attention to their quarrels."

The book will well repay reading and re-reading, and it is worthy of a place on the permanent historical shelf.

THE PATH WHICH LED A PROTESTANT LAWYER TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.  
By *Peter H. Burnett*. Edited and abridged by Rev. James Sullivan, S. J.,  
professor of theology in the St. Louis University. 12mo., pp. xxli.+425.  
St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.

This book is known by name and reputation to two generations. It was first published fifty years ago, and it is known wherever the English language is spoken. It could hardly be called exaggeration to say that it is a classic in controversial literature. It was never needed more than at the present time, when creeds are springing up and changing and dying with frightful rapidity. Dr. Brownson's review of the first edition is well worth quoting. He said in 1860:

"The Appletons have, since the beginning of the year, published the anxiously looked for work of Governor Burnett, of California, giving his full reasons for becoming a Catholic. It is the work not of a priest, nor of a professional theologian, but of a clear-headed, strong-minded lawyer, who has not suffered the law to make him forget he has a soul, or to stifle his conscience. It is written in a clear, forcible and unpretending style, in a straightforward, earnest manner, and is to be judged not as a mere literary performance, but as the grave utterance of a man who really has something to say and is pressed by an internal necessity to say it.

"What strikes the reader at a glance in this remarkable volume is its perfect honesty and sincerity. As you read it you feel that the eminent jurist is honestly retracing the path and detailing the successive steps by which he actually came into the Church. The argument of the book is presented under the legal form, by the Judge who sums up the case and gives his decision, rather than as presented by the advocate. It is an argument addressed to reason and good sense, not to passion and sensibility; and we cannot conceive it possible for any fair-minded man to read it and not be convinced, although we can conceive that many a man may read it and not acknowledge himself convinced."

Such a review from such a man is the highest commendation. No one was better fitted to pass on works of controversy than Dr. Brownson. Time has required some changes, which have been

judiciously made by Father Sullivan. The book as it now meets the reader has been reduced to one-half of its original size. This task was rendered easy by the omission of the lengthy and frequent quotations, subsidiary arguments and repetitions that the eminent jurist, unjustly to himself, evidently considered necessary to a clearer understanding of explanation and lines of reasoning that were sufficiently plain in the first instance.

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**THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE HAIL MARY.** Points for Meditation. By *Stephen Beissel, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 227. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.

Spiritual writers universally agree that it is best to go to the fountain heads for subjects of meditation. Hence the Gospels, the Imitation of Christ, the approved prayers and the Roman Missal are to be preferred to all other sources. Father Beissel recognized this truth, and hence his book. He says:

"This book does not provide finished meditation nor yet sermons, but points or material for meditation. Each meditation comprises three points with clearly defined sub-divisions, and is calculated to occupy a quarter of an hour. Priests who have used these points for their private meditations will find it easy to develop from them short addresses or sermons."

The author begins with an excellent chapter on meditation, and then he takes up each part of the two prayers and develops it beautifully. The book is most attractive and most useful, because it deals with familiar truths in a pleasing manner, and because it leads one inevitably to good resolutions, which should be the end of all meditation. Finally, it is exceptional in its universal adaptability. It is suitable to the Pope as well as to the humblest of his subjects.

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**THE HISTORY OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.** Explained and applied to Christian life by *James Groenings*, priest of the Society of Jesus. Second revised edition. 12mo., pp. 461. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.

This translation from the German is well worth reprinting. It is not a large, elaborate, exhaustive work, but a liberal history. All approved sources have been used, and the result is a very striking direct history, with thought provoking moral reflections at the end of each chapter. The author thus states his purpose:

"This book is not, strictly speaking, a series of sermons or meditations on the sufferings of our Redeemer, but it is rather an explanation of the history of the Passion. It consists of a description of the most important and most interesting trial which has ever come

before a court of justice, on whose final decision depends the weal or woe of the whole human race. The book is also a commentary on the greatest drama which has ever been enacted. Even considered from a purely natural point of view, the Passion of Our Lord is a drama with which none other can be compared as regards the character of the actors, the magnitude of the action, the importance of the intrigue and the complexity of the plot. The unities of time and place have been preserved."

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**HISTORICAL NOTES ON ENGLISH CATHOLIC MISSIONS.** By *Bernard W. Kelly*, author of "The Life of Cardinal York," "The Conqueror of Culloden," "James III. and VIII.," "The Fate of Glengary," etc. 12mo., pp. 455. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder.

This is good historical work. Not pretentious or showy, but of a solid fundamental kind. The book is arranged in dictionary form, a short sketch of the missions being given in alphabetical order on double column pages. The work is by no means exhaustive, but some details have been given of the Catholic missions in the country from the breach with the Apostolic See to our own times. The story of the English Catholics, or the "Romance of the Recusants" as it has been termed, during that long period of trial and proscription forms as interesting a narrative as any to be found in the pages of modern history. The historical introduction of forty-three pages is very interesting and instructive and creates an atmosphere for what follows. The book is a valuable addition to a group that is growing and forming an historical groundwork on which future histories will be built.

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**THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE.** By *R. J. Meyer, S. J.*, author of "First Lessons in the Science of the Saints." 12mo., pp. 407. St. Louis: B. Herder.

This is the second volume of a series which deals with the all important question of man's destiny. The series is thus explained:

"The volume herewith presented to the public is the second part of a work whose subject matter, as outlined in the general introduction, may be expressed in this one sentence: 'How man, such as he is, must rise above the world in which he lives, towards God for whom he was created.' The first part which appeared in print in the year 1902, treats of man, such as he is; the second part, which is now given to the press, treats of the world in which he lives; the third part, which is to follow in due course, treats of God for whom he was created."

The ground covered is most important. Every man should keep



these three questions before his mind constantly, and yet very many never think of them. Father Meyer is showing in a clear, convincing manner their great importance.

"The main object of the present volume, as the title implies, is to depict the world as it appears to the eyes of faith, with a special view to the dangers to which those are exposed who live in it. The means which should be used in order to escape those dangers are to be treated in detail in the third and last volume. In the present volume, however, the principal means are briefly indicated and the way is pointed out along which we should walk in order that we may so pass through the goods of time as not to lose those of eternity."

If a book of this kind could be introduced into all the secular colleges and universities of the country, how immensely the students would be benefitted. At least an effort should be made to get such books into the hands of all Catholic students at non-Catholic schools. This could be accomplished if priests kept in touch with Catholic publications and recommended them strongly to Catholic parents according to the special needs of their sons and daughters. We are not saying that the clergy do not do their duty in this respect, but we are calling attention to a need and the remedy.

ROUND THE WORLD. A Series of Interesting Illustrated Articles on a Great Variety of Subjects. Vol. VI., pp. 211, with 87 illustrations. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We are glad to see that Benziger Brothers are keeping up this very interesting and instructive series of books. The field is indefinitely large, and the series has not begun to be exhausted. The present volume is fully as interesting as its predecessors. It treats of eleven subjects, the principal ones being: "Italy's Beautiful Lakes," "Afloat With Seagoers," "The Cliff Dwellers," "Handling Mail for Millions," "Folklore of Italy," "Gemlore."

WE PREACHED CHRIST CRUCIFIED. Considerations and Meditations for Boys. By *Herbert Lucas, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 328. London and Edinburgh: Sands & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder.

The title is rather misleading, or, rather, it is not informing. It describes the first of a collection of meditations consisting of forty dealing with a variety of subjects that have special application to the boy. They are good subjects well developed, and they ought to do much good. From the preface we learn that "the greater number of the addresses contained in this volume were delivered either in the boys' chapel or in St. Peter's Church, Stonyhurst, during the school year 1906-7. Some of them, however, are of earlier date

(1905-6). The volume is intended as a companion or sequel to those entitled, 'In the Morning of Life' and 'At the Parting of the Ways,' and it is hoped that, like its predecessors, it may prove useful to others besides schoolboys."

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**THE SPRINGS OF HELICON.** A Study in the Progress of English Poetry From Chaucer to Milton. By *J. W. Mackail, M. A., LL. D.*, sometime fellow of Balliol College, professor of poetry in the University of Oxford. 12mo., pp. 204. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

"The substance of this volume consists of lectures given from the chair of poetry at Oxford in the autumn terms of the years 1906 and 1908. They have been revised and slightly expanded for the purposes of publication. The volume is, as its title states, a study in the progress of English poetry. It forms one chapter in the subject with which the author proposed to deal during his tenure of the chair, that subject being the progress of poetry, or, in other words, the consideration of poetry as a progressive function and continuous interpretation of life."

The author calls the progress of our own poetry, between Chaucer and Milton, a single cycle, and confining himself to it, he deals with Chaucer, Spencer and Milton only in the present volume. The lectures or essays are very interesting and rather full.

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**THE HOLY SACRIFICE AND ITS CEREMONIES.** An Explanation of its Mystical and Liturgical Meaning. By *M. C. Newborn, O. P., S. T. L.* Translated from the revised edition by *L. M. Bowman.* 12mo., pp. 111. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author's purpose is "to increase men's love for the Holy Sacrifice by a better understanding of its mysteries; to reveal something of the unsearchable riches of Christ, of which St. Paul speaks (Eph. iii., 8), and to open out a new field to the mind, so that devotion of the heart may gather more abundant fruit, were it only in the souls of a few."

He does not attempt to treat the Mass in an exhaustive manner; it would be impossible in so small a space, but he gives a short, clear explanation of the different parts of the Holy Sacrifice in such a manner as to excite interest and beget devotion in the masses of the people.

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**SERMONS ON MODERN SPIRITISM.** By *A. V. Miller, O. S. C.* 12mo., pp. xv.+178. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder.

Six sermons on a subject of ever increasing interest. The author's purpose is to warn his hearers against the practice of

spiritism, and his discourses should have that effect. As to the truth or falsity of the claims of spiritists he is not so much concerned, because of the bad consequences of the cult which follow, whether these claims be false or true.

The author speaks of the different phenomena of spiritism, admits that by far the larger part of them can be accounted for by trickery or fraud, quotes reliable authorities for the smaller part, argues for possibility and sounds a warning.

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**"AND THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH."** Short Meditations on the Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. By *Ephraim*. 12mo., pp. 148. London: St. Anselm Society.

The writer has taken each one of the mysteries in turn and devotes about eight or nine pages to it. He begins with the short invitation which is found in the rosary book before each mystery, and then develops the subject. For instance: The Annunciation. Let us contemplate in this mystery how the Angel Gabriel saluted Our Blessed Lady with the title "full of grace," and declared unto her the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The meditations are very devotional as well as informing, and those who use them ought to draw additional fruit from the Rosary.

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**THE WHITE SISTER.** By *F. Marion Crawford*. 12mo., pp. 335. New York: The Macmillan Company.

One of the two novels which Mr. Crawford left in manuscript when he died. An Italian story with a good deal of the tragic about it. Interesting, natural, almost true to life. We have never met a novelist or a dramatist who could write about priests or nuns with the correct atmosphere. We might almost say the same about artists. As soon as the novelist or the dramatist introduces a priest or a nun, or enters into a monastery or a convent, he becomes strained, artful, unnatural. It is practically impossible for a layman to describe the mind and heart of a nun. This is particularly true if he attempts to deal with the conflict between the natural and supernatural affections, and to go into an analysis of motives. These things are too subtle for the lay mind. The result is apt to be strained, stilted, sometimes offensive, and often ludicrous.

It is much praise of Mr. Crawford's story to say, that although his heroine is a nun, and his semi-heroine is a nun, and although a large part of the action of the story transpires in a hospital under the care of nuns, he has not offended seriously. We don't think that nuns would have acted as Mr. Crawford's did, under similar

circumstances, and we don't believe their spiritual directors would have allowed them to act that way. We are sure that we have never met nuns of that kind, and we have met a great many of various communities in a quarter of a century. While, then, we commend the story as a story, we cannot refrain from saying that we wish Mr. Crawford had not written it, and we hope that other secular novelists will not follow his example.

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**A PRIVATE RETREAT FOR RELIGIOUS.** Enriched with reflections and select readings taken from the spiritual writings of St. Alphonsus. By *Rev. Peter Gettermann, C. SS. R.* 12mo., cloth. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In presenting this book to the public the author says: "There are many earnest souls working in the vineyard of the Lord, whose labors do not permit them to make the annual public retreat. Many others desire to spend a few days in solitude at the close of the year, or at some other time when their occupation will allow them to do so. There are still others, who, deriving more benefit from a private than a public retreat, prefer to make the spiritual exercises in total seclusion and silence. To all such this 'Private Retreat for Religious' is offered as an aid.

"In making the spiritual exercises, especially in private, some persons experience difficulty in employing the time profitably; others in digesting the truths of the spiritual life, and others again in acquiring the necessary knowledge of themselves. In this our 'Private Retreat' we have tried to remove these difficulties as far as possible, (1) by supplying abundant matter; (2) by working out the entire meditation as far as circumstances will permit; (3) by adding appropriate reading and examinations.

"As the meditations of most religious of our day last but a half hour, we have divided the meditations of this retreat into two parts, and added an appropriate reflection from St. Alphonsus for the benefit of those who may desire to prolong the exercise. Each point of the meditation is divided into 'Considerations and Applications' and 'Affections and Prayers;' the first aims at subjecting the mind, while the other is intended to conform the will to the mind and heart of God. The soul is further aided in acquiring the theory and practice of the spiritual life by daily spiritual reading and examinations and by a systematic interior examination, which will be introduced at the proper stage of the exercises.

"To facilitate the concentration of the mind on the work of the retreat, and to remove all unnecessary anxiety regarding its success, a special end is proposed for each day. By keeping this special end in view day after day the success of the retreat is, humanly speaking,

secured at every step; for the various exercises of the consecutive days not only harmonize with the general plan, but constitute its gradual development."

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**RULES OF LIFE FOR THE PASTOR OF SOULS.** From the German by *Rev. Thomas Slater, S. J., and Rev. A. Rauch, S. J.* 12mo., cloth. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is an exceptionally good book of its kind. Beginning with chapters on Priestly Dignity, it deals with the questions of Holy Poverty, Rule of Life, Disposal of Time and Daily Routine. Then it takes up in turn the relations of the priest with others—his house-keeper, his curate, his neighbors, his flock—considering different classes, the civil authorities and persons of different faith. Each chapter is arranged as a colloquy between master and son, as in the "Imitation of Christ." The charm is in its briefness, its reasonableness and its practicability. All that is said is evidently true, and no offense is given in the saying.

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**LA BIENHEUREUSE MERE BARAT (1779-1865).** Par *Geoffroy de Grandmaison.* Pp. viii.+206. Paris: V. Lecoffre.

This is a rare example of excellent biographical work in humble form. Few would guess the worth of the little paper book under the above title if he came across it on a book stand. And yet in so small a space the well-known and able author has succeeded in getting before his readers a full, true portrait of a great religious who lived on a stage and at a time when history was made very fast. Although she lived a retired life, as all holy souls must, her influence was far reaching and her power in moulding the minds of the young so striking throughout her long life, has been perpetuated in the members of the community of nuns which she founded, who are now scattered throughout the world.

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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## CLERGYMEN MATHEMATICIANS.

CARDINAL NEWMAN says somewhere, though I have not been able to find the exact passage, that the study of mathematics has a tendency to make men skeptics with regard to matters of faith. It is as if the acceptance of mysteries that the human intellect is unable to understand and indeed cannot hope ever to comprehend must be utterly unsympathetic to the mind accustomed to obtain its knowledge by means of the rigid conclusions of mathematical science. Of course, neither the thought nor the expression originated with the great English Cardinal. Something like it has been said frequently by many others before him and has come to be accepted by many people as almost an axiom. People who themselves are not mathematicians (and I believe that Newman at all times here in his life had very little sympathy with mathematics, though a liking for mathematics and for music are said to go together, and the great Cardinal's fondness for music is known) are prone to consider that a mathematical mind must be very different from their own, and especially must be impatient of the inconclusiveness of our knowledge with regard to the Infinite.

It is curious to see how old this impression with regard to the skeptical quality of the scientific and mathematical mind is, and even Plato has, I believe, a passage in which he calls attention to it. Not long since, in looking over the confessions of Al Ghazzali, which were translated for the first time into English by Claude Field for the "Wisdom of the East Series,"<sup>1</sup> I found that this old Moslem

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<sup>1</sup> New York, Dutton, 1909.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1909, by P. J. Ryan, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

scholar, who compiled the apologetics of Mohammedanism against the unbelievers of his time in the East, had expressed even more forcibly than the great English Christian apologist of the nineteenth century this idea of the almost inevitable opposition that exists in the mathematical mind to the acceptance of the mysteries of religion or of the great principles of the revelation on faith. The Moslem scholar not only saw, as he thought, the skeptical influence of mathematics, but he recognized also the weight the opinions of mathematicians have in leading others to skeptical views. His passage on the subject is all the more interesting because the picture that he presents is a reflection of our own times in many ways. He said:

"Whoever studies this science (mathematics) admires the subtlety and clearness of its proofs. His confidence in philosophy increases, and he thinks that all its departments are capable of the same clearness and solidity of proof as mathematics. But when he hears people speak of the unbelief and impiety of mathematicians, of their professed disregard for the Divine Law, which is notorious, it is true that, out of regard for authority, he echoes these accusations, but he says to himself at the same time that if there was truth in religion, it would not have escaped those who have displayed so much keenness of intellect in the study of mathematics.

"Next, when he becomes aware of the unbelief and rejection of religion on the part of these learned men, he concludes that to reject religion is reasonable. How many men have gone astray that I have met whose sole argument was that just mentioned."

The impression that the scientific mind, even in its exactest mode—that of the mathematician—is necessarily or even almost surely opposed to faith is, therefore, a very general impression felt in distant times and places. It has always seemed to me, however, just one of the many things that we think we know, but that, in Artemus Ward's expressive phrase, "ain't so." Many another expression like it exists quite unquestioned, though without foundation when analyzed. There are many people, for instance, even well educated people, and, above all, scientific scholars, who insist that science and faith are opposite poles of intellectuality, and the man who accepts many things on faith cannot hope either to know or do much in science, while the man of science cannot be expected to be a firm believer in principles that require the submission of the intellect without the possibility of understanding. This impression has absolutely no justification in what we know about the attitude of great scientists to faith. Even the makers of modern medicine, though medicine is ordinarily considered to be the most unorthodox of sciences, and the maxim runs "that where there are three physicians there are two atheists," were nearly all of them devout Cath-

olics and almost without exception they were firm believers in the essential truths of religion. The makers of electricity, the most recent of our sciences, show exactly the same thing. Astronomers, physicists, chemists, even biologists, when the lives of the greatest discoverers in these various departments are carefully looked up, prove practically all to have been faithful believers.

Since the impression of supposed opposition between scientists of the less exact departments of scientific knowledge and faith is wrong, it is easy to think that the same thing may have happened with regard to the mathematicians, and that we may be only in the presence of one of these curious presumptions so frequent in human thinking, yet so hard to understand the origin of, since they are without basis in truth. This suggestion of the erroneous character of the opinion derogatory to mathematicians with regard to faith was very strongly borne in on me while writing the sketches of the two most distinguished mathematicians, at least as far as applied mathematics are concerned, of the nineteenth century. They were Clerk Maxwell, to whom we owe the mathematics of modern electricity, and Leverrier, the distinguished French astronomer, to whom we owe the discovery of Neptune by pencil and paper. If these two greatest of our nineteenth century mathematicians, far from being unbelievers, were, on the contrary, even devout in religious belief and practice and continued so in the midst of their great mathematical work, then surely at least there are some very striking exceptions to Cardinal Newman's rule.

The lives of both of these great nineteenth century scientists are worth while calling attention to a little more in detail because they are such an emphatic contradiction of the supposition that mathematicians may not be and indeed cannot be deep believers. There are any number of expressions in Clerk Maxwell that show the opposite to be true. Toward the end of his life he said to a friend: "I have looked into most philosophical systems, and I have seen that none of them will work without a God." When he was studying the composition of matter and wrote with regard to the atom, he practically restored the argument from design to its old place for scientists by insisting on the evidences for design in these smallest portions of matter. With regard to the molecule, he said in his article on that subject:<sup>2</sup> "They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight, and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement, truth in statement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of

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<sup>2</sup> "Nature," 1873.



Him who in the beginning created not only heaven and earth, but the materials in which heaven and earth consist."

It is not so surprising, then, to read that "he was a constant and regular attendant at church," and, as his pastor said of him, "seldom if ever failed to join in our monthly late celebration of Holy Communion, and he was a generous contributor to all our parish charitable institutions. His illness drew out the whole heart and soul and spirit of the man. His firm and undoubting faith and the incarnation in all his results in the full sufficing of the atonement, in the work of the Holy Spirit. He had gauged and fathomed all his themes and put them to philosophy and had found them utterly unsatisfying—unworkable was his own word for them—and he turned with simple faith to the Gospel of the Saviour." Though he had been until his last illness the most looked up to man among the physical scientists of England and, indeed, of Europe, and had been recognized as one of the greatest mathematicians of the nineteenth century, as his death approached the little verse of Richard Baxter often was on his lips:<sup>3</sup>

Lord, it belongs not to my care  
Whether I die or live;  
To love and serve Thee is my share,  
And that Thy grace must give.

Clerk Maxwell was an Anglican. Leverrier was a Catholic. Such devotion of faith and piety of expression are not uncommon among great Catholic scientists, and so, perhaps, it is not surprising in Leverrier, although, considering the supposed opposition between mathematics and faith, it is very noteworthy. Besides his discovery of Neptune with pencil and paper so that he was able to indicate to the Astronomer Royal just where he should look for an as yet undiscovered planet, Leverrier worked out the mathematics of Mercury, the nearest of the planets, and did much for our knowledge of the comets that lie nearest the sun as well as for many other details of mathematical astronomy. Far from having his faith disturbed by his mathematics, he was noted for his devout adhesion to the Catholic Church, and kept a crucifix in his observatory, to which he often turned in prayer. In the proceedings of the Academy of Science at the time of his death it was declared that the study of the heavens and his scientific faith had only brought about a confirmation in this great scientist of his lively faith as a Christian. When he came to write the last word of the last page of his great work on astronomy he murmured piously: "Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine"—"Now you dismiss your servant in peace, Lord."

It has seemed to me that the question of the influence of mathe-

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<sup>3</sup> "Makers of Electricity," Fordham University Press, New York, 1909.

matics on faith might be solved and the imputation on mathematics removed by a consideration of the lives of the clergymen who in the last ten centuries have done work in mathematics, yet have proved not only faithful to their duties as clergymen and devout in their practice of religion, but who have most of them insisted that their faith was even deepened by their mathematical knowledge, and that far from being disturbed it was rendered firmer by their devotion to mathematics.

Most people might think that such a defense of mathematics would be quite inconclusive, because there are not many clergymen who have devoted themselves to mathematics with sufficient success to deserve a place among the great mathematicians. Nothing could be less true than any such impression. In this sort of question it is not well to trust to general impressions, but actual details must be secured. Very few people would be likely to think, were the question suddenly put to them, that a large number of clergymen had made important contributions to electricity, yet, as I showed in my article on "Clerical Pioneers in Electricity,"<sup>4</sup> there are a great many Catholic ecclesiastics who deserve to be remembered for their original work in electricity. A little investigation proves that just this same thing is true of mathematics, and that there are many clerical mathematicians who have done ground-breaking work of the greatest value in many periods of history.

The introduction of mathematics to the Christian world came, of course, by the transfer of whatever knowledge of mathematics was still cherished among the Romans to the Christians of the Middle Ages. The names of two men are particularly associated with this department of knowledge as they are with nearly every other in its transition period. They are Boethius and Cassiodorus. Boethius (480-525) wrote the "*De Institutione Arithmetica Libri II.*" and translated "*Euclid.*" The "*Geometria Euclidis: A Boethio in Latinum Translata*" is preserved for us in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and there seems to be no doubt about its authenticity. There is also attributed to him a work, "*De Geometria*," the basis of which is undoubtedly his, though in the form in which we have it, it is perhaps an elaboration made in the tenth century. The question as to how much of it must be attributed to Boethius himself and how much to later compilers is still open. On the determination of it depends the settlement of the question as to when Arabic numerals were first used in Western Europe. Boethius' works were widely studied; he was, indeed, the most read author of the early Middle Ages and until the time of the universi-

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<sup>4</sup> "Catholic Churchmen in Science," Second Series, The Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1909.

ties, so that his mathematics must have been well known in the monastery. Recent investigations seem to have settled beyond all doubt that Boethius did actually die as a Christian martyr at Bavia in 524 or 525. The constant tradition in this matter, which can be traced back to the eighth century, and which was confirmed in 1883 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites when it sanctioned the custom prevailing in the Diocese of Bavia of honoring St. Severinus Boethius on the 23d of October, deserves to be given full weight. There seems, therefore, to have been no reason to think at all that devotion to mathematics disturbed the faith of this earliest of the Christian mathematicians of whom we have no record.

Cassiodorus (490-583) did not do so much directly for mathematics as he did by calling attention to the significance of the theory of numbers and their symbolism. Like all of these mediæval writers attracted to mathematics, and, above all, like Boethius, his great contemporary, Cassiodorus was interested in music as well as in mathematics, for the two departments of human knowledge are often said to go together. To Cassiodorus we probably owe a method for computing Easter, besides a series of references to the significance of numbers expressed in his commentaries on the Scriptures. These became the inspiration of many monastic students later on. Cassiodorus, as is well known, after having been the Prime Minister of the Emperor Theodoric, retired to a Benedictine monastery and lived there for some sixty years until the age of ninety-three.

The first important contributor to mathematics in modern history came in what is usually termed the darkest of the Dark Ages—the tenth century. Probably no century has fared better at the hands of recent historians than this same tenth century. It has come up wonderfully in our estimation as the result of our learning something definite about it. We now know that it is only a question of lost records and that there was beyond all doubt a very vivid intellectual life during this period.

For those who are accustomed to think of the Church as restraining men's facilities of investigation, and, above all, for those who accept the conclusion that mathematics and faith do not go well together, it will be astonishing, doubtless, to learn, however, that this first of mathematicians became Pope and is looked upon as one of the greatest ecclesiastics of history. We refer, of course, to the famous Gerbert, who became Pope just at the dawn of the second millennium of Christianity (April, 999) and took the name of Sylvester II. Before his elevation to the Papacy he had been successively Archbishop of Rheims and of Ravenna. He had been a professor at Rheims for many years and had attracted students from all over the world because of his practical methods of teaching the

sciences, especially astronomy and mathematics. As an aid to his lectures in astronomy he invented elaborate globes, on which the course of the planets was marked. He also constructed an immense abacus, an instrument to aid in computation, with 27 divisions and 1,000 counters, of horn. The abacus had been originally devised by the Arabians, but was very much improved by Gerbert and applied to geometrical as well as to arithmetical problems. Perhaps the most interesting thing that we know about these inventions of his is that he had a number of them made and traded them for manuscripts, especially of the classical authors, so that before his death he had collected a magnificent library and had probably done more than any other single man for three centuries to preserve the old authors for us.

Gerbert's mathematical works are contained in some of the most precious of the old manuscripts of the Vatican dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among them is "*Regula De Abaco Computi*" and "*Libellus de Numerorum Divisione*." Of this latter there are eleventh and twelfth century manuscript copies at Paris, Montpellier and Rome, showing the wide diffusion of his work, and, indeed, it may be said that his books were text-books of mathematical teaching for several centuries after his death. There is also a treatise on geometry attributed to him, and while the authenticity of this has been doubted by some authorities, there are good reasons for thinking that it represents Gerbert's successful devotion to this form of mathematical science. He has a short disquisition on the same subject addressed to a friend, to whom he was accustomed to write letters, some of which have been preserved for us, which adds evidence to the authenticity of the treatise on geometry.

As might be expected, when the new impetus to learning of all kinds came with the foundation of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mathematics also had a wonderful period of development. In the second edition of my volume on "*The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*," I suggest in the appendix that it would have been very easy to have written a chapter on the mathematics and mathematicians of the thirteenth century, for Cantor, the great German historian of mathematics, devotes nearly 100 pages to the mathematicians of this period. He goes so far as to say that the mathematicians of this century worked a revolution in mathematics. They accomplished so much that their contemporaries and successors could scarcely follow them, much less go beyond them. There are two supreme mathematicians in the period—Leonardo of Pisa and Jordanus Nemorarius. Jordanus was a Dominican, and his work in arithmetic, in the theory of numbers, in algebra and geometry stamps him as a great original thinker in

mathematics. His work brought about a wide spread of arithmetical knowledge among the masses. This is what might be expected in the thirteenth century, for it was characteristic of the time that the new thoughts and discoveries of scholars were soon made practical and penetrated very widely among the people.

How much mathematics was appreciated at the end of the thirteenth century may be learned from the words of the great Franciscan, Roger Bacon, who was himself a distinguished contributor to mathematics and especially worthy of mention because he did so much to show the practical value that mathematics should have as applied to the physical sciences. The great English Franciscan went so far as to say: "For without mathematics nothing worth knowing in philosophy can be attained," and in another place in his works, as quoted by Brewer in the preface to his recent edition of all of Bacon's writings: "For he who knows not mathematics cannot know any other science; what is more, he cannot discover his own ignorance or find its proper remedy." After the thirteenth century the roll of clergymen mathematicians is continuous. No century since is without at least one great genius mathematician noted for his original work in his favorite study who yet remained a faithful son of the Church. In many cases these mathematical geniuses reached high preferment in the Church, and it is evident that their mathematical turn of mind, far from hampering their ecclesiastical preferment or rendering them suspect of heretical tendencies, or making them lukewarm in their devotion to religion, was rather an added reason for the distinction they reached in their careers.

The other great mathematician after Leonardo and Jordanus was Joannes Campanus, of Novarra, in Italy. He was highly praised by Roger Bacon, whose knowledge and appreciation of mathematics we have already shown. Campanus translated Euclid and developed geometry for his generation, giving the higher mathematics a great impetus. Cantor has shown that he did some original work besides his teaching of the old Greek mathematicians, and undoubtedly attracted renewed attention to the higher mathematics. In the midst of his mathematical labors he became chaplain of Pope Urban IV. (1261-64), and after the death of that Pope he was called to Paris to become canon to the Cathedral and professor of higher mathematics of the university. His advance as an ecclesiastic not only was not interfered with by his reputation as a mathematician, but this seems to have enhanced his chances of preferment. He was the special friend of most of the high ecclesiastics of the time, and it was his desire to teach mathematics at a great school that, with his reputation, brought him the invitation to Paris. In a word, his life

shows very clearly that the men of his time appreciated intellectual genius, no matter what direction of accomplishment it took. They are said to have been occupied exclusively with scholasticism, but that is only because their critics know no other than that side of them.

Cantor speaks highly in praise of Joannes de Sacrabusco, or Sacrabusto, who is usually considered to owe the second part of his name to his having been born at Holy Wood, near Dublin. There are other claimants for his birthplace, however, as, indeed, with regard to most of the distinguished Irishmen of these early times. He is said by some to have been born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, by others at Nithsdale, in Scotland. We do not know the year of his birth, but he died in 1256 while teaching mathematics in Paris. His "*Tractatus de Arte Numerandi*" was for centuries the most used text-book of mathematics in Europe. It is extremely austere, containing only a series of rules, and nothing more. There are no explanations and no examples are given. It contained all the rules for addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, the proportions and the progressions. It succeeded in crowding into small space most even of our higher arithmetic, and there is no doubt that this Irish mathematician of the olden time deserves a place as one of the great mathematical teachers of the world. He had certain very clear-cut methods of expressing rules that made his work valuable as a text-book and gave it the vogue that it obtained.

The supreme mathematician of the fourteenth century, in whose praise Cantor is enthusiastic, though his name does not find a place in the ordinary encyclopedias, thus indicating not the smallness of the man, but the lack of interest in the science of these times, to which I have before called attention, is Oresme, or Oresmes. We do not know the place of his birth nor its date, but he entered the College of Navarre, in Paris, in 1348, and remained there as a student, professor and finally director of the college until 1361. Then he became deacon of the Cathedral of Rouen. His personal character must have been interesting, for we have it recorded of him that in 1363, in Avignon itself, he preached a great sermon on Christmas night, in which he called attention to the abuses of the Papal Court at that time resident in that French town. The occasion to contrast the poverty of Christ with the ambitious schemes and the luxury of too many who were then most influential with the rulers of the Church of Christ was well taken and seems not to have seriously hurt Oresme's career. In 1377 he was made Bishop of Lisieux, and died there in 1382.

All his life he seems to have felt in himself a mission to correct abuses or at least to call attention to them strenuously and point out how they might be corrected. During the fourteenth century many

abuses arose with regard to the mendicant orders, and these Oresme pointed out without fear or favor and undoubtedly did much to prevent them from becoming a serious detriment to Church progress. Even more strenuous was his arraignment of astrology. While so many around him continued to believe in the influence of the stars on man, while so many educated people continued to have faith in the readings of the stars, Oresme pointed to the utter futility of it and indicated that its only reason for being was the money that its adepts made out of it. Unfortunately he was far ahead of his time. For three centuries after him men still continued to believe in astrology. Kepler and Galileo both made horoscopes for patrons, and Galileo made one for the Duke of Tuscany foreshadowing many years of happy life within a fortnight of his death. Oresme also pointed out the absurdity of signs of all kinds with regard to the future and the consideration of heavenly bodies as portents of evil at any time. He had a thoroughly skeptical quality of intellect (such as might be expected to come from the cultivation of the exact science of mathematics), but this stopped short of faith in revelation and the mysteries of religion.

In the fifteenth century there were a number of great clergymen mathematicians. The earliest of them was Nicholas of Cusa, afterwards the famous Cardinal. After graduating in law he took up the legal profession, but having lost his first case he gave up the practice of law and resolved to enter the Church. We are not sure where he studied theology, but after his ordination he became Archdeacon of Liege. He was in attendance at the Council of Basel and attracted the attention of the assembled fathers. After this he was entrusted with various missions, the most important being one to Constantinople with the purpose of bringing about the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. For these labors for the Holy See he was raised to the Cardinalate and subsequently made Bishop of Brixen. To him was entrusted the correction of many abuses in general, and as all the readers of Janssen's history of the German people know from the account of him in the introduction, he must be considered a representative German prelate of this time. It is all the more surprising for those who think that the Church was in any way opposed to science at this time to learn that during the ten years preceding his elevation to the Cardinalate Cusanus had published a series of books with regard to mathematics and methods of scientific study, in which he insists that the experimental method is the only one that will give any real knowledge of science and in which he proclaims his belief that the earth is round, that it moves as a star among the other stars and other ideas supposed to be much more recent.

One of the most important of his contributions to mathematical science was a tract on the reformation of the calendar. This was presented to the Council of Basel. The methods suggested by him very closely resembled that afterwards elaborated by Father Clavius, S. J., and adopted by Pope Gregory XIII. Like every other great mathematician down almost to our day, Nicholas became interested in the problem of squaring the circle. His book "*De Quadratura Circuli*" was published with the idea that he had solved the problem. Even more interesting is a suggestion of the great Cardinal with regard to the counting of the pulse and respiration rate. It was not until the next century that watches became at all common. A few of them were made in the fifteenth century, but they were very expensive and were rather cumbersome, not flat as now, but nearly round, hence called Nuremberg eggs. Physicians then judged of the rapidity of pulse and respiration rate by their subjective estimation of rapidity. Just as with regard to the taking of the temperature before thermometers became common, many of the physicians became very expert in this, but the method left much to be desired as regards accuracy, especially for comparative purposes.

Cardinal Nicholas suggested then that the pulse and the respiration should be counted up to 100, the amount of water that flowed through a water clock during the length of time required for this being measured and compared with the amount of water that had flowed for the same number of pulse beats or of respirations in a person known to be normally healthy of the same age and weight and race and general constitution of the patient. This was the first suggestion for accuracy of diagnosis in medicine and the first hint for the introduction of mathematical methods. That it should have come from a Cardinal of the fifteenth century shows how curiously mistaken have been our notions with regard to the attitude of churchmen towards science at this time. In the *Archives of Diagnosis*, a quarterly journal devoted to diagnostics exclusively (April, 1909) I called attention to this early suggestion which antedates by nearly two centuries Harvey's suggestion with regard to the counting of the pulse, though this latter is often said to be the first teaching leading to accuracy of information with regard to the pulse rate.

Cardinal Cusanus' place in the history of mathematics can be best appreciated from the attention given him by Cantor. The German historian of mathematics devotes a whole chapter of nearly twenty pages to this German ecclesiastic, for whom mathematics was only a hobby. His little treatise, "*De Mathematica Perfecta*," dedicated to Cardinal Antonius, one of his intimate friends, is said in the dedication to have been written in the course of two days while he was confined to the house by a sore foot. To practically everything that



he touched Cardinal Cusanus brought illumination. He was never satisfied to think as others did merely because others thought so unless he had good reasons therefor. That a man of this kind should have been the specially selected Legate of the Pope for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses in Germany in the second half of the fifteenth century shows how seriously the question of the eradication of evils was taken long before the reformation so-called.

Cardinal Nicholas, of Cusa, was the first to study the cycloid, that is, the curve generated by a point in the circumference, or on the radius of a circle when the circle is rolled along a straight line and kept always in the same plane. This is familiarly represented by the imaginary line described by a point on the circumference of a wheel as the wheel moves on. The study of it originally was suggested, it is said, to Cardinal Nicholas in the course of one of his journeys by carriage during his travel when his active mind required some occupation and this occurred to him. The curve was next studied by Charles de Bouvelles, who rejoices in many variants of this name, but who was born in Picardy in 1470 and died in 1532. He was the canon of Noyon in Picardy and was almost as distinguished as an ecclesiastic as he was as a mathematician. One of his immediate contemporaries was Father Ciruelo, who was canon of the Cathedral of Salamanca. He taught at Alcalá and at Salamanca and was for many years a professor of theology, though all the time distinguished for his successful studies in mathematics. At the University of Alcalá while teaching theology he gave a course on the four liberal arts of mathematics.

The greatest mathematician of the fifteenth century occupies a prominent place in my second volume of "Catholic Churchmen in Science" (the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1909) for the work that he did in astronomy. It is Regiomontanus, who is sometimes spoken of as the father of modern astronomy and whose calendars were of so much assistance to Columbus and the Portuguese and Spanish navigators of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here I need only add that Regiomontanus has a distinguished place in the history of mathematics for his introduction of the tangent as an element in analytical geometry. Cantor, in his "History of Mathematics," already quoted, ranks him as one of the great contributors to mathematical science. For us here it is of interest to know that because of his knowledge of mathematics he was invited down to Rome to correct the calendar following the suggestion of his great contemporary, Cardinal Nicholas, of Cusa, and though he died at the early age of forty, his end did not come before the Pope had expressed his recognition of his scholarship by making him Bishop of Ratisbon.

Cantor, in his "History of Mathematics" already referred to, devotes a long chapter of his second volume, some 40 octavo pages altogether, to Regiomontanus' work. The conclusion of it is as follows: "We have in Regiomontanus sketched the work of a mathematician of the first rank, the equal in genius of Leonardo of Pisa, of Jordanus Nemorarius or of Oresme, to mention only the three names which have the highest rank in this volume. First of all the Western workers in mathematics, Regiomontanus gave a perfection to applied trigonometry which was destined to have no further improvement until well on in the eighteenth century (that is, this man of thirty-five dominated higher mathematics for three centuries in Europe), and admitted of no different system of treatment to that which he had introduced. While he was at once an acute geometrician, a skilled algebraist, a very genius for the theory of numbers, he showed in all these departments that he stood at the very summit of his time, and had it been permitted to him to contribute more than brief monographs to the subject, had he found, as he hoped, the leisure to occupy himself with still further depths of mathematics, it cannot be determined how important might have been the discoveries that he would have made, yet with all this we must not forget that only a small part of his time was devoted to mathematics, much of it being given to astronomy and to classical studies, in which he was eminently successful."

Regiomontanus was the great mathematical teacher of Europe for the next two centuries, and one of the living proofs of how much the Renaissance was interested in science as well as in art and literature. We are only too prone to think that science was neglected at this time or occupied very little attention, but this false impression is entirely due to the fact that while so much attention has been given to the history of art and of literature, very little has been paid to the history of science in this period. Regiomontanus had the Renaissance idea of not specializing too narrowly, and he is one of the great Greek scholars of his time as well as its greatest mathematician. He lectured for a time at Vienna, and some of these lectures written out have been preserved. From them Cantor concludes that he must have known very well (*genau*) Euclid Archimedes, Apollonius, Hysicles, Menelaus, Theodosius, Eutokius. This list shows that those interested in science during the Renaissance were as careful in searching out old scientific texts as were the rival scholars who were occupied with pure classic literature.

Another great mathematician of the fifteenth century was Regiomontanus' teacher, George of Peurbach, who was even less fortunate in the length of life allotted him than his great pupil, for he was carried off in the midst of wonderful success as a teacher of mathe-

matics at the early age of thirty-eight. As in the case of Copernicus, at the end of the century we are not sure about Peurbach's relation to the Church, though at this time all of the great teachers at the universities belonged to the clerical order, to the extent at least of having taken minor orders. The interest of the time in mathematics and astronomy can be judged from the welcome extended to Peurbach in so many places. He delivered astronomical lectures at Ferrara, at Bologna, at Padua, all of them founded on mathematics, and then became the professor of astronomy at the University of Vienna. He calculated new tables of the planets and made a new list of the fixed stars. His great contribution to mathematics was the compilation of a table of sines, taking 60-10 for unity or the length of the radius, and thus prepared the way for decimal fractions. This table was not quite completed when he died, and Regiomontanus, who had been his favorite pupil and who owed to him the inspiration of his mathematical genius, completed it.

During the last few months, while Halley's comet has been swinging into vision again, the newspapers, the magazines and occasionally even certain scientific periodicals have talked about the bull against that comet supposed to have been issued by Pope Calixtus III. in 1456. Of course, there is no such bull, and its non-existence has been pointed out over and over again, but that makes no difference. How much more interesting it would be if all these sources of information or presumed information for the masses would point out the really fine work in mathematics and astronomy that was accomplished at this time in Italy in the ecclesiastically ruled universities and by men who were closely in touch with the Popes and received high preferment from them. The names that we have just mentioned would furnish an excellent list. They are, however, only the great leaders, and there were very many students and disciples whose names are known, though their fame has not attained the height of their masters. There probably never was a more distinguished group of men in these two sciences than came just about this time. Regiomontanus, who introduced the use of the tangent and the regular publication of astronomical data; Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, who did so much for arithmetic and other forms of applied mathematics and whose astronomical ideas were so clear; St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, a special friend of the Popes of this period, whose theory of comets anticipated astronomical ideas for several centuries, are but types.

The careers of these men show very clearly what was the attitude of the Church towards science at this time. One must know something about the history of science, however, in order to appreciate this properly. It is much easier to take what is supposed to be a

characteristic incident the publication of a bull against the comet as representing the attitude of the Church and then to assume that this sums up the whole situation. This is the way that the history of Church and science has been written in the past. Needless to say, it has been accepted only because even men who are supposed to be scholars have been ignorant of realities. The development of science is supposed to have been delayed until quite modern times. As a matter of fact, in the Renaissance period there was as great a reawakening or rebirth of interest in science as there was in art and literature. This rebirth came about in the same way. Great scholars studied the mathematics of the Greeks and then went on and developed the ideas of their masters, making significant progress. This progress is more to be noted in mathematics than in anything else, because mathematics is the fundamental subject in science. Any real advance in genuine science is based upon mathematics. That fact alone would show the serious character of the devotion to science in the Renaissance period. That that devotion should have been most notable among the ecclesiastics of the time is only what might be expected, for they were the scholars and the men of leisure. It is rather amusing, however, to have men who ought to know better talk about the mythical bull against Halley's comet as typical of the time and of the churchmen of the period when it is so easy to reconstruct the picture of the scientific life of the Renaissance and to see at once how absurd is the story of any such Papal bull just as soon as it is appreciated what sort of men the Popes took on themselves to honor by Church preferment at this time.

The impetus given by Regiomontanus to mathematics in Nuremberg continued to be felt there for nearly a century after his death. Nuremberg was the centre of humanistic influence in Germany, and art and literature was cultivated assiduously. The famous Pirkheimer family were patrons of art and letters and Albrecht Dürer's influence made itself felt. Probably the best evidence that we have that the Renaissance was not confined to art and letters, but led to the cultivation also of the sciences, is to be found in the interest devoted to mathematics and astronomy in Nuremberg. This dual set of interests has been well chronicled side by side by Johann Gabriel Doppelmeier in his "Historic Review of the Nuremberg Mathematicians and Artists."<sup>8</sup> Bilibald Pirkheimer was especially interested in mathematics and gathered round him all those with similar tastes. In his house were to be found what was a fine collection of mathematical books for that time. He had Euclid and Archimedes in Greek and many of the books collected by Regiomontanus and by Walther.

<sup>8</sup> "Historische Nachricht von den Nurnbergischen Mathematiks und Kuntzlern Nürnberg, 1730."

Probably the most distinguished mathematician of Nuremberg after Regiomontanus was Johann Werner, born in 1468, a few years after the death of Regiomontanus. After receiving his preliminary education in Nuremberg and studying theology there he was ordained priest, and then spent the five years between 1493 and 1498 in Rome while Pope Alexander VI. reigned. After his return to Nuremberg he became pastor of St. John's Church and continued there until his death in 1528. He became famous in his time for his work in mathematics and geometry, and continued the tradition of distinction in these subjects which had attracted the world's attention to Nuremberg in Regiomontanus' time. Many of his calculations and maps are said to have been of great assistance to the Spanish and Portuguese navigators of this time. This is all the more surprising, for Nuremberg was well up in the centre of Europe, its inhabitants caught none of the romance of the sea at all, yet the mathematical basis for great discoveries at sea was laid more in this south German town than in any other part of Europe.

One of the greatest successors of Regiomontanus was Luca Paciolo, whose famous book, "*Summa de Arithmetica Geometria Poportione et Proportionalita*," ran through many editions and was considered one of the standard works on mathematics for several centuries. He is better known, perhaps, by the name which he assumed when he became a member of the Franciscans—Fra Luca Di Borgo Sancti Sepulchri. He wandered in many cities of Italy, teaching everywhere and having the advantage of intercourse with the brightest minds of this wonderful Renaissance time. He taught at Perugia for a while in the Franciscan country and then later at Rome, at Naples, at Venice, at Milan, at Florence and in Bologna. In his autobiography he said very naively: "Since we, though unworthy, have donned the garb of the seraphic St. Francis it has happened to us to wander through many lands." His expression tells us at once his veneration for the saintly founder of his order, while it also makes clear his own obedience, for it was because he was sent from place to place to teach under the auspices of his order that he was thus a wanderer. Cantor, who devotes some thirty-five pages altogether to the career and work of Fra Luca Di Borgo, says that this frequent change of professors was what gave the Renaissance schools their power to instruct. There could be no possibility of routine and dry rot in institutions that every year saw the coming of professors from other institutions and the departure of some of the older ones. We have come again to recognize the value of this interchange of professors between schools even from country to country, but it was a matter of course during the Renaissance time. As a matter of fact, the orders, however, were largely responsible for

it, for they were accustomed as a rule not to allow their men to remain more than a few years in one place, but shifted them frequently in order that all of their institutions might have the advantage of the incentive and the inspiration of the presence of particularly successful teachers.

During his wanderings Brother Luca met and became an intimate friend of Leonardo Da Vinci at Milan. Leonardo was, as is well known, deeply interested not only in art, but, with the true Renaissance spirit, also in literature and in the physical sciences and in mathematics. Some of his contributions to mathematics are of great value. He had a deep admiration for Fra Luca and corresponded with him after his departure for Milan. Besides his "Summa," as his great work in mathematics was known, Fra Luca wrote a monograph on the game of chess, which has been lost.

While Fra Luca was at Bologna, Novara was at that university teaching astronomy. Like all the other astronomers, especially at this time, Novara was almost as distinguished in mathematics as in his favorite science. Among his pupils at this time was Copernicus, who had come down from Cracow in order to study astronomy and mathematics in the University of Bologna. While in Italy Copernicus also studied medicine. He was not the only one of the physicians of that time who were great in mathematics. This distinguished group at Bologna, however, points out two very interesting conclusions that are usually not realized in the history of education. One of these is the Renaissance interest in science which we are emphasizing here because it has not always been given its due place, and the other is the spirit of scientific inquiry which characterized the Italian university at this time and which tempted students from all over the world. Astronomy, mathematics and medicine, that is, all the sciences related to medicine, were the favorite sciences of those days. These were cultivated in the ecclesiastically ruled universities of Italy better than anywhere else. Copernicus came from Poland, Linacre from England and a little later Vexalius from Belgium, all in order to study science in Italy, though all the while the Church is said to have been opposed to scientific investigation and teaching.

One of the most eminent mathematicians of the seventeenth century was Gassendi, who in 1645, at the invitation of the Archbishop of Lyons, brother of Cardinal Richelieu, was invited to the chair of mathematics in the College Royal at Paris. Gassendi added practically nothing to our previous knowledge of mathematics, but he deserves an honorable place in the history of this and of the physical sciences for his influence in the diffusion of ideas on these subjects, and because his attractive style tempted many people to a consideration of mathematical and physical problems who would have otherwise

been deterred from studies. Gibbon, the historian, said of him that "he was the best philosopher of the litterateurs and the best litterateur among the philosophers." To a great extent he made the discussion of mathematical and physical problems fashionable in Paris, and thus did much for the diffusion of scientific thought. We owe to him a series of biographies of distinguished scientists that are still well worth the reading. Among them are lives of Tycho-Brahe, Copernicus, Peurbach and Regiomontanus. It is his biographical writings particularly that attracted Gibbon's attention, for they abound in personal and anecdotal details that show the men as they were.

An even greater mathematician so far as original genius for mathematical investigation is concerned, though less well known than Gassendi, was Father Mersenne, a Franciscan, who was born at Maine, in France, September 8, 1588, and died at Paris, 1648. Like Gassendi he was also distinguished as a philosopher and as a theologian. He was an intimate friend of Descartes and was looked upon as one of the great thinkers of France in his time. He discovered the laws of the vibrations of strings and showed that the time of vibration depended upon the length, tension and density of the string. This time, according to the formula that he evolved, varied directly as the length and as the square root of the density and inversely as the square root of the tension. He is considered to be one of the very important contributors to mathematics. Later in this same century came Father John Baptiste Duhamel, a member of the Congregation of the Oratory, a great mathematician. He is one of a series of Frenchmen by this name who did distinguished work in science, the latter of whom, John Marie Constant Duhamel, died in 1872.

There were many other clergymen who did excellent work in mathematics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most important of them was the Abbé Haüy, whose work in crystallography was, of course, mainly the result of his careful study of the angles of crystals and the application of mathematical principles to them. A sketch of his life, giving some details of his discoveries in crystallography, is in the first volume of "Catholic Churchmen in Science" (the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1906). Other clergymen who reached distinction in mathematics at this time were the Abbé Mascheroni, the Abbé Marie, Canon Sluze of Liege, though there were others of less distinction who might be mentioned.

During the centuries after the foundation of the Jesuits, however, the most distinguished clerical students of science in all its branches were to be found in that order which absorbed to a great degree the intellects of Europe that felt themselves called to a life of teaching in

a religious order. There are at least a dozen distinguished mathematicians among the Jesuits during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose careers under the circumstances make it very clear that mathematics does not influence faith and faith does not disturb mathematics and the Church does not hamper the work of mathematicians nor do mathematicians find the atmosphere of religious orders unsuited to their labors.

The first of the great Jesuit mathematicians was Clavius, who corrected the calendar for Pope Gregory XIII. The Jesuits were always primarily teachers. Clavius' greatest work in mathematics, then, it is not surprising to find, was a great edition of "Euclid." This work was done so well that he came to be called "the Euclid of the sixteenth century," and his work acquired a universal reputation. Cantor says that a title and a reputation were never better deserved than those of Clavius. He gathered together all the annotations that had ever been made on Euclid, sifted them so as to leave only those which were of value, added many notes and explanations of his own and published as a consequence the text-book that for several centuries was the most used volume throughout Europe. Its almost universal employment may be appreciated from the fact that it went through some fourteen editions. Cantor especially emphasizes that Clavius faced all the difficulties candidly and as far as possible solved them lucidly. His correction of the calendar brought him into a bitter controversy, but he was well able to answer his opponents, and his calendar has in the course of the centuries proved its own justification.

A great contemporary among the Jesuits of Clavius was Father Paul Gulden, who was born in 1577 in South Germany, and died in 1643. In spite of the strenuous opposition of his parents, who were Protestants, he became a convert and then entered the Jesuit novitiate. After his ordination he came to be looked upon as one of the most distinguished professors of mathematics in the order. He wrote four volumes of *centrobaryca*, that is, of discussions on the determination of the centre of gravity. In the course of these he established new rules for the determination of the centre of gravity, in which he corrected the work of Kepler and Cavalieri.

All the astronomers among the Jesuits were well versed in mathematics, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as I showed in my "Catholic Churchmen in Science," second series (the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1909), they were the most important group of contributors to astronomy. Such men as Riccioli, whose "*Almagestum Novum*" is well known; Father Scheiner and Cysatus, who worked on sun spots and comets; Father Boscovitch, whose measurements of a terrestrial arc set him in the forefront of mathe-



mathematical geographers, and Father Maximilian Hell, whose "Ephemerides" was a standard work for the consultation of astronomers in the eighteenth century, were all of them important contributors to mathematics. In the refounded society during the nineteenth century this tradition of devotion to astronomy and mathematics has been continued. Father Secchi, who is distinguished as a mathematician as well as an astronomer; Father Perry, the English Jesuit, to whom the English Government entrusted several astronomical expeditions, was another; Father Hagen, formerly of Georgetown, D. C., but now the director of the Vatican observatory, called there by Pope Pius X., is well known in the mathematical world for his "Synopsis of the Higher Mathematics," in four quarto volumes.

It would seem, then, that the impression that mathematics or the mathematical faculty is in any way opposed to faith or to the acceptance of the mysteries of religion is quite as unfounded as the impression that would proclaim faith and science as incompatible. Distinguished mathematicians in all ages have been devout believers. Catholic clergymen in every century since the dawn of mathematics in modern time have been distinguished contributors to this branch of science, and a number of them are among the greatest mathematicians who ever lived. It is the old story of an assumption contradicting the facts of history when these facts have not been thoroughly collected. In his sketch of Euler, the great German mathematician of the nineteenth century, Cantor said of him: "Like most of the great mathematicians, Euler was a deeply religious man without any bigotry. He himself led every evening the household devotions of his family, and one of the only polemical writings that he published was his 'Defense of Revelation Against the Objections of Free Thinkers,' the publication of which in 1847, in the immediate neighborhood of the court of Frederick the Great, required an amount of moral courage that would enable the writer to feel himself above the attacks of mere scoffers."

Cantor's expression that "Euler, like most of the great mathematicians, was a deeply religious man" ought absolutely to settle the question of the relations of mathematics and faith for all time. Surely if any one in our time knew the lives of the great mathematicians, it was this learned German special historian, whose work, so frequently borrowed from in this article, is admitted to be the most important authority we have in the history of mathematics. Whatever a priori reasoning may seem to suggest as regards the skeptical tendencies of mathematics, this is not illustrated in the lives of the great mathematicians of the last ten centuries. Many of the minor mathematicians have been led astray from religious faith, apparently by their prejudice in favor of absolute and exact knowl-

edge, but this is not true for the greatest mathematical minds. What is thus true in mathematics is true in all the sciences. The greatest minds, knowing their own limitations very well, have no difficulty in bowing their heads to religious mysteries. The smaller minds become so occupied with the amount of mathematics or science that comes to them that they have no room for the truths of faith. It is the question of the container, not the contents. The smaller intellectual vessels cannot hold two large sets of truths. They are more interested in mathematics than faith, so faith slips out of them. The really great minds, far from finding mathematics or science a hindrance to faith, have their faith deepened and strengthened by every advance that they make in genuine science.

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## ANCIENT SCOTTISH HOSPITALS.

**C**HARITABLE institutions for the benefit of suffering humanity are the offspring of faith. Our Lord declared to His first followers: "By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another." It was the manifestation of this love which led to the foundation in every Christian country of so many institutes of mercy for the relief of needy members of the great family of God. To love all, to pray for all, to sacrifice self for all was to be the aim of the perfect follower of Christ. The practice of the works of mercy—the outcome of such a spirit—was encouraged by the generous promise made by Christ Himself of a special reward at the last day: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you. . . . For I was hungry and you gave me to eat: . . . I was a stranger, and you took me in: naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me. . . . Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."

It is not strange, then, that Christianity, from the very first, offered a striking contrast to heathenism in the fostering of institutions which should enable man to imitate more closely his divine model and render salvation more secure by the practice of charity towards his suffering brethren. As soon as the Church was free from persecution houses began to be set apart for the care of the sick and shelter of the needy. St. Chrysostom and St. Basil in the East, St. Paulinus of Nola in the West are some of the bright examples of the early ages in this respect. Later on Councils of the

Church by special legislation bound Bishops to provide such refuges out of the funds of their churches. When rich laymen imitated their example at their own private cost the ecclesiastical authorities had always the supervision of the institutions so founded; thus a Christian character was secured for them which was maintained for centuries.

The very title—"Hospital"—by which these charitable institutions were known expressed the spirit which had led to their foundation. For the name, derived from the Latin, signified a place in which guests (*hospites*) were entertained as representatives of Christ. Whether the building had been set apart for the sick or intended as a shelter for travelers, or permanent home for the aged and indigent—the same title, "Hospital," distinguished it.

It is the aim of this paper to inquire into the institutes of this kind which existed in Scotland in former ages. For Scotland, like every other Christian country, could boast of many such. There is evidence of the existence of about ninety at the period of the Reformation, though it is exceedingly probable that they were greatly in excess of that number, since, even in the case of many hospitals, nothing is known except the fact—testified sometimes by the mere place-name or a casual mention in some old deed—that such an institution did once flourish in a certain spot. But even supposing ninety to have been the total number, it was quite a respectable average for a country whose population is computed to have been about 500,000 in all at the end of the fifteenth century. At the present day one huge city, Glasgow, numbers far more inhabitants.

It is sad to have to record the fact that when what is styled by its admirers the "Reformation in Religion" took place in Scotland, the promoters of the movement were so determined to sweep away, if possible, every vestige of the ancient faith, that even many charitable institutions were suppressed and their revenues seized by spoilers. In too many cases the very buildings belonging to such charities were wrecked and ruined. To the shame of the sacrilegious robbers be it confessed, that no attempt was made for a long period to replace the heritage thus fraudulently snatched from the poor and suffering. "The ancient Church," says a Protestant writer, "was honorably distinguished by its charity towards the poor, and more especially towards the diseased poor; and it was a dreary interval of nearly two centuries which intervened between the extinction of its lazar-houses and leper-houses and the time when merely a civilized humanity dictated the establishment of a regulated means of succor for the sickness-stricken of the humbler classes."<sup>1</sup>

The expression "merely a civilized humanity" in the above extract

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers, "Domestic Annals," Vol. III., p. 557.

is worthy of comment. It distinguishes accurately the motives which animated Protestant benefactions of the kind under discussion, from the spirit of faith which gave rise to the ancient Catholic foundations. Not that "humanity" was wanting in the latter; but it was a humanity which sprang from the supernatural love of one's kind which the Gospel inculcates, and not a mere sentimental feeling of pity. The old founders acted from the highest motives. Their faith showed them the person of Christ in His suffering members, and they gave their goods to Him rather than to the poor. The old Knights Hospitallers, who devoted themselves so untiringly to the care of the sick during the Crusades, styled themselves "the servants of our masters the poor of Christ." Poverty and sickness were the only credentials necessary to gain admission into their houses, and, once within those walls, a sick man was denied nothing that he asked for, if it could by any possibility be procured. The same spirit animated the founders of a later age and of other lands. The honor of serving Christ in His poor, and of thus winning from Him the promised reward at the last day, weighed more with them than mere human pity, and produced far more striking examples of self-denying charity than was possible to the latter.

But we might say more. Whence springs the feeling that men so glibly style "humanitarianism?" It is not inherent in human nature, for the ancients, even those most highly civilized, despised it. "The number of poor in Rome in the days of Augustus," says Cardinal Gibbons, "exceeded half a million in a population of about two millions of inhabitants. And yet there is no instance recorded in the history of Rome of any asylum for the poor or hospital for the sick having ever been founded, either by the bounty of the State or by private munificence. The same utter disregard for the indigent and afflicted prevailed in Greece and in every ancient nation with which we are acquainted. . . . Even the gentle Virgil includes among the features of the wise man's happiness his apathy for the indigence of others."<sup>2</sup> Christianity was the first teacher of mercy to suffering humanity, and whatever practices of charity may distinguish the imperfect Christianity of these days, which calls itself Protestant, they are but vestiges of the more Christlike charity of Catholic ages.

#### DIFFERENT CLASSES OF HOSPITALS.

Before giving a list of the Scottish hospitals, it will be well to distinguish between the various purposes for which they were established. There were four classes of such institutions, though all were comprised under the one designation, "Hospital." The greater

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<sup>2</sup> "Our Christian Heritage," pp. 376-377.

number were intended as houses for the treatment of the sick and diseased. Of these there were two kinds: (1) hospitals for ordinary complaints; (2) those for the harboring and treatment of lepers. But besides these were many institutions which we should call in these days "almshouses;" for they were intended to provide a home for the poor who were no longer able to labor for their livelihood. A fourth class consisted of houses where wayfarers, especially pilgrims to some sacred shrine, might obtain rest and refreshment on their journey free of cost.

In the following table all hospitals which can be traced with any degree of certainty as once existing in Scotland are enumerated under the various counties. The appended letters—A, L or T—stand respectively for Almshouse, Leper-hospital and Travelers' Rest. The institutions named without any such distinction were probably intended mainly for the sick; it must be borne in mind, however, that many hospitals served more than one purpose. A word of explanation is necessary, also, as to the impossibility of furnishing an entirely accurate list. Owing to the changes that have occurred in the names of places and the re-division of parishes, in the course of centuries, the same institution is occasionally mentioned by writers on the subject under more than one designation. Wherever this error has been clearly ascertained, one name only has been given. A few localities are now difficult of identification; such as these have been placed in an appendix. Above all, it has to be borne in mind that some institutions of the kind, and possibly many, have become entirely lost sight of in the course of ages.<sup>3</sup>

#### TABLE OF SCOTTISH HOSPITALS.

Aberdeenshire.—Aberdeen: (1) *St. Thomas the Martyr*; (2) *St. Peter*; (3) *St. Anne* (L); (4) *Bishop Dunbar's Hospital* (A). Kincardine O'Neil.

Ayrshire.—Doonslee; Kingcase (L).

Banffshire.—Banff (A); Rathven (L); Turriff (A).

Berwickshire.—Aldcambus (L); Berwick: (1) *St. Mary*; (2) "*Domus Dei*;" (3) *St. Mary Magdalene*; Dunse; Horndean (A); Hutton; Lauder (A); Legerwood (L); Strafountain in Lammermoor.

Dumfries-Shire.—Dumfries: (1) "*Spital*;" (2) *Annan Bank* ("*How-Spital*"); Holywood; Sanquhar; Trailtrow.

Dumbartonshire.—Dumbarton (A).

Fifeshire.—Aberdour: (1) *S. S. Mary and Martha* (T); (2) *Countess of Moray's Hospital* (A); Ardrross; Newburgh; St. Andrews (T).

<sup>3</sup> A drawing of the interior may be found in Parker's "Introduction to Gothic Architecture," p. 233.

Forfarshire.—Arbroath ("Spital Field"); Balgarnies; Brechin.  
Haddingtonshire.—Ballencrieff (Aberlady Parish); Gosford;  
Haddington: (1) *St. Mary*; (2) *St. Laurence*; Houseton; Seton;  
Soutra (T).

Kirkcudbrightshire.—Lincluden (A); Kirkmabreck.

Lanarkshire.—Cambuslang; Glasgow: (1) *St. Ninian* (L); (2) *St. Nicholas* (A); (3) "*Stable Green Port*" (A and T); Hamilton;  
Lanark; Polmadie (A); Shoots (A); Stonehouse; Torrance.

Linlithgowshire.—Linlithgow (T).

Mid-Lothian.—Edinburgh: (1) "*Maison Dieu*" (A); (2) *Bell's Wynd*; (3) *St. Mary's Wynd* (A); (4) *Our Lady in Leith Wynd* (A); (5) *St. Thomas* (A); (6) *St. Paul*; (7) *St. Leonard* (A and T); (8) *Holy Trinity* (A); Dalkeith: (1) *Hospital* (A); (2) *Bal-lantyne's Hospital*, on the road to Edinburgh (A); Hermiston (Currie Parish); Leith; Liberton (L).

Morayshire.—Bridge of Spey (T); Elgin.

Peeblesshire.—Linton; Peebles.

Perthshire.—Perth: (1) *St. Leonard*; (2) *St. Paul*; (3) *St. Catherine*.

Renfrewshire.—Crockston, near Neilston.

Roxburghshire.—Cavers; Ednam; Hassendean (T); Jedburgh (T); Maxwell; Monteviot; Nisbet; Old Roxburgh (A and T); Rutherford; Smailholm.

Shetland.—Lerwick (L); Papa Stour (L).

Stirlingshire.—Stirling: (1) *St. James* (L); (2) *Spital's Almshouse* (A).

Wigtonshire.—Stoneykirk.

(Localities unknown.)—Portingcraig; Sugden; Kingussie, near Ayr (possibly a misreading for Kingcase); Lesvarde (probably Lasswade, Midlothian).

#### HOSPITALS FOR THE SICK.

Some particulars may now be given concerning particular institutions, where information is extant. With regard to the arrangement of buildings for sick hospitals, we are able to gain some idea by the remains still to be seen in England. For the Reformation there was of a different kind; ecclesiastical institutions were not wholly devastated, as was generally the case in Scotland; ancient churches and chapels were merely appropriated to the new system, which only gradually developed into Protestantism pure and simple. So that although many ancient institutions eventually perished, many others still remain to this day.

St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, had a common room resembling the nave of a church, with recesses, like aisles, for the beds of the

patients, and a chapel screened off at the eastern end, after the fashion of a chancel. The Garrison Church at Portsmouth, once a hospital, is built on this plan. At the celebration of Mass the screen which shut off the chancel would be sufficiently opened to enable the sick people to follow the Holy Sacrifice. The graceful Gothic fabric of the Hospital of St. John, Angers, built by the English King Henry II. as Lord of Anjou, in 1184, is an example of the splendid church-like buildings erected out of Christian charity in the ages of faith.<sup>4</sup>

The management of every hospital was in the hands of a rector, or master, who was almost always an ecclesiastic. Frequently he filled the office of chaplain also; otherwise a special priest was maintained for the spiritual care of the sick. The staff comprised attendants; in some case women nurses were provided.

Aberdeen.—It is probable that two of the hospitals in the city were devoted to the care of the sick; these were dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr and St. Peter, respectively. No particulars as to the history of the former can be ascertained. It would appear to have been founded at the period when devotion to the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, stimulated by the miracles which had testified to his sanctity and which led to his canonization three years after his death, was rapidly spreading throughout the Church. Arbroath Abbey, founded by King William the Lion, who had known the martyr personally, was one of the first dedications to St. Thomas, and dated from the fifth year of his canonization, which took place in 1173. St. Peter's was founded by Bishop Matthew Kyninmond, who filled the See of Aberdeen from 1172 to 1199, and its charter expressly states its designation. The repose of the soul of King William is mentioned as one of the motives which urged the founder to this work of charity. The hospital was situated in the quarter at the south end of the city, still called "Spital" from that circumstance. Some of the endowments granted by the founder for its sustentation, since they had been misappropriated in later years, were withdrawn by succeeding Bishops. In 1307 Bishop Cheyne diverted some of the property to the support of two chaplains, who were bound to celebrate in the Cathedral daily and on Sundays by turn in St. Peter's chapel. What was called the "town of Spital" was left as endowment. In 1527 Bishop Henry Lychtoun seems to have withdrawn the remaining endowments, and his action received sanction from Pope Eugenius IV. a few years later. St. Peter's Cemetery, lying between Old and New Aberdeen, marks the site of this hospital. It is still used as a burying place.

<sup>4</sup> The chief authorities relied upon for historical information are Chalmers, "Caledonia;" "Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff" (Spalding Club); Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland."

Doonslee.—A chapel and hospital dedicated to St. Leonard stood not far from the river Doon, in Ayrshire. Nothing survives of its history except the fact that the master, who was also chaplain, was appointed by the Crown, as the Registry of the Privy Seal testifies (1506-1548). The ruins were still to be seen in the reign of Charles I., when Pont made his map of the district. It is worthy of note that St. Leonard, as will be seen, was a favorite patron of hospitals in general. The saint lived as a hermit in France in the sixth century and was particularly devoted to the liberation of captives, some of whom he is said to have miraculously delivered from prison by his prayers. Sickness may be deemed a species of captivity, as it detains the afflicted from taking part in the ordinary life of the world. This may account for the choice of St. Leonard as the patron of hospitals. Or it may be that the marked devotion to him, existing both in France and England in the Middle Ages, on account of the many miracles attributed to his intercession, was the real reason.

Berwick.—The hospital known as “*Domus Dei*” was founded by Philip de Rydal before the fourteenth century; for William of Roxburgh, who was master in 1332, granted a charter in that year to the monks of Newbattle. The beautiful title—signifying God’s house—appears frequently in relation with such institutions. Sometimes the French form—*Maison Dieu*, or *Hotel de Dieu*—is used. St. Mary’s Hospital, in the same town, has few historic remains. Berwick and the surrounding country were frequently visited by English armies during the conflict for English supremacy in Scotland under the Edwards. When Berwick became English the sovereign assumed the patronage of its hospitals. Robert de Burton, who was a kind of agent for the English in the south of Scotland, obtained in recognition of his services several grants of money as well as the government of this hospital in 1340. Another in the county, at Ednam, fell to him also, and the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, outside the town walls, was given into his charge in 1354. The founder of this latter is unknown. The master swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, and thus secured the holding of his office and emoluments.

Hutton.—St. John’s Hospital is kept in mind by the title “Spital” still applied to private property there. The guardian in 1296 imitated the servile example of so many others in his position, and took the oath of allegiance to the English King in order to retain his office.

Strafontain.—The hospital founded in the reign of David I., by an unknown benefactor, was given to the monks of Dryburgh in 1437. Its old graveyard and the ruins of a chapel were still to be seen about a century ago.



Dumfries.—The names of "Spital," on the south of the town, and "How-Spital" and "Spital-Ridding," still borne by a hamlet and village respectively, near the bank of the Annan, are the only traces remaining of the two hospitals which once flourished there.

Haddington.—To pass over the several unimportant hospitals in the county, the town itself possessed two. St. Mary's stood within the walls; St. Laurence was the patron of another near the town, and has given the name to a hamlet upon its site. Haddington was rich in ecclesiastical buildings. Besides the parish Church of St. Mary, there were chapels dedicated to St. Laurence, St. Catherine, St. Martin, St. Kentigern and St. John—the latter belonging to the order of knights of that name. A Protestant writer thus sarcastically comments upon the fact, conveying a well-merited rebuke to certain of his co-religionists: "All those chapels were founded by the piety of ages which have been long considered as superstitious by those who do less and talk more."<sup>8</sup>

Lanark.—The hospital of St. Leonard stood about half a mile east of the town. It was founded either in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) or under Robert I., in a later century. A chapel was attached to it, and the endowment was furnished by lands called by the name of the patron saint and by others near Carluke called "Spital Fields." In 1393 Robert III. granted the hospital and its revenues to Sir John de Dalrymple and his heirs, on condition that three Masses be said weekly forever for the King, his wife, Queen Annabella, their children, ancestors and successors. Just before the Reformation the master, John Hamilton, was deposed as incapable of holding the chaplaincy, he having married a wife. He had evidently become a convert to the new religion. In 1792 the ruins of the hospital might still be seen. Its revenues were applied for the benefit of the poor, after the Reformation—a procedure by no means common.

Other hospitals in the same county have no history. Torrance, dedicated to St. Leonard, existing in the thirteenth century, was entirely swept away at the Reformation and not a vestige remains. Cambuslang is remembered by the "Lands of Spital" and "Spital Mill," once forming part of its property.

Edinburgh.—This city was rich in hospitals. Most of these will fall under another class of institution, although it is probable that some of them, in addition to housing the poor, took care of the sick. In Bell's Wynd was a Maison Dieu, whose founder is unknown, and no particulars remain as to its history. St. Paul's Hospital and chapel attached appear in a document of the date of 1495, but of the history of the institution nothing is known.

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<sup>8</sup> Chalmers, "Caledonia," Vol. II., p. 514 (original edition).

Leith.—The hospital and chapel of St. Nicholas gave the name to St. Nicholas' Wynd in this town.

Peebles.—About two miles from the town stood a hospital for the sick and indigent, dedicated to St. Leonard. Its site is indicated by the name "Chapel Yards," still in use.

Crookston.—The only hospital which can be traced in the county of Renfrew was one which stood on the west side of the Levern Water, not far from Neilston. Its founder was Robert de Croc, a vassal of the Steward of Scotland, who had settled near Neilston at a place which eventually became called after him, "Croc's-toun"—afterwards modified to Crukstown and Crookston. In 1180 this Robert obtained leave from the Abbot of Paisley, in whose jurisdiction the locality was, for a chaplain to perform divine service in the chapel lately founded by him in connection with the hospital for the sick on his estate. Permission was granted saving the rights of the Mother Church of Paisley; offerings were not to be taken, and the dead were to be carried to Paisley for burial.<sup>6</sup>

There are many reasons which seem to identify this chapel with one bearing the name of St. Conall in the same neighborhood, whose revenues were later on attached to the collegiate church founded by the Sempills at Lochwinnoch. St. Conall's Chapel was situated on the left bank of the Levern, as was Croc's Hospital Chapel. St. Conall is identical with the Irish St. Conval, whose name, corrupted from Conual, appears as Connall in certain writings; he was patron of Eastwood (now Pollokshaws) and of Inchinnan and was probably the apostle of that district.

Old Roxburgh.—The Maison Dieu here, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, harbored pilgrims as well as the diseased and poor. It was endowed by David I. with the lands of Ravendene. A hamlet called Maison Dieu still marks its site. Nisbet, in the same county, had a hospital which is said to have belonged to the Knights of St. John at Ancrum, a village in the neighborhood. The old cemetery, called "Spital," was used for centuries by those "who love to lie among their progenitors," as one writer puts it. Other institutions of like kind in the county are identified now by the name "Spital." This is the case with Ednam (St. Leonard's), Monteviot, Cavers and Smailholm.

#### LEPER HOUSES.

The most terrible disease of mediæval Christendom was leprosy. It seems to have entered Western Europe with the Roman armies returning from the East in the century before the Christian era, and to have been carried to the various Roman colonies of Spain, Gaul and Britain. But it was through the constant intercourse with the

<sup>6</sup> "Registrum de Passelet" (Maitland Club), p. 77.

East, brought about by the Crusades, that leprosy became epidemic in Europe. In the ages when medical science was less accurate than now it is possible that many cases of simpler diseases of the skin were mistaken for leprosy. There is no doubt, however, that there were many persons in various parts of Europe afflicted by the actual malady still rife in some Eastern countries.

Hospitals for lepers began to be founded in Europe as early as the seventh century. By the thirteenth they are said to have numbered as many as 19,000. France alone had 2,000. The first hospital of the kind in Great Britain was probably that at Canterbury, which was in existence in the eleventh century. In form the buildings differed somewhat from those of ordinary hospitals for the sick. Separate cells were constructed round a quadrangle. There was a chapel and a common hall, a kitchen and a habitation for the attendants. The contagious nature of the disease led to the enforcing by law of strict isolation. Lepers were bound to wear a special costume, which consisted usually of a long gray gown, with a hood attached which could be drawn over the face. They were not permitted to enter inns, churches, mills or bakehouses; they were forbidden to touch any healthy person or to eat with such; they might not wash in streams or walk on narrow or frequented footpaths.

Some particulars may now be given regarding the more important of the Scottish institutions of the kind. With regard to many no information is extant beyond the mere fact of their existence. It will be necessary, therefore, to confine our remarks to the few which have some shreds of history remaining.

Kingcase.—At this place, situated on the coast of Kyle, and in the parish of Prestwick, not far from the town of Ayr, King Robert Bruce established a hospital for lepers which he dedicated to St. Ninian. The name has been variously written Kilcause, Kilcais, Kingcase, etc. Some etymologists seek to derive it from the Gaelic and interpret the meaning as "Retreat of the Plague." The hospital was endowed for the support of eight lepers, for whom a chaplain was appointed who filled the post of master also. The pious King may have been led to show his charity in this form by the fact that in the later years of his life he suffered from a disease which seems to have been a species of leprosy and which eventually caused his death. The chapel attached to this hospital was still standing in the reign of Charles I. With the disappearance of leprosy from Scotland, the institution assumed a different character, as was the case with others of the same nature; the revenues were applied to the support of a certain number of poor persons, who were lodged in little cottages near the original site. The ruins which remain show the chapel to have measured about 36 feet in length.

Rathven.—About 1224 a hospital for lepers was founded here by John Bisset, a member of a noble family of Norman origin, which settled in Scotland in the twelfth century. This John Bisset seems to have been a kinsman of the James Bisset who founded Beaulieu Priory in 1230; for he was one of the benefactors of that house. It is worthy of note that Manassar Bisset, who held office in the court of Henry II. of England, founded a leper hospital at Maiden Bradley in Wiltshire; he was probably belonging to another branch of the same family. The titular of the Rathven hospital, as of the parish, was St. Peter; for the parish extends for some distance along the Banffshire coast and is inhabited chiefly by a fishing population.

The foundation charter thus expresses the motives of the founder: "For reasons of charity, and for the benefit of the soul of my Lord, William, King of Scotland, and the welfare of my Lord, Alexander, our noble King, and for the good of the souls of my predecessors and successors, etc." The endowment provided for the support of seven leprous persons, with their chaplain and a servant. The right of presentation was reserved to the founder's family.

Like others of the same class, this hospital seems to have become changed in character when leprosy was no longer rife in the district in which it stood. In 1536 Bishop William Stewart approved of the increase of the number of poor persons then enjoying the benefit of the hospital funds from three to six. The bedesmen—a title which designated persons whose chief duty was to pray for others—were bound to recite daily in the church before midday "the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary," as the Rosary was then styled. Each evening two of them had to take turns to say the same prayers "on bended knees." Their official dress was a habit of white cloth, with a hood, "like that of Carthusians," to cover the head. The intention of these daily prayers is stated as the welfare of King James V., of the Bishop, of the rector of the hospital and of the parishioners of Rathven, and for the eternal rest of the faithful departed.

The institution survived the Reformation, and many allusions to it occur in the presbytery records. In 1624 there are grievous complaints of the ruinous state of the house and neglect of the bedesmen's alms. In 1634 it was reported that matters were still unsatisfactory, that the poor men were not supplied with habits according to the prescription of the foundation charter and were not subject to any order. Ten years later the bedesmen appeared in their habits and testified that they had received their dues. At the same time it was decreed that "a seat be erected for them in the kirk, that it may be known if any of them be absent." It was further enacted that no one should be admitted to the bedehouse in future who was unable to say the Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer. In 1675 the

bedesmen received a reprimand from the presbytery for unsatisfactory conduct. "The six poor men appearing before the brethren were exhorted to keep the house, not gadding abroad, to be devout, to keep the church, and for that end a seat was to be erected for them by themselves to have prayers morning and evening, and other duties, to all which they engaged themselves."

The building had fallen to ruins more than twenty years ago, though six poor persons of the parish continued to receive a share in the revenue of the ancient foundation.<sup>7</sup>

Glasgow.—Near the Gorbals end of the old Glasgow bridge, the predecessor of the present Victoria bridge, stood the leper hospital of St. Ninian, founded in the fourteenth century. Near it were a chapel and a cemetery. The Bishops of Glasgow had the right of presenting patients; indeed, according to certain authorities, the foundation was due to one of their number, as the law required them to provide a suitable place for the harboring of lepers. The chapel, if not first built by him, was at least restored about the end of the fifteenth century by Canon William Stewart. In addition to the existing revenue he endowed it with the rents of certain houses and lands to provide for the support of a chaplain to celebrate Mass there. He ordained that the lepers should assemble every evening at the sound of a bell to pray in the chapel for his soul after his death, as well as for the souls of other benefactors. On the anniversary of his death each year the chaplain was bound to assemble in the chapel twenty-four poor scholars skilled in singing, who should assist at his Requiem and should say afterwards the seven penitential psalms and a *De Profundis* for his soul's rest. For these services each scholar was to receive one penny and twelve pence were to be divided amongst lepers not belonging to the hospital.

The institution did not come to an end at the Reformation. In 1589 there were six patients. As late as 1610 an ordinance of the Town Council decreed: "It is enacted and ordained that the lepers of the hospital shall go only upon the causeway side near the gutter, and shall have clappers, and a cloth upon the mouth and face, and shall stand afar off, while they receive alms or answer, under the pain of banishing them the town and hospital."<sup>8</sup>

The name "St. Ninian's Croft," which clung to the district up to a century ago, recalled the site of this charitable institution. The chapel survived the hospital by more than a century. In 1798 it served as a parish school; upper stories, which had been constructed in the building, were utilized as a prison. In 1827 it was converted into dwelling houses and shops, but was entirely swept away in 1866.

<sup>7</sup> Cramond, "Church and Churchyard of Rathven" (Banff, 1885).

<sup>8</sup> "Origines Parochiales Scotia" (Bannatyne Club), Vol. I, p. 18.

A number of human bones which were discovered in the neighborhood many years ago were supposed to indicate the site of the former cemetery of this hospital.

Edinburgh.—There is no indication of the existence of a leper hospital in this city in Catholic ages. About two miles from the centre of Edinburgh stood the village of Liberton—now forming almost a part of the city. The name is said to indicate the situation of such an establishment, since it is interpreted to signify “Leper Town.” This is not improbable, as hospitals of this class were usually situated on the outskirts of a populous city.

After the Reformation the former Carmelite monastery in Greenside, within the city, which had been founded by one of the later provosts in 1528 and called Holy Cross, was constituted as a leper hospital by John Robertson, a merchant, in 1591. Although this establishment scarcely falls within our scope, a few words about it may not be out of place, since the spirit in which it was conducted differed so widely from that which prevailed in the old Catholic hospitals.

The poor afflicted creatures residing in this Greenside institution were not only forbidden to leave the house by night or day, but even to open the gates between sunrise and sunset. The prohibition may have been dictated by a commendable prudence, but the penalty for disobedience was out of all proportion to the offense. This penalty was hanging! The lepers were kept constantly in mind of it by the gallows erected on the gable end of the building. Solicitude for the healthy seems to have overbalanced sympathy for the poor sufferers. The place, for them, was rather a prison than a home! Day by day each sat in turn silent by the entrance, shaking a clapper to ask alms from the passersby, to be dropped into a cup provided for the purpose.

Shetland Isles.—That two leper hospitals should exist in these northern isles is a proof of the prevalence there of the malady. This may have been owing to frequent intercourse with Norway, where the disease was unusually rife. The fact that it lingered on in Shetland for a century or two after it had generally disappeared in Scotland may be explained in the same way. The last leper died in Shetland in 1798. There was, however, one later case in Edinburgh in 1809.

In the designation “Lazar House,” often met with in regard to leper hospitals, there is obvious reference to that model of patient sufferers, the Lazarus of the Gospel narrative, who lay at the rich man’s gate “full of sores.” In some countries the same Lazarus (declared to be a saint in heaven by our Lord Himself) was the patron of such institutions. Doubtless the thought of the reprob-

tion of the unhappy rich man for his heartless neglect of the miserable object at his palace gate had much to do with fostering the tender charity which led the rich in the ages of faith to provide bountifully for similar poor outcasts.

#### ALMSHOUSES.

It has already been remarked that many of the hospitals enumerated above may have combined more than one purpose; some of them, indeed, may have been what we should call almshouses and not refuges for the sick; but the dearth of records prevents accurate knowledge. We are not left in doubt regarding those which follow, which were certainly instituted primarily as homes for the aged poor.

The buildings devoted to this class of hospital were arranged similarly to those of a small college. There was a chapel, a residence for the master, a common hall for meals and rooms for the pensioners. The ancient Hospital of St. Thomas, at Northampton, consists of a building divided into small rooms, connected with a beautiful Gothic chapel, now happily restored to Catholic worship. A residence for master or chaplain stood apart. At St. Cross, near Winchester, the arrangement was something after the fashion of a Carthusian monastery; there was a common hall and a chapel and separate chambers, all grouped round a central court.

Aberdeen.—The institution founded by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, not far from his cathedral in Old Aberdeen, will serve as a fair example of such hospitals as we are now considering; for, luckily, many interesting particulars remain concerning the daily life of its inmates as well as its origin. The foundation charter was dated February 23, 1532. It was ratified by James V. on the same day at Edinburgh. Unhappily the generous founder did not live to see the fulfillment of his desires; he died in the month following. The Bishop prescribed that the hospital should be dedicated to St. Mary. The house was to measure 100 feet in length and 32 in breadth; it was to contain six cells on either side, with a hall for meals at the west end and a chapel towards the east; a wooden steeple containing a bell was to crown the building.

A manse was to be provided for the chaplain, who was to serve one of the altars in the cathedral. The twelve bedesmen were to be such as had no wives; they must have been either resident upon the lands of the Bishop or have taken part in the building of the cathedral (for Bishop Dunbar had completed the structure by adding the two western towers and the south transept), or have served in the King's army, or taken part in the defense of the rights of the city of Aberdeen. In default of such candidates, any persons in misery

who claimed pity might be received. No inmate, except in extraordinary cases, might be less than sixty years of age.

The bedesmen were bound to pray four times daily in their oratory and once at midnight. They were to be present at Mass daily in the cathedral. In public processions they were to appear clad in their white gowns.

Over the entrance of the hospital were carved the arms of James V. on one side and of the founder on the other. An inscription ran: "*Duodecim pauperibus donum hanc Reverendus Pater Davinus Dunbar hujus alme sedis quondam pontifex edificari jussit anno a Christo nato MDXXXII.*"

In English it would read: "The Reverend Father Gavin Dunbar, formerly Bishop of this see, caused this house to be built for the use of twelve poor persons, in the year of Christ 1532."

There are no remains of the hospital, but the revenues are still given to certain of the poor of the city.

Turriff.—An ancient Celtic monastery is said to have been founded here by St. Congan, an Irish saint of the eighth century. It stood on a lofty bank overlooking the Valley of the Dee. In the thirteenth century it became attached to the Abbey of Arbroath. About 1272, however, a hospital was founded there by the Earl of Buchan, who endowed it for a rector, six chaplains, who were to live in community, and thirteen poor husbandmen of Buchan. Nothing remains of the buildings except the choir and belfry of the old church which served for the parish church. Some years ago a curious old wall painting of St. Ninian was discovered in the chancel; it is supposed to have formed part of a series of such decorations. The pre-Reformation bell, dated 1557, hangs in the old belfry, although for about thirty-four years it had served for the new church, to which it had been transferred.

Glasgow.—Passing over the mention of other institutions of the kind whose history possesses little of interest, we may take a cursory glance at those of Glasgow. The chief almshouse in the city was that dedicated to St. Nicholas. It was founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, about the year 1455. The buildings of this hospital stood on the west side of Castle street, not far from the Bishop's palace. A beautiful Gothic chapel formed their chief feature, and a manse for the chaplain, who filled also the position of master, stood near it. The institution was provided for the lodging and sustenance of twelve poor men. Women nurses were employed to minister to the infirm inmates.

After the Reformation those who were bound to pay the annual rents neglected for the most part to do so; consequently the buildings fell to ruins. In 1795 the remains of the chapel had been converted



into a cow house—one example out of many of the loss of the spirit of reverence towards sacred objects and places characteristic of the Scottish Reformation.

In the same quarter of the city, near the Stable Green Port, another house of a similar kind was founded in 1491 by Roland Blackader, sub-dean of Glasgow Cathedral. It was called in familiar speech the Back Almshouse. It was more particularly intended for the benefit of the poor and indigent casually coming to the city, persons whom in these days we should call "tramps." An honest man and his wife were placed in charge of the house and were required to keep six beds always prepared. There seems to have been no chapel attached, as the master was always to officiate at the altar of St. John and St. Nicholas in the cathedral, which was endowed for his support. This institution became merged into St. Nicholas' Hospital later.

Polmadie.—The ancient hospital dedicated to St. John, near Rutherglen, may almost be classed with Glasgow institutions of the kind. It seems probable that it was founded by one of the Bishops of the city, as they possessed the right of presentation. It was in existence before 1316, when it is mentioned in a charter of King Robert the Bruce. In the same year Bishop Robert appointed Sir Patrick Floker to be master of the hospital and to exercise authority over the inmates. The institution was intended for the support of poor men and women. A precept of Bishop Matthew in 1391 directed the master and Brothers to receive Gillian de Waux as a sister and portioner of the house during her life. Other records speak of the poor Brothers and Sisters dwelling in the hospital. The revenues of St. John's were transferred to the collegiate church of Dumbarton in the fifteenth century, about the same period as the foundation of St. Nicholas' Hospital, Glasgow. The latter may, perhaps, have been intended to carry on the work of the more ancient institute. No vestige of Polmadie Hospital is remaining.

Edinburgh.—The almshouse in this city about which we possess most information was the Hospital of St. Thomas in the Canongate. It was founded in 1541 by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, a former abbot of Holyrood Abbey, near which the hospital was built. The founder endowed the establishment for the support of seven poor and aged men. Two chaplains were attached to the almshouse, who were required to say Mass at the altars of St. Andrew and St. Catherine in the abbey church. The bedesmen were bound to rise at 8 o'clock—a late hour for those days. The arrangement affords an idea of the merciful spirit of such institutions for wornout and aged pensioners. They were required to say certain prescribed prayers before the altars of the church in behalf of the soul of the

founder and of other benefactors. These prayers consisted of fifteen *Pater Noster*, fifteen *Ave Maria* and three *Credo*, in honor of God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Andrew and St. Catherine. On Sundays and festivals they wore red gowns at High Mass and also when taking part at any time in processions. Their Sunday and feast day prayers consisted of five *Pater*, fifty *Ave* and one *Credo*—equivalent to a Rosary; at Vespers two Rosaries were prescribed. They were forbidden to beg of any one under pain of expulsion. Although this establishment was continued after the Reformation as a hospital for the poor, the revenues were squandered. In 1778 the building was demolished.

The old Maison Dieu, in Greyfriars, which had fallen into decay, was reconstituted by James V. and dedicated to St. Magdalen. Michael and Janet Macquean contributed to the revenues for the support of seven bedesmen and a chaplain. The benefactress was buried in the chapel in 1547.

St. Mary's Hospital, in Leith Wynd, was founded by Bishop Spence, of Aberdeen, for twelve poor men. It was made into a workhouse in 1619, having been granted to the magistrates at the Reformation. Its chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, procured for it in later times the name of "Paul's Work."

Ballantyne's Hospital, standing by the road leading from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, may be reckoned as one of the city almshouses. It was founded by Robert Ballantyne, abbot of Holyrood, for seven poor folk, under a master.

Stirling.—An old almshouse in this city calls for a word or two of reference by reason of the circumstances of its foundation. It owed its existence to the charity of Robert Spittal, tailor to King James IV., who provided thus for decayed merchants and tradesmen of the city. It stood near the gate of St. Mary's Wynd. In an old house in the neighborhood a stone tablet of still older date has carved upon it the representation of a pair of tailor's scissors, with the inscription: "This hous is foundit for support of ye pair be Robert Spittal, tailyour to James ye 4th. Anno 1530, R. S." The unusual surname, coupled with the fact of this foundation, would suggest that the name was popularly bestowed upon the founder in recognition of his benefaction.

#### RESTS FOR PILGRIMS AND TRAVELERS.

In what may be styled the Monastic Ages monasteries were the recognized stopping places for travelers. The reception of strangers to rest on their journey was carefully provided for by the founders of religious orders in the early centuries. The monks of the East were renowned for their hospitality to travelers, and later legislators

followed their example. St. Benedict, whose rule survived those of all other Western founders, gives minute instructions on the subject. It has been remarked that nowhere in his rule is his tender forethought more remarkable than in the provision made for the care of guests and strangers, in whom he required his sons to recognize our Lord Himself.

Later on, when traveling became more general, although monasteries as long as they lasted were noted for hospitality, it would have been subversive of their monastic discipline to receive the multitudes always passing from place to place. It was then that hostels came into being, where lodging and refreshment for travelers were provided for payment by secular owners. Still there was often need of some lodging place for those who were either altogether destitute or too poor to afford the necessary payment; in many localities, moreover, there were no monasteries at hand. Hence arose hospitals (a title akin to hostel) to supply the want.

A remarkable example of this kind of charity is found in the establishment at Jerusalem by the Knights of St. John of a hospital for pilgrims capable of holding 2,000 persons, with an infirmary for the sick in connection with it. Their charity in this respect won for them the popular title of hospitallers. Every country of Europe in the middle ages could boast of numerous establishments of a like kind if on a humbler scale.

We may now take a brief view of some of the more important of the Scottish foundations of this class—less numerous than hospitals for the sick and indigent.

Aberdour.—James, first Earl of Morton, at the instigation of Sir John Scot, vicar of Aberdour and canon regular of Inchcolm Abbey, founded in 1487 a hospital for pilgrims to the holy well for which Aberdour was famed. He dedicated it to "God and His Blessed Mother Mary, Our Lady ever Virgin, and to the Blessed Martha, the hostess of Our Lord." In the concluding words we see expressed the truly Christian idea that Christ was received in the person of the stranger. The care of the institution was given to the vicar and his successors. In 1487 a change was made in the management. The hospital was handed over to four Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, who were constituted guardians by Papal charter, receiving all the rights both of a hospital and of a convent of that particular branch of their order. The four Sisters were named Isobel Wight (appointed superior for life), Jean Wight, Frances Henryson and Jean Drosse. A school for girls was also added. The hospital lasted for seventy-three years only. At the Reformation the Sisters transferred the lands of the hospital to the Earl of Morton. These consisted of the eight acres commonly

called "The Sisterlands," together with their place and garden in the town of Aberdour.<sup>9</sup>

The Holy Well, which was probably named after St. Fillan, the titular of the parish church, was renowned up to the eighteenth century for the cure of diseases of the eyes. This will give an idea of how great the concourse to it must have been in previous ages.

St. Andrews.—The buildings and endowments of St. Leonard's Hospital, or Lesser Guest House for Pilgrims, in connection with the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews, were appropriated by Prior Hepburn in 1512 for the foundation of St. Leonard's College in the university.

Soutra.—This hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was perhaps the most liberally endowed institution of the kind in Scotland. It stood near the summit of a lofty hill, rising some 1,200 feet above the sea, distant about seventeen miles from Edinburgh. King Malcolm IV. was its munificent founder in 1164. He destined it for the relief of pilgrims and of the poor and sick. This was one of the holy places in Scotland which enjoyed the privilege of "sanctuary"—in other words, criminals flying from justice or the weak from oppressors might not be molested as long as they remained there. At Soutra, as in other such sanctuaries, the privileged space was marked out by crosses connected by chains, and the person taking refuge within those boundaries was safe from pursuit. As it stood near the road leading to the capital, as well as to one which led across the moors to the renowned Abbey of Melrose, this house must have been greatly frequented. Later monarchs added to the revenues, so that the hospital enjoyed great possessions for many centuries. Some of its masters were men of note. One of them, Thomas Lauder, who had been tutor to James II., became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1453. Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., appropriated the revenues for the foundation of Holy Trinity collegiate church and hospital, Edinburgh, in the fifteenth century. Some ruins of the church of Soutra Hospital still remain. The titles "Girth Gate" and "Cross Chain Hill," lingering in the neighborhood, recall the place of sanctuary. "Tarnty" or Trinity Well, near the church, is still pointed out.

Linlithgow.—In the time of Alexander II. a monastery of the Order of St. Lazarus stood at the east of the town. The order was an offshoot from that of the Knights of St. John, and its houses were founded chiefly for the benefit of lepers and indigent members of the military orders. The Linlithgow house seems to have fallen into decay, and James I. (1424-6) restored it as a hospice for pilgrims,

<sup>9</sup> "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. III., pp. 214-218.

dedicating it to St. Mary Magdalene. It stood at the foot of an eminence called "Pilgrims' Hill."

Bridge of Spey.—Muriel de Polloc, Lady of Rothes, founded a hospital for the reception of poor travelers on the bank of the Spey, near the point where the Highland Railway now crosses the river between the Orton and Mulben stations. The establishment was dedicated to St. Nicholas. The foundress and others, among them King Alexander II., added to the original revenues. The position of the hospital, on the direct route from the south to the famous shrine of St. Duthac at Tain, suggests a motive for its foundation. But there was another favorite place of pilgrimage hard by which probably had some influence in determining its site. This was the famous Well of Grace, a healing spring dedicated to Our Lady, at which many miracles have been wrought throughout the ages, even to our own days. The chapel by the well was served by one of the priests of St. Nicholas' Hospital. It was thrown down by the Presbyterians after the Reformation, in the hope, which has never yet been wholly realized, of preventing pilgrimages to the well. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century the presbytery records of the district have frequent notices of punishments dealt out to parishioners who dared to resort to that "superstitious chappell beyond Spey." Catholics still hold the holy well in reverence and visit it devoutly.

With these brief notes of some of the more important foundations for the relief of the poor, the sick and those needing shelter and refreshment, we take leave of a subject which we venture to think will prove of much interest to all who love to recall the noble deeds inspired by faith belonging to ages that have passed.

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THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE POETS: A STUDY IN  
OPTIMISM.—II.

DANTE, TENNYSON, BROWNING AND NEWMAN.

A THOUSAND years intervene between Ossian and Dante—a thousand years of silence. But silence is strong. Out of those ten silent centuries come Giotto and Francis of Assisi, Thomas of Aquin and Dante Alighieri. Giotto and Francis can tell us what their age felt, as Thomas can tell us what it thought; but Dante can compass and synthesize its feeling and its thinking. He is the very soul of mediævalism. He believes intensely in God and in man, in the freedom of the will and in the power of the mind to know truth. As a necessary corollary he believes in a dogmatic Christianity. Assent to such a creed implies neither narrowness nor bigotry nor fanaticism. Rather does it imply sufficient breadth to choose a position and sufficient courage to defend it. When a man says that he has outgrown definitions; when he accepts the relative as final and scoffs at the idea of an absolute; when he drops into an hysterical skepticism concerning truth and goodness and beauty—then is he making rapid progress backwards, then is he sinking slowly but surely into the comò of the animal and the dreamy senselessness of the wayside weed. "Trees have no dogmas," Mr. Chesterton tells us; "turnips are singularly broad-minded."

The "Divine Comedy" is an attempt to put all theology, all philosophy and all human experience into one supreme poem. It is the history of one man and the history of all mankind. "Dante was the first great poet," Lowell informs us, "who ever made a poem wholly out of himself." He was the first to discover that the story of every human soul is an epic. His "Commedia" is pure biography, yet there is nothing local, nothing parochial about it. "There is one meaning," the poet explains in his letter to Can Grande, "that is derived from the letter, and another that is derived from the things indicated by the letter. The first is called literal, but the second is allegorical or mystical. Now, if we take the poem according to the letter alone, it is simply a consideration of the state of souls after death; but if we interpret the work allegorically, it is a vision of the life of the soul of man as a responsible agent endowed with free will." It is this mystical meaning that gives the poem its universal appeal. Any soul that has ever been guilty of a mortal sin can understand and interpret the "Inferno;" any soul that has ever struggled back to union with God by prayer and penance can appreciate the "Purgatorio;" while all souls at peace, souls in the state of grace can

read and comprehend, to some extent at least, the "Paradiso." In our study we shall consider the literal meaning only—the views of the poet concerning the life after death.

Dante's cosmography is simple enough, for all that he uses the Ptolemaic system. He assumes that the earth is spherical, with the sun, moon and stars revolving around it. There are two hemispheres—an eastern of land and a western of water. In the centre of the land hemisphere is the city of Jerusalem directly over the hollow pit of hell; in the centre of the water hemisphere is the island—mount of Purgatory, up whose precipitous sides repentant sinners climb to heaven. The pit of hell and the mount of Purgatory are the result of Satan's fall. When he fell he crashed through the rocky crust of the earth, never stopping until he reached its centre. There gravity prevented him from going further, and he stuck fast. The very rocks drew back in horror as he passed through their rent folds. It was then that the infernal pit, at the bottom of which Satan lies, was excavated and that the portion of the earth displaced to form hell was thrust up under the ancient site of Eden in the hemisphere of water. Thus the terrestrial Paradise became the summit of the mount of Purgatory. Above the earth are the nine heavens, one above the other, each a hollow revolving sphere enclosing and enclosed. The moon comes first; then Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Beyond Saturn are the heaven of the Fixed Stars and the Primum Mobile. Outside these spheres is the Empyrean, the throne of the Godhead, the unmoved centre of the universe.

Dante's hell is a hollow inverted cone growing narrower as it descends, in which as space contracts, torment is intensified. There is gradation everywhere—no two souls suffer alike, for no two have sinned alike. Evil is evil and good is good. Dante never mistakes light for darkness. Sin is not a misfortune, or a disease, or a necessity; it is a criminal choice, a wilful self-destruction. Aristotle tells us in his treatise on Ethics that there are three things to be morally avoided—intemperance, malice and violence. Dante keeps to these three divisions. Sins of intemperance are punished in the first five circles, which constitute a sort of upper hell. In the sixth circle, which stands alone, are the heretics. The lower hell of violence and malice is the terrible city of Dis, the true kingdom of Lucifer. In the centre of the infernal pit, at the point farthest from the sunlight, farthest from God, stretches the vast bulk of Satan, eight hundred and forty feet in length, frozen fast in an icy marsh. He has three heads, one red, one white and one black, to represent the three divisions of the race he led to perdition. In his mouths he crunches three traitors—Judas, Brutus and Cassius. As he flaps

his bat-like wings, a frosty blast whistles over the dismal marsh and the cold intensifies. There is to be no surcease to these sufferings. They are to last forever. It is so stated in the dread inscription over the entrance:

Through me you pass into the city of woe;  
Through me you pass into eternal pain.  
Through me among the people lost for aye.  
Justice the founder of my fabric moved;  
To rear me was the task of Power divine,  
Supremest Wisdom and primeval Love.  
Before me things create were none, save things  
Eternal, and eternal I endure.  
All hope abandon ye who enter here.

In this abandonment of hope lies the essence of the "Inferno;" this is what constitutes it hell.

The "Inferno" is the best known of the three divisions of the "Divine Comedy." It has been said that people enjoy it so much that they do not care to go on to the "Purgatorio" or the "Paradiso." Perhaps the Paradise is too full of light and life and joy; perhaps its interests are too far removed from those of ordinary life to hold the average mind. But these objections cannot be urged against the Purgatory. For while, in the literal sense, Purgatory is the receptacle for human spirits that have a debt of temporal punishment to pay after death, in the mystical sense it represents the rehabilitation of repentant sinners in this world, their escape from the tyranny of evil into an atmosphere of moral and intellectual freedom. Such a theme ought to find a ready response in every human heart. The mount of Purgatory, as Dante conceives it, is a steep ascent of surpassing height rising out of the waters of the South Sea. It is a sweet and holy dwelling-place, illumined by a constellation in the form of a cross. Its grassy slopes are kept green by the tears of penitents and its courts resound with hymns and prayers, a welcome relief after the shrieks and blasphemies of Satan and his demon-horde. There is an ante-Purgatory in charge of Cato of Utica, the Cato who committed suicide after reading Plato on the immortality of the soul.

At St. Peter's gate Purgatory proper begins. This gate is guarded by an angel with a flaming sword. All who enter are marked by this angel seven times with the letter P, which stands for the Latin *Peccavi*—I have sinned. Then come seven terraces of expiation for the punishment of the seven deadly sins. In every case the punishment is suited to the transgression. The slothful, for example, run races and shout out instances of diligence as they run; the proud are bowed to the earth by weights of stone; the envious have their eyes sewed up by iron threads and are mantled in haircloth. The process of purgation for each soul continues until every P has been



removed. When a penitent finally recovers his baptismal innocence the whole mountain shakes for joy. The purified spirit passes on to the terrestrial Paradise, where it drinks of the waters of Lethe, which wash away all memory of sin, and of the waters of Eunoe, which quicken the memory of all good done. Then is it ready to ascend to the celestial Paradise; it is "apt," as Cary's translation has it, "for mounting to the stars."

Through the "Inferno" and the "Purgatorio" Virgil was Dante's guide, but in the "Paradiso" Beatrice performs that office. In the twenty-seventh canto of the "Purgatorio" Dante is reminded that Beatrice is near. In the thirtieth he meets her. With a few tears of gratitude he abandons the old guide for the new. Virgil, human reason, gives place to Beatrice, divine revelation, and Dante begins his third, his highest flight. For the "Paradiso" is Dante's supreme effort, his "Sublime Canticle," as he calls it in the letter to Can Grande. But with all its light and life and joy, the "Paradiso" will never be a popular poem. "It is too defecated from sublunary things by long and solitary musing," as Hallam points out; it is too "inarticulate," though it is all music, as Carlyle tells us; it requires too much attention, too much holiness of heart from its readers, as Ruskin observes.

Under such circumstances we can hardly expect the "Paradiso" to be as well known as the "Inferno" or the "Purgatorio." But for those who care to make the trial, for those who are courageous enough to venture into deep water, the third division will always remain the fitting crown of the great trilogy. Together Beatrice and Dante thread the shining spheres. They visit the moon, the heaven of wills imperfect through instability in love; Mercury, the planet assigned to souls imperfect through love of fame, and Venus, the abode of spirits imperfect through excess of human love. In the sun they find doctors of divinity and philosophy; in Mars, warriors, confessors and martyrs grouped in the form of a cross; in Jupiter, rulers eminent for justice arranged in the shape of an eagle; in Saturn, souls that loved retirement and contemplation. Then they pass on to the heaven of the fixed stars, where dwell the Apostles and other saints of the Old and New Testaments. Here Dante takes an examination on Faith, Hope and Charity. At last they reach the *Primum Mobile*. Then Beatrice leads Dante into the Empyrean and commits him to the care of a venerable old man. The old man proves to be Saint Bernard, who conducts Dante through the Empyrean. There the poet contemplates the brightness of the Divine Majesty and is given a glimpse of the great mystery of the Trinity. Through this vision his will is confirmed in good; henceforth it will be impossible for him to love anything less than infinite

truth, infinite goodness and infinite beauty. "It may not be," he tells us, "that one who looks upon that light can turn to other object willingly his view. For all the good that will may covet, there is summed; and all, elsewhere defective found, complete."

This is, in brief, the outline of the world's greatest poem. There is nothing vague, nothing indefinite about the system of eschatology back of it. It is the system of the Catholic Church—a system that looks upon moral evil as the only real evil in the world. It teaches that the will of man is free; therefore, he is to be held accountable for his acts. Everything must be balanced even to the last farthing. This may seem harsh doctrine, but, as Lowell says, it is no harsher than experience, which always exacts the uttermost; no more inexorable than conscience, which never forgives and never forgets. Those who take evil for their good while here on earth, choose hell; those who fail in part, but not absolutely and irretrievably, must make satisfaction in Purgatory; the perfect are admitted to the celestial Paradise, where they enjoy happiness up to the measure of their capacity. For even in heaven all is gradation, all is justice. Dante had suffered so much from injustice that it must have been a peculiar pleasure for him to construct a universe in which justice should reign triumphant forever—justice for the sinful, justice for the sainted, justice some day for Dante Alighieri.

And yet with all this grim insistence on justice, the "Divine Comedy" is primarily a poem of light and love. It is a real comedy. In the Inferno, of necessity, there is no hope; there the calm radiance of the stars never penetrates. But the symbol of Purgatory is the morning and evening light; heaven is a progress from star to star; increase in bliss is accompanied by increase of light, and increase of light indicates increase of love. Where Plato would say three words—truth, goodness and beauty—Dante says the one word—light. And light means love.

Dean Church in his essay on the "Divina Commedia" has shown how significant and beautiful light was to the sensitive soul of the exiled Florentine. He says: "Light in general is Dante's special and chosen source of poetic beauty. . . . He seems to have dwelt upon it like music. . . . Light everywhere—in the sky and earth and sea; in the star, the flame, the lamp, the gem; broken in the water, reflected from the mirror, transmitted pure through glass, or colored through the edge of the fractured emerald; dimmed in the mist, the halo, the deep water; streaming through the rent cloud, glowing in the coal, quivering in the lightning, flashing in the topaz and ruby, veiled behind the pure alabaster, mellowed and clouding itself in the pearl; light contrasted with shadow, shading off and copying itself in the double rainbow, like voice and echo;

light seen within light, as voice discerned within voice; light in the human eye and face; light blended with joy in the eye, in the smile; light from every source and in all its shapes illuminates, irradiates, gives glory to the 'Commedia.' "

But of all lights starlight seems to have been Dante's predilection, his dominant passion, so to speak. "What," he asks, in a letter declining return to his native city on ignominious terms, "shall I not everywhere enjoy the light of the sun and the stars? And may I not seek and contemplate in every corner of the earth under the canopy of heaven consoling and delightful truth?" What a comfort the shining of the stars must have been to this exiled and passion-swept heart! Not by accident did he end each canticle of his immortal trilogy with the word "stars." He emerges from the "Inferno" to behold the "stars;" he is regenerated in the "Purgatorio" and made "apt for mounting to the stars;" he scales the Empyrean and gazes in rapt awe upon "the love that moves the sun in heaven and all the stars." It would be well for us all, perhaps, if we loved light more, and if, like Dante, we looked oftener at the stars.

There are many who speak of the last century as if it were an age of unfaith, of negation, of ruthless destruction. But the fact is that the nineteenth century was preëminently an age of deep and reverent religious feeling. Its devoutness was as edifying as its boldness was startling. To think out old truths in new terms, to reinterpret the deeper facts of life in the light of broader knowledge, to discern under the dead weight of physical law luminous hints of intelligible purposiveness—surely these are not the by-roads of infidelity, these are neither ways of unwisdom nor paths of peacelessness. The age that produced a Darwin and Spencer gave us also a Tennyson, a Browning and a Newman. Tennyson defends doubt, but stretches out after faith; Browning condemns doubt and deliberately chooses faith; Newman is certain from the beginning of two things—God and his own soul. Tennyson voices the first revolt of the heart against the deductions of modern science; Browning sings a pæan of victory through faith, and Newman, the mystic, may be said to see, to arrive at truth intuitively rather than to believe by an act of the will.

Tennyson's eschatology is complete in "In Memoriam." When Arthur Hallam died in 1833, the poet was suddenly brought face to face with evil in its darkest and most inexplicable form. Stunned by the blow, he felt the need of some sort of a philosophy that would justify the ways of God to man. For seventeen years he groped blindly and struggled bravely with the problems of sin and death. Then in 1850 he gave to the world the history of his battle with the

powers of darkness and called it "In Memoriam." Though the poem is a synthesis of all the science and all the philosophy of an age professedly scientific and philosophic, still it is in no sense a theological treatise. It is a string of lyrics, all light and grace in spite of the heavy theme, a rondeau of hints and intimations, a revelation of mysteries too deep for the symbolization of words. The poet tells us how he sometimes doubts the possibility of clothing such grief as his immeasured language. He says:

I sometimes feel it half a sin  
To put in words the grief I feel;  
For words, like nature, half reveal  
And half conceal the soul within.

But finally he decides to make the trial. He concludes:

In words like weeds I'll weep me o'er,  
Like coarsest clothes against the cold;  
But that large grief which these enfold  
Is given in outline, and no more.

Words are weeds, as Tennyson says, and worse, but back of the outline they make for us we may sometimes trace dimly the philosophy of the soul that utters them.

The first note struck in "In Memoriam" is a note of faith and triumph; the last strain is an epithalamium, a hymn of joy and exultation. Tennyson, like Browning, is an optimist. He believes in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. He trusts that

Somehow good  
Will be the final goal of ill,  
To pangs of nature, sins of will,  
Defects of doubt and taints of blood.  
  
That nothing walks with aimless feet;  
That not one life shall be destroyed,  
Or cast as rubbish to the void  
When God hath made the pile complete.

This is an explicit statement, and yet Tennyson's faith in the final victory of righteousness over iniquity is not an assured thing; rather is it an instinctive need, a hope against hope. Sometimes the vision fails him, and then he writes:

Behold, we know not anything;  
I can but trust that good shall fall  
At last—far off—at last, to all,  
And every winter change to spring.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
I stretch lame hands of faith and grope  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
To what I feel is Lord of all,  
And faintly trust the larger hope.

In this larger hope lies the only possibility of completing the ethical circle. It is this larger hope that inclines Tennyson to a belief in personal immortality. His natural leanings are towards

pantheism; only by a conscious effort does he bring himself to assert that

Eternal form shall still divide  
The eternal soul from all beside,  
And I shall know him when we meet.

In one division of the poem Arthur's reception into the heavenly courts is described, and we are told how

The great Intelligences fair  
That range above our mortal state,  
In circles round the blessed gate,  
Received and gave him welcome there.

This must mean the persistence of personal identity; it must mean immortality in the Christian sense of the word.

But on another page we read:

Strange friend, past, present and to be,  
Loved deeper, darker understood;  
Behold, I dream a dream of good,  
And mingle all the world with thee.

And again we read this:

What art thou, then? I cannot guess;  
But though I seem in star and flower  
To feel thee some diffusive power,  
I do not therefore love thee less.

My love involves the love before;  
My love is vaster passion now.  
Though mixed with God and nature, thou,  
I seem to love thee more and more.

Contradictory passages of this sort are to be found all through the poem. Tennyson would have liked to believe in the conservation of personality, but he could never quite succeed in ridding his mind of its obsessions in favor of pantheism. Blended with his half-faith in the Christian's dream of immortality and his hints of a final absorption into the spirit of the universe are stray adumbrations of the Platonic theory of preëxistence. In "The Two Voices" he says:

Moreover, something is or seems  
That touches me with mystic gleams,  
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams.

Of something felt, like something here,  
Of something done, I know not where;  
Such as no language may declare.

We may classify Tennyson as a pantheist if we will, but if we do, we should better adopt his own phraseology and call him a "higher pantheist." He believes that man is an emanation from God, but for that very reason responsible and free. In "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After" he counsels his grandson to

Follow Light and do the Right,  
For man can half control his doom.

He identifies the human and the divine, and yet in some mysterious way he keeps them separate. In his poem on "The Higher Pantheism" he says:

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains,  
Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns? . . .

Speak to Him, thou, for He hears,  
And spirit with spirit can meet.  
Closer is He than breathing,  
And nearer than hands and feet.

This sounds like Saint Paul; it sounds like a very Christian sort of pantheism.

And the fact is that in spite of his evolutionism and his pantheism and even his agnosticism, Tennyson is a Christian. In the prologue to "In Memoriam" he gives us his confession of faith in Christ. He says:

Thou seemest human and divine,  
The highest, holiest manhood, thou.  
Our wills are ours, we know not how;  
Our wills are ours to make them thine.

As we read the prologue and reread it, for the prologue is the immortal part of this immortal elegy, we forget the cries of anguish and despair, the falterings and misgivings of the seventeen years of heartbreak that gave it birth, and remember only the retraction of those errors, the plea for pardon, the admission that in the end God's ways are best.

Of the life after death Tennyson holds that there is but one state, and that the Paradiso. He would not admit a hell, or place of everlasting punishment, and the idea of progress or purification in another world does not seem to have appealed to him. In 1881 he published in the *Nineteenth Century* some stanzas under the title "Despair," with the following preface: "A man and his wife having lost faith in a God and hope of a life to come, and being utterly miserable in this, resolve to end themselves by drowning. The woman is drowned, but the man rescued by a minister of the sect he had abandoned." The poem opens in an abrupt Browningesque manner:

Is it you that preached in the chapel there looking over the sand?  
Followed us, too, that night and dogg'd us and dre me to land?

The minister tries to calm the rescued man and urges him to pray, to call upon the Christian God, the God of love. The man replies:

What, I should call on that Infinite Love that has served us so well?  
Infinite cruelty rather that made everlasting hell;  
Made us, foreknew us, foredoomed us, and does what he will with his own.  
Better our dead brute mother who never has heard us groan.

The minister, appalled, shudders at this blasphemous outbreak. But the man retorts:

Blasphemy, true! I have scared you pale with my scandalous talk;  
But the blasphemy, to my mind, lies all in the way that you walk.

We may take these words as the embodiment of the poet's own view of the matter. Tennyson was a restorationist; he believed in universal salvation. He liked to think that some day even Lucifer himself would be converted; that some day the last trace of evil and discord in the universe would vanish, dissolved in the light of everlasting love and infinite mercy.

It is never easy to state in prose what a philosopher has implied in poetry, but perhaps we shall not be far from the truth if we say in summarizing Tennyson that he is an optimist, a believer in progress in the evolutionary sense; that he holds moral and physical evil to be mere incidents in the progress of the race upwards; that he assumes that man is responsible for his conduct, at least to some extent; that he is certain of immortality of some sort; that he looks upon nature as a symbol and partial revelation of God and upon Christ as the Divine Word, intelligible and complete. He believes that love is derived from God and is immortal, and on the persistence of love he bases his faith in the ultimate triumph of good in the universe.

Browning, like Tennyson, has faith that God is love as well as power. In "Paracelsus" he says:

God, thou art love!  
I build my faith on that.

Like Tennyson, he is an optimist. In "Abt Vogler" we read:

There shall never be one lost good; what was shall live as before.  
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound.  
What was good shall be good, with for evil so much more.  
On the earth, the broken arc; in the heaven, a perfect round.

Like Tennyson, he is an evolutionist; but he never forgets that evolution is only the name of a process; that though all things change, God and the soul stand sure. Rabbi Ben Ezra assures us that

All that is at all  
Lasts ever past recall.  
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:  
What entered into thee  
That was, is and shall be.  
Time's wheel runs back or stops;  
Potter and clay endure.

But this is as far as his resemblance to Tennyson extends. There is nothing faint about his trust in the larger hope. There is no shadow of doubt, no hesitation, no half-acceptances in his "Credo." He has nothing in common with that tent-maker of the twelfth

century who wrote of earth while he gazed at the stars in Naishapur. Omar sighs:

Ah, love, could you and I with Him conspire  
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,  
Would not we shatter it to bits, and then  
Remould it nearer to the heart's desire?

Browning finds nothing sorry in the scheme of things; he takes life as it comes and proclaims it good. God is a poet and creation His poetry, he tells us in "Paracelsus." And in "Apparent Failure" he writes:

What began best can't end worst,  
Nor what God blest once prove accurst.

It is hardly necessary to say that Browning believes in personal immortality. He is the poet of the human soul. Thoughts, not events; men, not nature, appeal to him. "Sordello," the least understood, is probably the most representative of his poems. It is the story of the development of a soul—the soul of a poet. "Mind is not matter, nor from matter, but above," the Pope says in "The Ring and the Book."

What's time? Leave now for dogs and apes—  
Man has forever,

the pall-bearers quote from the dead grammarian as they toil up the mountain slope with his lifeless remains. An eternity of progress, an everlasting Purgatory, is Browning's idea of the here-after. For Tennyson the life after death is all Paradise; for Browning it is all Purgatory. Not attainment, but struggle; not absorption into some Nirvana of repose; not persistence as part of the power that makes for righteousness; not a shadowy, Ossianic existence as a form through which the stars dim-twinkle; but life, full and conscious, with will firm, memory clear and intellect keen and vigorous.

"There is no rest like the weariness that comes of seeking after God," Faber tells us, and it may be that the human heart could be satisfied by unending struggle for an unattainable good. But out of this theory of the life after death comes a theodicy as unsatisfactory as it is untrue. Browning holds that evil is an essential factor in human progress; that it is a necessary result of man's finite being. He looks upon moral failure as the blindness of inexperience, the ignorance that puts its finger into the fire, the darkness that makes the light seem brighter. Sin, according to his theory, is holiness in the germ. He says as much in "The Statue and the Bust:—"

Oh, a sin will do  
As well, I reply, to serve you for a test,  
As a virtue golden thro' and thro';  
Sufficient to vindicate itself,  
And prove its worth at a moment's view.



And in "Pippa Passes" we read:

All service ranks the same with God—  
With God whose puppets, best and worst,  
Are we; there is no last or first.

Browning's optimism appears to be built on the thesis that all things are good; whereas the orthodox Christian's optimism flows from the conviction that, in spite of evil, all things work together for good. It is always an unwisdom to confuse good and evil; it is always a loss to let down the barriers that separate right from wrong.

In vain we call old notions fudge,  
And bind our conscience to our dealing;  
The Ten Commandments will not budge,  
And stealing will continue stealing.

It is not likely, however, that the heterodoxy of Browning's teodicy will work any serious harm; while it is certain that his orthodoxy will always be an inspiration and an upward leading. He came at a time when he was sorely needed, and not a minute too soon. The serene paganism of Goethe and the volcanic infidelity of the Higher Critics were working together to destroy such vestiges of the ancient faith as had survived the Lutheran revolt of the sixteenth century. Culture instead of Christianity; art and beauty, instead of the Gospel; life here on earth and self-realization in a narrow sense—these were the doctrines preached by scientist and philosopher, by essayist and poet. Then came Browning bearing the Cross as his standard and acknowledging Christ as his Captain. In "Pauline," his first poem, he addresses Christ thus:

O thou pale form, so dimly seen, deep-eyed,  
I have denied thee calmly. But do I not  
Pant when I read of thy consummate deeds,  
And burn to see thy calm, pure truths outflash  
The brightest gleams of earth's philosophy?  
Do I not shake to hear aught question thee?  
If I am erring, save me, madden me;  
Take from me powers and pleasures; let me die  
Ages, so I see thee!

This vision of Christ grew upon Browning with the years, and his faith increased as the vision waxed clearer, until at last he could say:

The acknowledgment of God in Christ,  
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee  
All questions in the world and out of it,  
And hath so far advanced thee to be wise.

Browning recognizes the difficulties of belief, but he insists that the difficulties of unbelief are greater. He has no scorn for honest doubt, though he pushes the burden of proof back upon the doubter. He paraphrases Tennyson when he says in "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

Rather I prize the doubt  
Low kinds exist without,  
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark.

But few hearts are so dark that they never have moments of sky-

clearing; few lives so evil that no golden strands are woven into their coarse fabrics. And so the poet argues:

Oh, we're sunk enough, God knows;  
But not quite so sunk that moments,  
Sure, though seldom, are denied us  
When the spirit's true endowments  
Stand out plainly from its false ones,  
And apprise it, if pursuing,  
Or the right way, or the wrong way.

The right way is the way of faith, and the wrong way is the way of unfaith. Moral probability may be stronger confirmation than scientific demonstration. Browning is satisfied, he says,

So long as there be just enough  
To pin my faith to, though it hap  
Only at points; from gap to gap,  
One hangs up a huge curtain so,  
Grandly, nor seeks to have it go  
Foldless and flat along the wall.  
What care I if some interval  
Of life less plainly may depend  
On God? I'd hang there to the end.

As we should expect, Browning assumes the freedom of the will and holds man accountable for his choices, and yet he intimates that the potter, too, is responsible for the bent taken by the clay. Addressing the Moulder of men, he prays:

So take and use thy work:  
Amend what flaws may lurk,  
What strains o' the stuff, what warpings past thy aim.

But in spite of this he does not counsel passivity or quietism. We must work with God, he tells us. In "Ferishtah's Fancies," a string of philosophic fables, he embodies this truth in the parable called "The Eagle." Ferishtah was walking in the woods one day when he noted on a bough a raven's nest. The younglings were dying of hunger, while the mother bird lay dead beneath the tree. Ferishtah paused, saddened by the sight. Suddenly an eagle swooped downward with some flesh in his talons, fed the fledgelings and resought the sky.

"Oh, foolish, faithless one!" the observer smiled,  
"Who toll and mull to eke out life, when, lo!  
Providence cares for every hungry mouth."

Ferishtah took the lesson to heart and went home under the impression that effort on man's part is unnecessary. For days he sat and mused, until he grew faint with thirst and hunger. Then sleep overtook him, and in a dream God admonished him:

Hast thou marked my deed?  
Which part assigned by Providence dost judge  
Was meant for man's example? Should he play  
The helpless weakling or the helpful strength  
That captures prey and saves the perishing?  
Sluggard, arise: work, eat, then feed who lack.

Ferishtah awakens and decides to set out for Ispahan, there to work out his salvation.

This is about as far as one brief study of the eschatology of

Browning can go. He was a believer in personal immortality and in the freedom of the human will; a purgatorian in his view of the life after death, and a Christian in his attitude to revelation and to the meaning of life generally. He was, as he said himself,

One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward;  
 Never doubted clouds would break;  
 Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;  
 Held we rise to fall, are baffled to fight better,  
 Sleep to wake.

One evening just before his death the poet was reading this from a proof to his daughter-in-law and sister. He said: "It almost looks like bragging to say this, and perhaps I ought to cancel it; but it's the simple truth, and as it's true, it shall stand."

For the motto on his Cardinal's shield Newman adopted a sentence from St. Francis de Sales' letters: "*Cor ad cor loquitur*," which is generally translated, "Heart speaketh unto heart." But perhaps we should come nearer to Newman's meaning if we translated it, "Soul speaketh unto soul." There were just two luminous points in the universe of the great Tractarian—one was God, the other the human soul. Now a soul is a very lonely thing when we stop to think about it. God and perhaps the angels—these are the only beings that ever cross its sanctuary. And they never intrude. They never come in, so to speak, unless they have been invited. Newman was particularly impressed by this fact of the solitariness of our spiritual lives. His own life must have been a singularly isolated one. And yet he understood men; he had sounded their souls to a weird and shaking depth. Has he not told us, as he says himself, much that we knew about ourselves and much that we did not know?

Take that passage in the "Apologia" where he speaks of the basis of his belief in God. He says: "Starting, then, with the being of God (which, as I have said, is as certain to me as my own existence, though when I try to put the grounds of that certainty into logical shape, I find a difficulty in doing so in mood and figure to my satisfaction), I look out of myself into the world of men, and there I see a sight which fills me with unspeakable distress. The world seems simply to give the lie to that great truth of which my whole being is so full, and the effect upon me is in consequence, as a matter of necessity, as confusing as if it denied that I am in existence. If I looked into a mirror and did not see my face, I should have the sort of feeling which actually comes upon me when I look into this living world and see no reflection of the Creator." There is something almost uncanny about that sentence, "If I looked into a mirror and did not see my face." It tells us much that we knew, and implies more that we did not know.

In 1865, on the death of a dear friend, Newman wrote "The Dream of Gerontius," a dramatic lyric portraying the experiences of the soul in the life to come. The poem opens with Gerontius on his deathbed. His friends are praying for him, the priest is administering the last sacraments. Gerontius dies. In company with his guardian angel he seeks the throne of Christ. He hears the shrieks of demons, the prayers of the earthly friends he has left behind and choruses of angel voices. At last he reaches the great white throne and looks upon the white sanctity of the Crucified. He gazes for a moment upon the Love that moves the universe and then falls prostrate, overcome by an ecstasy. Then he turns away and says to his guardian angel:

Take me away, and in the lowest deep there let me be,  
And there in hope the lone night watches keep  
Told out for me.

The angel conducts Gerontius to Purgatory. The gates of the golden prison swing open. The penitent spirits are chanting, "Before the hills were born, and the world was, from age to age, Thou art God." The soul of Gerontius sinks into the purifying flames, while the angel speaks these words of comfort:

Masses on the earth and prayers in heaven  
Shall aid thee at the throne of the Most High.  
Farewell, but not forever, brother dear;  
Be brave and patient on thy bed of sorrow.  
Swiftly shall pass thy night of trial here,  
And I will come and wake thee on the morrow.

This is "The Dream" in brief. It contains the whole system of Newman's eschatology. The soul of Gerontius is hardly disembodied when the sense-world disappears. Place loses its significance; there is no here or there. Sounds may be tasted and tastes heard. The demons make a "sour dissonance." It was easy for Newman to imagine other worlds than ours. He conceived nature mystically as a medium through which the angels worked out the thoughts of God. Of these radiant spirits he says: "Every breath of air and ray of light and heat, every beautiful prospect is, as it were, the skirts of their garments, the waving of the robes of those whose faces see God." Again, he says: "What would be thoughts of a man who, when examining a flower or a herb or a pebble or a ray of light, which he treats as so beneath him in the scale of existence, suddenly discovered that he was in the presence of some powerful being who was hidden behind the visible things he was inspecting, who, though concealing His wise hand, was giving them their beauty, grace and perfection, as being God's instrument for the purpose; nay, whose robe and ornaments those objects were, which he was so eager to analyze?"

This view of the angels as the movers of the physical frame of

the universe is sanctioned by the Bible as well as by the early Fathers and tradition. Maimonides is quoted by St. Thomas as holding that the Scriptures frequently term the powers of nature angels. Science and its so-called laws resolves itself for Newman into angelology and a study of the ways of angels. Angels meet Gerontius on his entrance into the spirit-world; angels lead him to the judgment-seat; an angel conducts him to Purgatory and assures him that his time of suffering will not be long. And finally, in the concluding stanza of "Lead, Kindly Light," that wonderful description of the homecoming of a world-weary soul, we read that,

With the morn those angel-faces smile  
Which I have loved long since and lost a while.

Nature as a symbol, almost what we might call a sacramental—this is Newman's idea. His cosmology is a sort of a compound of Platonism with the romanticism of the early decades of the nineteenth century. Newman had very little sympathy with Aristotelianism, and even less with scholasticism. Many of the newer books on philosophy are emphasizing the points of unity between Aristotle and Aristocles. But the fact is that they are separated by whole universes. "*First we know a thing. Then we study and analyze it, until we come at last to love it.*" That is Aristotle. "*First we love a thing. Then, because we love it, we study it and analyze it, and come at last to know it.*" That is Plato. Newman forms a link in the chain of the Aristoclean tradition in the Church. Platonism is as congenial a soil for Catholicity as Aristotelianism. Indeed, a thesis might easily be elaborated in support of the theory that the Church has been most deeply spiritual, most conscious of her divine mission during her Aristoclean periods. It might not be difficult to prove that one of the principal causes of the pseudo-reformation was too much Aristotle.

The eschatology of Newman, like that of Dante, is the eschatology of the Catholic Church. Sin is regarded as the greatest of evils, death as the beginning of a new life, the future as dependent upon our free choice of good or evil here on earth. The Inferno is only echoed in this beautiful dream, but Purgatory and Paradise are described in detail. And over the whole there is a softness and a tenderness that we never find in Dante. Newman is all sweetness and light. Perhaps this is due to the increased devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in our day, perhaps to a deeper personal love for Christ. Perhaps the spread of devotion to the Sacred Heart accounts for the added note of humanization. It is the heart, after all, that understands, not the head.

Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.

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## SOME GREAT RED SPOTS IN PARIS.

THE French capital of to-day is most frequently spoken of as "the gay city." From a Christian point of view it is more deserving of the title "the martyrs' city." Many portions of it are entitled to the appellation of "the holy ground." The highest part of the environs does, in fact, bear the designation that stamps the locality as sacred for all time—Montmartre. There the first "seed of the Church" was spilt upon the soil that was soon to furnish testimony in abundance, from that early sacrifice down almost to our own very day. There is more than one "Moulin Rouge" in gay Paris, from a Christian point of view: there are in fact many famous ones, whose soil and floors were reddened more than once with the lifeblood of holy men and women whose solitary crime against man was that they toiled and prayed and taught and dreamed solely that they might serve God by serving His creatures and save souls for Him. One of the most notable of these sanctified spots is the old building and enclosure once the home of the Carmelite nuns, which stand on the Rue Vaugirard, hard by the great Church of St. Sulpice and the old Palace of the Luxembourg. The building is, or was some years ago, numbered 70 on the street, and was acquired within our own times by the Catholic University as an auxiliary or annex. What is its present status, since the beginning of the new Kulturkampf, it is difficult to pronounce. Not far from the old Carmelite building stands the Abbey Church of St. Germain-des-Prés, which had in old times a strong prison attached to its domain. This prison and the Carmelite Convent were in 1792 the theatres of the most sickening of the massacres perpetrated by order of the Directory and the Commune. The Churches of St. Geneviève, of St. Eustache, of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, of St. Etienne du Mont—all these and many more—have had each their baptisms of blood and fire in their day. But, most dismal memory of all, only a few miles outside the city wall stands the Abbey of St. Denis, the Westminster Abbey of Paris, where was witnessed the apotheosis of the twin sisters, Rapine and Murder, when her votaries broke the tombs of the dead Kings and Queens of France from the time of Dagobert, its founder, down to the outbreak of the Revolution, and scattered their dust and bones.

Paris—modern Paris—lies at the foot of the hill which dominated the older city—the Lutetia of pre-Roman times. This hill was the scene of the martyrdom of St. Geneviève. She is the patroness of the city, and she foretold the coming, in a far later age, of one who is now near-saint, like herself—the Maid of Orleans. The patroness

of Paris, like Joan of Arc, was a country girl, at times playing the part of shepherdess as Joan used to do when necessary. The old Church of St. Geneviève was erected by King Clovis, at the solicitation of his Queen and the saint; and he gave it the title to the honor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; but when St. Geneviève died, A. D. 512, her remains were buried within the enclosure and the church was dedicated to her honor. Clovis himself died a year previously, and was also laid in the same consecrated ground. The church was elevated into an abbey in later years, but it fell into ruin during the troubled centuries that intervened between the Frankish rule and that of the Capets and Bourbons. It was rebuilt by Louis XV., but the edifice was seized later on by the revolutionists and transformed into the National Pantheon. The Pantheon and its environs was the centre of the fiercest fighting in the revolution of June, 1849, and therefore it may well be regarded as one of the reddest spots in the city. The insurgents broke into the church and barricaded themselves there so strongly that cannon had to be employed to break open the doors, and blood drenched the floors of the sacred edifice and flowed in the gutters of the adjoining streets.

St. Geneviève's was by many connoisseurs regarded as the most beautiful of all the Parisian churches, not even excepting the famous Notre Dame. Its dome, visible from every part of the city, like that of the Invalides, is strikingly elegant and at the same time majestic, because of its classic simplicity. While the proud rotund of the Invalides glitters in royal gilding, that of the temple of St. Geneviève was "simplex munditiis," as became the memorial of a shepherdess and a virgin who laid down her life for the honor of God and the Blessed Virgin. It is unlike the grand dome of Angelo, that seems to swim in the enchanted atmosphere above the Tiber, since it raises itself by three tiers to the lanterns, above which is poised the ball, representing the world, and the cross, the emblem of its Redeemer. The body of the building is cruciform, and each limb of the cross is terminated by a fine pediment, approached by a noble flight of low steps. It would be difficult to find a more impressive portico than that which confronts the visitor. It stretches over a space of 129 feet, in its simple Greek lines and moulding, supported by a range of six Corinthian pillars, 60 feet in height. The sculptures within the angle of the pediment are by David. They represent France distributing honors to her greatest men—according to the conception of the artist, who did not hesitate to include himself among the worthies. The rule of classification was by no means regarded in the design, since side by side we behold the effigies of Fénélon and Voltaire, Mirabeau and Lafayette, Carnot (organizer of victory) and Rousseau (disorganizer of "the social contract"),

Napoleon and the painter David! The figure of France in the centre is colossal, standing fifteen feet in height, while the figures of her great men are *in crescendo*, graded to suit the lines of the long triangle. From the pavement of the building to the centre of the dome a tape line would show a stretch of 268 feet. The unreflecting visitor would think the stretch would be much more, if perchance he had been, as the present writer was, after a journey up the stairs of St. Paul's dome, in London, and a peep through the circular aperture in "the whispering gallery" which shows the pavement in Sir Christopher Wren's edifice at a depth of 275 under the eye. The St. Paul's dome is immensely greater in diameter in proportion to the dimensions of the cruciform building beneath, and rises into the empyrean 160 feet higher than that of St. Geneviève's. There is, perhaps, no more deceptive employment in life than that of studying illusions related to space and height. The stranger beholding the pile of St. Geneviève for the first time, after having seen St. Paul's, with its much ampler environment, diffusing its lines in atmosphere, might easily be led into the impression that Soufflot, its architect, had done better for Paris and Louis XV. than Wren had for London and Charles II.

It is pitiable to behold St. Geneviève's in its present state—as so many of the temples once consecrated to God in the Catholic land of France now are. When the present writer last saw it, a band of Cook's tourists had just got inside. They were from England. Not one of them took off his hat. They spoke in the loudest key, in the most h-regardless Cockney English, interrogating the official cicerone about this painting or that piece of sculpture, and behaving with no more respect for a sacred building than a mob of Parisian *sansculottes*. They were all well dressed, but this was the only point of demarcation between them and the French gutter rabble outside.

In the vaults of the oft-desecrated church there is no little incongruity in occupancy. The remains of Voltaire and Rousseau were at one time to be found there, but now they are replaced by cenotaphs, while Père la Chaise holds the celebrated dust. The tablet over Voltaire shows some curiosities in epitaph construction—for instance, this strange record, amongst others: "Il combattit les athées et les fanatiques, inspira la tolérance, et réclama les droits de l'homme contre la servitude de la féodalité." Over Rousseau's vault something equally imaginary was graven: "Ici repose l'homme de la nature et de la vérité." Mirabeau was also laid to rest in the same vault, but the fickle revolutionary mob, whose cause he had often so eloquently pleaded, tore open his resting place, when they found he was laid there, and carted them off, none knew whither. Here, too, were laid the skin and bones of the wretch Marat; for a while only,



however, for when it was discovered that he had been brought to such unfit soil his carcass was dragged out and flung to rot in the public sewer.

In the old parish Church of St. Geneviève, which preceded the modern building, there was preserved a bronze urn which contained, it was believed, the ashes of the saint. This urn was the object of great veneration prior to the desecration of the new church. It may be in existence still; some pious hand may have secretly carried it off to a place of safety during the revolutionary epoch. But nothing has been mentioned in connection with it for very many years. And yet there is as much reverence for Saint Geneviève still as ever there was before, there can hardly be any doubt.

Sitting one lovely summer's day, under the shade of the trees in the Place de St. Sulpice, the beneficence which the mad revolutionists had so brutally spurned was recalled to the writer's mind by a little incident, startling in its way for a Sunday, but not uncommon. Only a little way across the Place lay the Rue Vaugirard, and above the high wall of No. 70 could be discerned the windows of the Carmelite Convent, which has so tragic an interest for Catholics. At this convent were to be had at all times the famous curative liquids called "eau de mélisse" and "eau des Carmes." That the latter was wonderfully efficacious in certain maladies the writer can vouch from a personal experience, shortly after the occurrence now about to be related. It was while waiting for the great bell of St. Sulpice to give the signal for the beginning of the High Mass that a lady was seen to fall from one of the seats under the trees, prone to the pavement, in a fit. The day was oppressively hot, and it was too much for the lady, who was evidently by no means robust. A gendarme who was on duty on the Place was quickly by her side, and he proceeded very quickly but methodically to attend to the case himself. He carried, as all such guardians of the public do in France, a little pouch or box attached to his waist belt, and from this he produced a phial and a small lump of sugar. A few drops of liquid he poured over the sugar, and opening the lady's mouth very tenderly, placed it on her tongue. She soon revived and was enabled to resume her seat, to the great relief of a little sympathetic crowd who had been interested spectators of the scene. The police of Paris know the virtues of the liqueurs which places like the Carmelite Convent were in the habit of keeping for the benefit of the poor; and here was an illustration of them quite unexpected.

Little is there in the appearance of the venerable building to indicate a tragic history. Nothing could be more peaceful in atmosphere than the quaint secluded locality where it stands. Close to it was an ancient cloister belonging to an earlier order, that of "Les

Filles du Calvaire." It was in the year 1611 that the Reformed Carmelites took up their first quarters in Paris; the older kind had been there long before that date. The first house they occupied proved too small, and two years later the foundation stone of the present building was laid by Queen Marie de Médicis. It was dedicated to St. Joseph, and the first one in France to be so signalized. The friars who ministered in its chapel were noted for their austerity and devotion; and their labors were productive of much edification and benefit among the surrounding population. All this reign of piety and blessing was destined to be rudely checked in the height of its usefulness. The year 1789 brought a mighty change in the fortunes of the peaceful Carmelites.

Among the many illustrious ladies who entered the Carmelite order, that of the beautiful but most unfortunate Louise de la Valliere, Duchess and King's favorite for a brief while, is the most noteworthy. As Sister Louise de la Misericorde, she expiated her sin by performing the most menial duties in the convent, and edifying all the community by the sublimity of her self-imposed penitence—a veritable modern Magdalen, whom neither the entreaties nor the commands of her royal admirer could turn from her purpose of expiating her folly by the extremest self-abasement.

When first the breath of revolution began gently to stir the atmosphere the Carmelites were lulled into a false security. Like many other religious they had been led into a sentiment of sympathy with the movement for popular emancipation and civic reform. They gave the use of their buildings for the holding of public meetings, and when the popular force called the National Guard was being organized they made a free gift of a portion of their ground to the reformers for the purpose of having a barrack built thereupon. It was not long, however, ere they found what sort of a serpent it was whom they were thus warming into life. The first intimation of ingratitude came in the shape of a decree abolishing religious vows, in 1790; in the following year came a new one confiscating the property of religious communities, and then another ordering their expulsion from their convents and monasteries before October, 1793. Simultaneously with these drastic measures a fierce persecution of the secular clergy was inaugurated. Under the "Constitution Civile du Clerge" it was ordained that the Pope's spiritual authority was no longer to be recognized, and that Bishops, priests and *curés* were to be elected by the people and should swear fealty to the nation and the constitution, as well as to the national sovereign. This law the Pope condemned as sacrilegious and schismatical, and pronounced those who had subscribed to it as schismatics, unless they retracted. This was the beginning of a war in which the combatants

were all on one side, the other having no defense but their prayers and their patient courage. Henceforth exile, imprisonment and finally death became the portion of God's anointed throughout the length and breadth of France.

On the 11th of August, 1793, fifty ecclesiastics, Archbishops, Bishops and priests, were brought under guard to the "Carmes" and locked up, as prisoners, in the church. They included the Archbishop of Arles, Mgr. Du Lau; the Bishop of Beauvais and the Bishop of Saintes, brothers, belonging to the illustrious house of Rochefaucauld Maumont. Among the priests and abbés were some of the most eminent names in France. There were eleven vicars general, eleven ex-Jesuits, eight members of various other orders, twelve *curés* and thirteen Sulpicians. There was a large number of others, young seminarists, aged priests from a house of rest for such, several chaplains, some professors and one military officer, Count Valfonds. He had accompanied his friend, the Abbé Guilleminet, Vicar of St. Roch, when he was arrested, and would not leave his friend when the hour of danger came, although he had been given an opportunity of doing so—for it had become privately known that a general massacre of the clergy was resolved on by Danton, after the news of the fall of Longwy before the Prussian batteries had come in, as a means of rousing the Parisian "patriots" to the desired delirium for the blood of the foreign invader by copious draughts of that of the domestic enemy, as the clergy were now held up to be—and have been ever since—in their own country, their beloved France! All the company, prelates, priests and professors, had more than a presentiment—they had a conviction—when the prison doors closed on them, that their day of doom was approaching, but every one of them was cheerful—so much so that they astonished their jailors. Their last midday meals was the most jovial of any, it was remarked by the few survivors who escaped to tell the story.

September 2d was a Sunday. About four of the clock on that day the three prelates and the priests were out in the garden of the convent for their usual recreation—and this was the recitation of Vespers and the reading of their Office. They heard shouting and singing and the tolling of bells outside the convent, and they knew that their hour was come, so they knelt down under the trees, and gave each other the last absolution. Armed men who had been lurking about the convent rushed in among them and began the work of slaughter, beginning with the Archbishop of Arles. His head was cut open by a sabre stroke. His murderer plucked the prelate's watch from his pocket as he lay dying, and waved it exultingly about his head as a glorious spoil of war. A number of the priests were kneeling in the little chapel in the garden; the murderers began

firing on them, and they fell rapidly one by one. Outside other priests were being shot or stabbed by pikes. As the work of blood proceeded, a ruffian called Maillard, who had organized the *battue*, appeared on the scene and called a halt, demanding that some sort of order should be observed. He led the gang toward the church, and there, sitting at a table, he had a form of trial gone through in regard to the survivors. The Bishops of Beauvais and Saintes were asked to take the oath to the new constitution for the clergy, which the Pope had condemned as schismatical. They refused. Then the priests were severally asked the same question. It was intimated to all that life and liberty were assured them if they complied. This offer did not shake their determination. Then, two by two, they were sent down a narrow stairway, at the foot of which stood waiting the assassins who had been employed and drilled for their ghastly work by Maillard and his accomplices in the plot. As there were over a hundred victims to be dealt with, the horrid work of butchery occupied more than two hours. The assassins were hired and paid by Maillard.

Simultaneously, both at the Abbey of St. Germain and the Conceirgerie, Marat and Varennes were personally directing similar butcheries. The old abbey prison was choked with prisoners, clerical and lay, on that awful day in September, for Danton had determined to retaliate on the Prussians for the loss of Longwy and their march on Paris to help the aristocrats by flinging their dead bodies in their faces, so to speak. One thousand and eighty-nine "aristocrats" were penned in the Paris prisons that day, and these were all "thinned out" before night fell. The greater part of these were piled in a bloody heap in front of the gates of the abbey prison. The victims had been given the formality of a mock trial before Maillard, as in the case of the Bishops and clergy in "Les Carmes," and then thrust one by one outside the gates to be piked by the blood-thirsty mob, who were goaded on to their ghastly work all day, until it was thoroughly done by Marat and Varennes. At the Conceirgerie there were two hundred and eighty-eight "aristocrats." These shared in the doom of the others on that famous "red-letter" day of the Revolution. Danton's gratification at the performance was that of an infernal demigod. No wonder he said when mounting from the tumbril to the guillotine, seven months after these massacres: "Executioner, when you have cut off my head, please show it to the people. It is a head worth looking at."

Surely only a demigod of revolution could think of carrying his overmastering passion of vanity beyond the grave. "He had many sins," remarks the grim satirist, Carlyle, "but one worst sin he had not—that of cant." Egotists of his high plane are incapable of cant;

they are made sincere by conviction of their own greatness and need not stoop to find flattery from admirers who live in fear of them.

From the portals of the same gruesome Conciergerie passed, only a few weeks later, to the same red bourne of death, the lofty Queen martyr, Marie Antoinette. M. de Lamartine, in his "*Histoire des Girondius*," declares that the story told by a picture in the chapel of the palace which adjoins the prison is false. The Queen is there represented as receiving the sacrament from the hands of a priest. She refused the sacrament, says the distinguished historian, because the only priest who would be permitted to see her in her last hours was one of those who had taken the oath of the Republic; and with such the steadfast Catholic lady would have no communication.

Within the confines of the Conciergerie were immured many other noble prisoners, both before and during the Revolution. The sweet and saintly Madame Elizabeth, sister of King Louis XVI., occupied a gloomy dungeon of the building before her execution. Madame Roland was also an inmate ere she was despatched to the shambles. The other Girondins were allowed to hold their memorable supper in the chapel of the building the night before they were sent to their doom. Several other notables were guests of the jailor of that grim hotel, as the scramble for power fluctuated during the Reign of Terror. Bailly, Malasherbes, Danton, and then the aspiring chief who had sent Danton there, Robespierre himself, and the companions who had stood by him in the last fight for power, came to close the horrid drama with the awesome touch of poetical retribution: "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword." Those who invoked the aid of the guillotine for the readjustment of human society all to the guillotine were sent in turn.

A gloomy and repulsive pile of stone and iron is the Conciergerie—quite as much so as the Tower of London, and with a record no less ghastly. Its sombre towers with their pointed leaden roofs cause the wayfarer involuntarily to shudder, if he know anything of the long tragic history of that frowning pile of masonry which darkens the gay river that flows beside its walls. Paris is described by one of the most elegant French writers as a city of white and black. There is a city of dark mud—the old *Lutetia*, or *Luteum* (mud), and the white city that grew up beside it—the *Leukotakia* of Strabo—the modern city that lies at the foot of Montmartre and stretches majestically away to the banks of the Seine. Under its white robe this city conceals another one whose color is blood red. And over the graves of thousands whose gore made it ruddy, and whose bones were flung into vast fosses undistinguished, promiscuous and with savage contempt, millions of gay Parisians have played and romped and danced with a glee that at times became satyric,

at midnight, in the dance halls and the cafés. Beside the Gothic pile of St. Denis, grand and gloomy from age and weather stains, lies the Ile St. Denis, a garden of mere *abandon*—a place of unbridled pleasure—a miniature Coney Island, in fact, where men and women go to flirt and drink and dissipate with other men's and women's wives and husbands. The contrast between what the Abbey of St. Denis stands for and what the Ile de St. Denis really is seems somewhat like the juxtaposition of the Pagan Paphos with the Christian Catacombs. Garlanded, cachinnating Sensuality, vine-crowned, on the island; dusty and mouldering relics of vanished greatness and sanctity, the awful silence of the tomb, on the shore close beside it. A startling contrast, truly, but not more violent or shocking than that presented in the long phantasmagoria of Parisian history, from the age of the Merovingian Kings down to the days of the Commune of 1870.

Although the story of the desecration of St. Denis is not reeking with blood like the story of many another sacred building in Paris proper, it is one infinitely more horrible. It is a story of human ghouliness without parallel in earth's annals. St. Denis was the city of the royal dead—the sainted, the illustrious, the honored, of many centuries. St. Geneviève, King Dagobert, King Pepin, Charlemagne the Emperor, these were the founders of the glorious Abbey Church. Nothing more stately, more delicately beautiful was ever raised than this great Gothic temple. In its vaults slept Dagobert, Pepin and his wife Bertha; to these vaults Philip the Hardy brought the bones of his father, St. Louis, on his shoulders, walking barefoot all the way from the city of Paris to lay the sacred remains in the tomb. Clovis II., Charles Martel, Philip the Hardy, Philip the Fair had statues or cenotaphs in the royal mausoleum. The earlier Capets, Eudes, Hugo and Robert, were among the tenants of these old vaults or had their effigies amongst those majestic clustered columns soaring airily to the lofty groined roof. Constance of Arles, Constance of Castille, Hermintrude, Jane d'Gorreux, Margaret of Provence, wife of St. Louis; Marie de Brabant, Jane de Bourbon, Isabel de Baviere, Catherine de Medicis, beside many children of those royal people, slept there, until the ghouls of the Revolution disturbed their quiet rest.

Besides these noble and famous Queens and Princesses there were many Kings and Princes of the Middle Age and the Renaissance period, as well as gallant knights—not of royal rank, but even higher in esteem because of their deeds of chivalry and daring—Bertrand Duguesclin and the great Turenne, for example. There also reposed the good King Louis XII., who was proud to be styled the father of his people; there also lay in magnificent state the

magnificent sovereign, Francis I., knight as well as monarch. There also reposed the Grand Monarque, Louis XIV., as well as his father, Louis "the Just," and his Queen, the haughty Anne of Austria. All these tombs, and many more, were ruthlessly torn open by the vile and bloodstained hands of a brutal mob, and the bodies that were in the caskets inside dragged out like so much rubbish. The sanctuary contained many venerated relics, the bones of St. Merin and other holy men. These were flung into the dust heaps, like those of the royalties. There was a piece of the Cross; there was the head of St. Denis the martyr—he who is believed to have carried it in his hands after it had been chopped off his body, and brought it to the place where the Abbey stood. There was the royal cloak of St. Louis; and there were the chain and crown and sceptre of Charlemagne. All these and many more precious and hallowed memorials of saint and sage, of artist and of scholar, beautiful illuminated vellums over which saintly hands had lovingly toiled many and many a night in convent cells—all were polluted by the carrion touch of the ghouls and vultures who, by order of the Convention, swooped down upon the Abbey Church in 1793 and melted down the lead of the coffins, that they might have bullets to carry on the war against royalty and aristocracy, Church and God!

History records no precedent for that stupendous infamy. Even Attila would not think of perpetrating it, with such a motive. He, barbarian as he was, believed in God in his own rude way, for did he not ferociously pride himself on being called "the scourge of God." Yes, yes; Attila, the monstrous Hun, was an angel of gentleness and piety as compared with the foul harpies of the Convention who decreed the desecration of the glorious Abbey of St. Denis, the martyr and patron of the French nation.

During the war against the Commune of 1870 the churches of Paris were again desecrated by the fighting mobs. The Madeleine was the scene of sanguinary warfare, and the graveyard about the Church of St. Jacques was filled with the bodies of the combatants from the Faubourgs, who were mowed down in heaps in the streets around the beautiful church by the artillery of the army of Versailles, acting under Marshal MacMahon. Thousands of the miserable wretches were flung in there, in one common heap, and covered over so lightly with clay that after the first heavy fall of rain limbs were seen protruding from the ground, all over the green sward. So, too, with regard to the cemetery of Père la Chaise. It was there that the Communards made their last stand. The tombstones bore many dents made by the bullets when the writer visited the cemetery some years after the memorable conflict. No spot in all the city or in the beautiful environments, was respected by the furious devastating

insurgents. Even the dead were not allowed to be unmolested in their long last sleep.

The bodies of the priests who were slain at the Carmelite Convent were stripped by the assassins, thrown into carts and taken away to the cemetery of Vaugirard. There a large pit had been prepared, and into this the corpses were flung, to be consumed with quicklime, as the bodies of executed murderers usually are. Not all the bodies were taken there; a few of those who fell in the first onslaught in the garden were pitched into a well. The skulls of twenty-four priests, mostly cloven or gashed, were afterwards recovered from this well. These relics and some others have been removed to the crypt, and on the 2d of September every year they are now shown there. The spot in the garden where the first victim, the Abbé Girault, was struck down, is marked by a marble column, and the place at the end of the stone staircase where the others were done to death by Maillard's hired crew is marked by a slab bearing the inscription, "*Hic ceciderunt.*"

A few priests contrived to escape the hands of the cruel murderers. One of these was the Abbé de la Pennonie, who had knelt down prepared to die, when some unknown friend whispered in his ear: "Run, my friend; run." There was a passage near, and into this the priest darted, but as he ran he got several sword-thrusts, but on he ran, and reached the street alive. He got into a friend's house, in the neighborhood, and found safety there till he secured passage in a ship to England. It was there that he related the particulars of the massacre, so far as he had witnessed it, to the Abbé Barruel, who included them in his book on "*The Clergy During the French Revolution.*" Nine other priests were saved, either by some soldiers of the Guard or by sympathetic onlookers. Of these were the Abbés De Bartot, Barbet, Fronteau and Saurin. Abbés De Montfleury, De Rest and Vilar managed to scale the convent wall and hide in a neighboring garden till they found an opportunity of getting away from the danger. Two others, the Abbés Martin and De Kervanant, got on the roof of the church and concealed themselves until the bloody work was over.

In the Palace of the Luxembourg, hard by, amongst the paintings in the famous gallery there is one striking one depicting the last scene in a Paris prison ere the Reign of Terror came to an end. It depicts the process of reading out the list of the condemned, and the visitor to the "*Convent des Carmes*" would do well, before going to the hallowed spot, to study the painful but lifelike details of the grim picture. It will enable him easily to realize the difference in behavior between a batch of civilian condemned and a battalion of the soldiers of God ready to die for Christ, as the martyrs of the



Carmelite Convent were on that awful September day in Paris the Mad.

It is moral torture to the sensitive mind—torture of the keenest edge—to follow the historian of the time when mankind in France was preparing for Revolution by a process of counter-revolution, from Man to Demon. Frightful and repulsive though it be, it is yet salutary. The man or woman who deliberately enters on the course necessary for the surgical or healing art must have the moral fibre to stubbornly refuse redress or heed the warnings of history as to forcing peoples to fall back upon “the counsels of despair,” as the argument to revolution has been appropriately termed. The successors of the Marats, the Dantons and the Robespierres who hold the reins of power in the France of to-day are wiser in their generation. Their objective is the same, but they no longer plant an intoricated and shameless essential to conquer the risings of the gorge at foul and disgusting conditions inseparable from disease and death. So, too, the student who would profit by the teaching of history in order to learn what he can do toward uplifting our common mundane concerns to a higher plane of ideals and a nobler objective than the forbears possessed and strove after. Those wretches in human form who outraged heaven and humanity in France for four years of world agony did some service unwittingly. Their unspeakable infamies filled the general mind with a sense of horror so indelible and nauseating that it has ever since caused rational men to turn aside from the suggestion of revolution and seek a golden mean or a *modus vivendi* between wrongs which have grown to be unbearable and the systems which ration, and in the end achieve their malignant purpose of dechristianizing France. These wise fools appear to have read a great deal of history, but not to understand it yet.

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## AN IRISH FOUNDRESS.

CONVERSIONS from Protestantism to Catholicity are comparatively rare in Ireland. The racial and social lines of demarcation between the adherents of the ancient faith and the professors of the innovating creed, who long formed a dominant caste, were so sharply drawn that the religious question is not usually considered as a thing apart from politics and regarded on its exclusive merits as in England. Protestantism and Conservatism, representing the creed and the policy of the foreign element in the population, have mostly been convertible terms; and ever since foreign rule laid its heavy hand upon a country which has suffered so much from penal persecution and misgovernment, the deep-seated antagonism between the two creeds has been accentuated by political and social divisions. Although the line of demarcation is not now so rigidly traced, and in many parts, particularly in the South, is almost obliterated, and the antagonism is not so uncompromising on either side, owing to the political and social changes of recent years, from which has evolved a New Ireland—the popular movement having all but annihilated Protestant Ascendancy—there was a time when the profession and practice of Catholicism meant social ostracism, when Protestants and Catholics in Ireland stood aloof, when the former, the members of a wealthily-endowed State Church, in their pride of place and in the enjoyment of positions and privileges from which the others were debarred, looked contemptuously down upon the fleeced and fettered Irish who clung to the only thing of which the conqueror could not rob them—the Faith of their Fathers.

There is no rule without an exception; and the ruling caste in Ireland, even when Ascendancy reigned and revelled, comprised not a few whose attitude and action were very different from the majority of their co-religionists. One of these was Dr. David Aikenhead, a Cork physician, who, in defiance of Protestant prejudice, married Miss Mary Stackpole, the daughter of a Catholic merchant, and became the father of Mary Aikenhead, the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity.

Born in that city on January 19, 1787, at an epoch when the penal laws were relaxed but not yet repealed, she was brought up as a Protestant; her father, while allowing his pious wife to follow her own religion, having stipulated that their children should be reared as members of the then Established Church. Providence, which had other designs in her regard, so ordained that she was put out to nurse, as it is phrased, with one Mary Rorke, who lived on Eason's Hill, now called Eason's avenue, a narrow lane on the north side of

the city, contiguous to the Catholic Pro-Cathedral, then and long afterwards called "the North Chapel." During the six years she was in charge of this Catholic nurse she learned to join in Catholic devotions and to lisp the Rosary. Prayers to our Blessed Lady, whose name she bore, sowed the first seeds of faith destined in after years to fructify abundantly. This good, simple woman, one of the common people in whom the faith has ever been found purest and strongest in Ireland, was, unknown to herself, an instrument in God's hands in the working out of His designs. She and a poor servant named Molly Mullane took the infant to the North Chapel, where she received conditional Catholic baptism, although she had been previously taken to a Protestant church and was christened there. She often, too, took her to Mass as she grew older, and, when asked by her father as he was driving to Shandon church on a Sunday to accompany him to the Protestant service, she would cling closer to her nurse and in her childish way evince a preference for the Catholic chapel, with which she was more familiar. But after she returned home and had to go to church with her father and meet his Protestant guests<sup>1</sup> these Catholic impressions were half effaced and gave place to Protestant ones, for, meeting her former nurse one Sunday, she told her not to say any more prayers for her on the small beads, but only on the large ones. Mrs. Rorke, however, did not heed the admonition and continued to say the "Hail Marys." Again, when her grandmother, Mrs. Stackpole, offered her a pretty little rosary bead to decorate her doll's house, she replied: "No, thank you, grandmamma; all my dolls go to church except the kitchen maid, and it is much too good for her!" The Stackpoles, however, who descended from a branch of that Anglo-Irish family who came over with Strongbow and who had sacrificed everything by their adherence to the ancient faith, exercised a counter influence; and as Mary Aikenhead grew older and frequented her grandmother's house the prejudicial impressions made by her attendance at Shandon church were gradually effaced. They were pious Catholics and had partly rebuilt at their own expense the Church of St. Finbar,

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<sup>1</sup> One of his guests was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for Dr. Aikenhead, who retired from practice in 1798—the establishment of Aikenhead and Dupont passing into other hands—although his earlier sympathies leant to the dominant Protestant party, shared in later life the national aspirations of the people, joined the Society of United Irishmen and entered heartily into their views and plans. It is related that on one Sunday afternoon Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in the guise of a Quaker gentleman, sought refuge in his house when Dr. Aikenhead was entertaining, and joined the company at dinner, none but the host being aware who he was. But soon the party were disturbed by the arrival of troops, headed by the sheriff. The "Quaker" at once retired, and all the sheriff and soldiers could do was to ransack the house in search of compromising papers, which they failed to find.

originally erected in 1766 by a Cork Dominican,<sup>2</sup> Father Daniel Albert O'Brien, to replace the thatched building which stood on the site of the South Presentation Convent. Mary accompanied her grandmother to this church and to the North chapel and resumed saying the Rosary, in which she formerly joined along with her nurse and now added to her private devotions. Another Catholic influence was that of her widowed aunt, Mrs. Gorman, to whom she became very much attached. Assisting along with her for the first time at Benediction, she was greatly impressed by that simple and beautiful rite, which was explained to her as well as many other Catholic usages and devotions by her aunt, who gave her books to read, which she attentively perused. After a time she began to absent herself from Shandon church and to attend daily Mass at the Cathedral. She became more grave and thoughtful and felt more and more drawn towards Catholicism as the mists of prejudice were dispelled. The attraction was naturally strengthened by the death, on December 28, 1801, of her father, who was received into the Church, at his own request, before he passed away, consoled by the presence and ministrations of Bishop Moylan. A sermon by that prelate's coadjutor, Dr. Florence MacCarthy, seems to have fixed her resolution, and she declared to her aunt: "I shall never be happy until I am a Catholic." "Then why not become one at once?" was that good lady's reply. The response and the result was that on June 6, 1802, Mary Aikenhead, then in her sixteenth year, was received into the Catholic Church, making her first Communion on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul and getting Confirmation on July 2, the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin. These memorable dates were ever afterwards engraven in her mind, and to the close of her life she never omitted celebrating their anniversaries with joy and thanksgiving.

The story of her conversion is very simple in its few details in contrast with the complicated histories of other conversions. It

<sup>2</sup> In the eighteenth century the Cork Dominicans lived in a narrow lane off Shandon street, still called Old Friary Lane. In 1751 the provincial applied to the master general of the order for authority to establish a novitiate in Cork. Eleven years afterwards postulants were sent abroad to receive the habit and study for this house. Daniel Albert O'Brien, one of those affiliated to the old Friary, went to Louvain, where, having finished his scholastic course, he was appointed professor of philosophy and regent of studies. Returning subsequently to Ireland, he labored zealously in Cork and Limerick, being remarkable as a preacher both in English and Irish. The See of Cork was separated from that of Cloyne in 1748, and Dr. Richard Walsh, Bishop of Cork, entrusted to Father O'Brien the pastoral charge of the south parish, where he built the church still standing and also acted as vicar general, for in those days Dominicans held several parishes in Ireland, there not being a sufficient number of secular priests. He resigned the parish in 1774 and returned to his convent in Friary Lane, where he died seven years afterwards.

was brought about in a homely and natural way, the outcome of the edifying associations of an humble cottage in the first instance and subsequently of a refined Catholic household in which the traditional piety of a Catholic ancestry had outlived all the storm and stress of penal times. But, though simple in its inception, it was followed by great and enduring results in the sequel.

Inherited natural qualities, a benevolent disposition, clear-headedness, sound judgment and fixity of purpose formed the basis in her character of a superstructure of those supernatural virtues, rooted in faith, which fitted her for the work of foundress of a religious order. She was well educated in one of the excellent private schools which then existed in Cork, a city noted for the literary and artistic aptitudes of its citizens. Bishop Milner, who was the guest of Bishop Moylan about this time, was most favorably impressed by the Irish, whose education he considered to be very much in advance of that of the same class in England, despite the operations of the penal laws, designed to stifle the intellectual as well as the spiritual life of Catholic Ireland. Well read and accomplished, Mary Aikenhead joined freely in the amusements and entertainments which enlivened social intercourse in that sociable city; but however late she may have remained up at a party or entertainment, it was remarked that she never missed 10 o'clock Mass the next morning. Attendance at daily Mass is still the rule rather than the exception among average good Catholics at the present day, and has both surprised and pleased priests who have taken part in the general missions which are given every five years. Even while still in the world, she served a kind of apprenticeship to the work of a Sister of Charity, making daily rounds of the poorest quarters of the town, bringing comfort and relief to the sick and needy, as she made her way through the lanes and alleys in company with a young lady of like dispositions, Miss Cecilia Lynch. She was already idolized by the poor of her native city, to whom she was a visible Providence. Encouraged in the exercise of these active virtues by her confessor, Dr. MacCarthy, who was himself very devoted to the poor of St. Finbar's parish, his death, in 1810,<sup>3</sup> being much lamented, she made rapid progress in the way of holiness. Although since her eighteenth year she had been the mainstay of the family, and it was to her her widowed mother turned in every difficulty, and both relatives and friends contem-

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<sup>3</sup> He died a glorious death, a martyr to priestly duty. Passing one day in 1810 through a quarter of the city, not in his own parish (St. Finbar's), where a virulent form of fever was raging, he was told that a poor creature lay dying in one of the houses. A neighbor entreated the Bishop not to risk his life by entering, but he replied: "I will go and save that soul." He went in, attended to the spiritual needs of the dying man, caught the fever and died after a few days' illness.

plated a suitable matrimonial alliance for her with one of the best families in Cork, she had long made up her mind to leave the world and enter religion. To consecrate herself to the service of the suffering poor was what she most earnestly desired; but there was then no order in Ireland which combined outside charitable work with the conventual life, visiting the destitute in their own homes and tending the sick in hospitals. There were then only two convents in Cork, the Ursuline and the Presentation, both begun by the saintly Nano Nagle, the superioress of the former being Mother Louis Moylan, the Bishop's sister, while the coadjutor's sister, Mother Borgia MacCarthy, was one of the community. These nuns wished her to join them, and she sometimes thought of doing so. The Presentation nuns, who were vowed to the service of the poor, while the Ursulines educated the daughters of the well-to-do, more closely corresponded with the ideal she had in her mind; but, though they helped to rescue the children of the lower orders from the degradation of ignorance to which the penal code had consigned them, they were now an enclosed order, and it could no longer be said of them, as it was said of their self-denying foundress, that "there was not a single garret in Cork which she did not know." They could not go out into the byways and give their personal service to the destitute and the sick. The example of the daughters of St. Vincent de Paul in France and of Nano Nagle in her own city appealed more directly to her. While she was hesitating which order she would join, her friend, Miss Lynch, who was about entering the convent of the Poor Clares at Harold's Cross, Dublin, induced her to promise to defer her decision until she had visited her at the Convent of Saint Clare, hoping that she might be thereby induced to become a Franciscan nun. An invitation to Dublin from Mrs. O'Brien, a sister of the late Judge Ball, who had gone to Cork to be present at the profession of one of her sisters at the Ursuline Convent, enabled her, in 1808, to fulfill her promise. But much as she might have desired to join her friend, she saw clearly that the rule of the Poor Clares did not harmonize with her views. She was more in the sphere she loved in coöperating with her hostess, Mrs. O'Brien, in her numerous active good works, daily visiting the poor in the Dublin slums, realizing from frequent personal contact with them the need of a religious Sisterhood combining the contemplative life of prayer in their convents with the active life outside. The Irish metropolis was already suffering from the social blight of the Union, which provincialized and pauperized it, and the so-called Emancipation, which the Catholics had been tricked into believing would quickly follow it, was to be withheld for nearly three decades, until O'Connell wrung it from a reluctant Legislature after years of strenuous agitation. Irish

Catholics, still cowering under an arrogant Ascendency and overshadowed by penal laws—suspended over their heads like the sword of Damocles—worshiped in earthen floored chapels in the country, “saying their multitudinous prayers in the mud,” as Mrs. Oliphant<sup>4</sup> describes them, or in small chapels in the cities and towns hidden away in obscure quarters. Among the latter were the Chapel of St. Michan, in Mary’s lane, served by the Jesuits, the altar of which was attended to by some ladies, including Mrs. O’Brien’s younger sister, Miss Fanny Ball, afterwards the foundress of the Loretto Nuns in Ireland, and St. Mary’s, in Upper Liffey street, a dingy little edifice approached by a narrow passage from the street, and which, popularly known as “Liffey street chapel,”<sup>5</sup> was Archbishop Troy’s Cathedral. The latter was the parish church of the O’Briens, and its curate, the Rev. Daniel Murray, afterwards Archbishop Murray, was a frequent visitor at their house, where their guest, Miss Aikenhead, met him and was much impressed by his conversation and still more by his saintliness. When, in 1809, he was consecrated as coadjutor to Archbishop Troy, he began to consider the possibility of founding a congregation of Irish Sisters of Charity. Miss Aikenhead was made aware of it by Sister Ignatius Lynch, to whom Dr. Murray had suggested remaining disengaged until the foundation could be made, but the latter did not feel equal to the responsibility of a new order, whereupon she exclaimed: “Ó Cecilia! why did you not wait?” These few words were repeated to the coadjutor, and apparently set him thinking. He was also greatly struck by her fervor on one occasion when he and the Bishop of Cork, then in Dublin, were discussing the projected foundation Mary Aikenhead, kindling at once at the idea, turned to Dr. Moylan, exclaiming earnestly: “Oh, my Lord, when will *you* bring Sisters of Charity to Cork?” These expressions and the spirit that evidently prompted their utterance confirmed Dr. Murray in the opinion he had already formed that she was herself the instrument chosen by Providence to carry out the design and got Mrs. O’Brien to prevail upon her to give her coöperation. She replied that if an efficient superior and two or three members undertook the work, she should certainly think that in joining them she would be doing what God required of her. While the project was maturing the ladies engaged in charitable work in Dublin rented a house in Ash street, near the Coombe, for the purpose of sheltering a number of poor girls of good character, but in need of refuge. Mary Aikenhead took an active interest in this refuge, which it was pre-determined should be transferred to the Sisters of Charity as soon as formed. The thought of being

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<sup>4</sup> “Life of Montalembert.”

<sup>5</sup> It now forms part of the stores of Bewley & Draper, Mary street.

their foundress then never entered her mind, and it was to her dismay she learned that she was to be entrusted with that important work. At first, timid and self-distrustful, she declined to accept the responsibility, and it was not without much difficulty that Dr. Murray overcame her reluctance. She reserved her final consent, however, until after she had made a general confession to the Archbishop, thinking, doubtless, that it might lead him to alter his opinion as to her fitness. But Dr. Murray remained as decided as ever, and assured her most solemnly that it was God's will that she should carry out the work; for the time was ripe for the foundation. Encouraged by Dr. Everard, president of Maynooth, who was warmly interested in the undertaking, she finally consented. Accompanied by Miss Alicia Walsh, a lady of good family, she made, along with her, a year's novitiate at the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Micklegate Bar, York, where they arrived on June 6, 1812, the anniversary of her reception into the Catholic Church; studying the principles and practices of the religious life, taking the name of Sister Mary Augustin, while her companion chose that of Sister Mary Catherine, after the Citizen Saint of Siena, to whom she had a special devotion.

Like every chosen soul under similar circumstances, her constancy was tested by doubts and disquietude. She shrank from the responsibility of founding and directing an entirely new order, and was much troubled about her younger sisters, who had but recently left the convent school at Blackrock, their mother having died after her daughter's return to Cork. Dr. Murray dispelled her doubts and calmed her fears, assuring her that in "humble obedience there was the certain means of accomplishing the will of God," and that "there may be sometimes as much humility in accepting an office as in rejecting it." "I share in all your anxieties," he wrote, "but my apprehensions are not as lively as yours. The work in which you are preparing to engage is the work of God, and He is able to make it prosper. It would certainly fail if it were to rest upon human resources. Distrust yourself, trust in Him; and you cannot fail. He in whose hand the moistened clay could restore sight to the blind can make His frail, imperfect servant, if she be little in her own eyes, the powerful instrument of extending His glory."

The decision as to whether the new congregation was to be autonomous or subject to foreign supervision being left to her, the idea of making the foundation conformably to the *projet d'accord* with the French Sisters of Charity was, after much prayer and mature deliberation, ultimately rejected in favor of a home-governed institute, united, however, by the closest ties of charity with the older order in France and participating in all the spiritual advantages of



such a union, the work being based on the "Rule of the English Virgins" at York, as approved by Pope Clement XI. Meanwhile, in order to fit themselves better for the work, after the termination of their novitiate, Mary Aikenhead and her companion, at their own entreaty, spent an additional twelve months' probation in the convent at York.

The Veto question, then under the consideration of the Holy See, having necessitated Dr. Murray's presence in Rome, he availed of the opportunity to obtain from the ecclesiastical authorities all the faculties needed to establish the new community; and on his return in February, 1815, a house in North William street, Dublin, built by the Trinitarian Confraternity for an orphanage, was offered to and accepted by him from the president, Mr. Christopher Elliot, for their use in consideration of their taking charge of the orphans; a chapel being added by means of funds chiefly donated by Miss Matilda Denis, a lady noted for her many good works. On the octave of the Assumption, the titular feast of the future order, the foundress and her companion returned to Dublin, making their first vows on September 1, when Dr. Murray named Sister Augustin Aikenhead mother general and Sister Catherine Walsh mistress of novices. The first postulant, Miss Catherine Lynch, of Drogheda, arrived on the 3d of the same month; the three constituting the first community of the Irish Sisters of Charity, a *pusillus grex* destined to increase and multiply, making the worth and work of Mary Aikenhead known far and wide. The infant community having been placed under the special care of the celebrated Irish Jesuit, Father Kenny, with the Rev. Matthias Kelly as their chaplain, Dr. Murray returned to Rome and obtained from Pius VII., on the petition of Archbishop Troy, the Papal rescript for the canonical erection of the congregation; another Jesuit, Father St. Leger, having the largest share in drawing up the rule and constitutions, grounded, like the York rule, on that of St. Ignatius Loyola. The new order was, in fact, moulded, matured and inspired by the Irish Jesuits, under whose spiritual guidance the first Sisters were formed to solid piety. On December 9, 1816, the two first religious made their perpetual vows; the first public reception of novices taking place in the September following, the text of Father Kenny's sermon on the occasion—*Caritas Christi urget nos*—being adopted as the motto of the congregation, emblazoned in their chapels, engraved on their seals and exemplified in their daily lives. Meanwhile, on September 10, 1816, nuns were seen for the first time in Ireland visiting the sick poor in their own homes in the lanes and alleys of Dublin. Up to that time they had not assumed any distinctive costume, but merely wore a plain black dress and muslin cap, for which the religious habit, now so well known as that

of the Irish Sisters of Charity, was substituted at the Pentecost of 1817.

A few months after the first public reception, took place the first public profession, when Sister Mary Teresa Lynch, the first postulant, and Sister Mary De Sales Clinch pronounced their vows. The former finished her course very early, for three months after her profession she died of fever, death in 1818 lessening the number of the small community by the demise of two, Sister Mary Magdalen Chamberlain being likewise soon called to her reward. This increased the strain of work upon the survivors, Mary Aikenhead having to fill several offices beside that of mother general, sometimes replacing Mother Catherine as novice mistress, alternately going out to tend the sick or remaining to cook the frugal dinner which on two days in the week consisted only of porridge or "stirabout," or to scrub the stairs and corridor. It is related that on one occasion when scouring the stairs, all the other Sisters being out, she answered the door bell, summoned by a distinguished prelate, who called to see the superioress of the Sisters of Charity. She at once showed the visitor into the reception room and retired, saying that the reverend mother would be with him presently. In a few minutes the apron was removed, the skirt let down and Miss Aikenhead returned to engage in conversation with His Lordship, who apparently did not recognize in the dignified mother general the humble lay Sister who, as he thought, had answered the door. The strain of over-work threatening to break down her health, she had to retire to Rahan Lodge, in the King's County, a country seat of the O'Briens, to recuperate, returning after two months to North William street to train the future members of the congregation, aided by the experience in the spiritual life of Father St. Leger—a typical Jesuit, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of St. Ignatius and a master of the spiritual life—at all times her wise counsellor, particularly when, to leave Mother Catherine free to follow her special attraction in tending the sick poor, she relieved her of the office of mistress of novices.

Mrs. Aikenhead developed into an ideal novice mistress as well as foundress, uniting shrewd, practical, sound sense with high spirituality divested of anything merely emotional or exalté. "It was feared for some time by many," says one of her biographers,\* "that the union of daily practical laborious work with the strict interior discipline and high spirituality which the rule propounded, would be found too severe a strain for the feminine mind to bear, however it might come within the scope of some religious orders of men. At one time, later on in the history of the institute, an effort was actually made—to the great vexation of Mrs. Aikenhead—to change the

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\* "The Story of Mary Aikenhead," by Marla Nethercott, pp. 62-63.

constitutions and render them less strict. But the crisis passed, though not without loss and pain. Mrs. Aikenhead always held to the opinion that Sisters of Charity need to be more spiritual than other religious to uphold them in a purer atmosphere and prevent them from contracting any grossness of idea amid the scenes they daily witness. Archbishop Murray, as well as Father St. Leger, decidedly took the same view. The result has amply shown that the high training of the novitiate is calculated in an eminent degree to form the best types of women, full of noble self-restraint, with true dignity of character and the gentle reasonableness which should distinguish Catholic Christians. Simple yet cultured in manner, they exhibit a breadth of mind, and in many instances a masculine understanding, which a course of logic and the study of the higher branches of learning may develop in women; but how often in these cases are the spiritual faculties dwarfed, and but half the nature is developed after all."

The refuge in Ash street having been removed to Stanhope street in 1814, the Sisters of Charity, aided by Miss Denis, transformed it, in 1819, into the Convent of the Purification, which became the mother house when North William street was given up. Referring to this epoch in after years, she wrote: "The 29th will be the foundation day at poor old Stanhope street. I went thither from North William street on that day in 1819, leaving all the professed Sisters, namely Mother Catherine and two more, and taking with me just four novices, we having lost by holy deaths our two eldest professed Sisters the year before; so that our entire number was eight living members." There from 1819 to 1826 Mrs. Aikenhead devoted herself to the training of the novices, whose numbers steadily increased; still visiting and relieving the sick poor and performing other external duties.

Among the early band of Sisters of Charity, notes the writer<sup>1</sup> last quoted, there was a great diversity of age and circumstances. Some were quite young; others had reached a mature age when they joined, and a few were widows, as Mrs. Corbally, a very zealous member, much beloved, who devoted herself particularly to the House of Refuge, with most useful results, and Mrs. Coleman, who held for many years an important position in the congregation. Among those that entered the novitiate in Stanhope street was the reverend mother's sister, Anne, who soon after the marriage of their sister Margaret to Dr. Hinkson, of Killarney, decided to join the community, followed by her cousin, Mary Hennessy, a most valuable addition to the congregation, being extremely well educated and with a remarkable capacity for work.

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<sup>1</sup> Maria Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

The foundation, on November 13, 1826, of the Cork convent in Peacock lane, on an elevated site midway between the Cathedral and the Christian Brothers' schools, was the realization of one of her earliest day dreams. Its history is of special interest, one of many instances of association in well-doing which links lives lived for a common purpose. While she was making her novitiate in York Mr. Timothy Mahony, a member of the family who established the well-known Blarney woolen mills, died a martyr to charity,<sup>8</sup> bequeathing a sum of money for the foundation of a convent of the Order of Charity in his native city, where his memory is still held in benediction. A still larger sum was donated by the Misses Mahony, who belonged to another family of the same name. Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, who succeeded Dr. Moylan in 1815, gave effect to the testator's wishes, and in the autumn of 1826 brought Mrs. Aikenhead and Sister Mary Regis Teeling from Dublin to found the convent, primitively a ramshackle building, popularly called a "gazebo" and humorously designated "Cork Castle" by the nuns, who on November 19 began their work of visiting and relieving the poor of the north parish, in which their successors have ever since been engaged. The people, who have never lost their traditional reverence for the religious habit, were overjoyed to see them moving in their midst, and spoke of them by various names, such as "the walking nuns," the "Black Ladies" and the "Daughters of God." It was a trying time. Typhus fever was prevalent in the poorer quarters of the city, and they had to go at the risk of their lives into the wretched, unsanitary hovels and tenement houses in which the poor were huddled together, breathing a pestilential atmosphere. Two of the nuns were laid low with the dread epidemic, one, Sister Ignatius Aikenhead, eventually succumbing to its effects, the foundress having meanwhile returned to Dublin early in 1827, leaving Mrs. Teeling as rectress with a small community of four Sisters. But small as they were in numbers, they had to cope with a great deal of work. They instructed the sick in the North Infirmary, now in charge of nuns of the French branch of the order; took charge of the penitents in St. Mary Magdalen's Asylum, a most meritorious work in which the Irish Sisters confer a benefit on the public as well as on the individuals; taught catechism in the Cathedral<sup>9</sup> and opened

<sup>8</sup> He was an active and very zealous member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. He dreamt one night that a patient in the fever hospital was in danger of collapse and was at the crisis of the disease. The dream recurring, he got up and hurried to the hospital, where he found his dream verified. He administered the needed drink or medicine, saved the patient's life, but caught the fever, of which he died, to the universal grief and regret of his fellow-citizens, by whom he was held in the highest esteem.

<sup>9</sup> The formation and teaching of catechism classes by pious laity on Sundays in the Cork churches was begun in the south parish during the pastorate of Dr. McCarthy, at the suggestion of the grandfather of the present writer.

an evening class for children preparing for their first Communion. A class for adults was also formed, attended by a large number of the Catholic soldiers of the garrison, some of their Protestant comrades at their own request joining them, with the result that several were converted. The nuns had many difficulties to overcome, and their finances were often at a low ebb and left them without sufficient means to help the poor. Mrs. Aikenhead, however, taught them to share abjection and privation with those they spiritually and materially ministered to. "Sisters of Charity," she said, "are not to gain heaven without suffering with as well as for the poor."

The establishment of free schools in Upper Gardner street, Dublin, where with the £4,000 bequeathed for the purpose by Dr. Everard, they built a new convent—having given up the North William street house to a community of Carmelites—is illustrative of the educational difficulties Catholic teachers had to contend with at that epoch. Owing to the lack of Catholic schools, most of the children were totally unused to order or disciplinary control, and the rest had been attending sectarian institutions, where, being warned by their parents against the religious instruction given therein, they had become suspicious of their teachers and were now, when placed under nuns, unable for a time to distinguish the difference. At first the nuns found all their efforts unavailing to manage the noisy little mob that crowded the rooms; but at length, with the aid of the Christian Brothers, order was established and henceforward the schools flourished. They came to be regarded as the best in Dublin, while the convent was looked upon as the great mission house of the congregation. A poor school was also set up in Sandymount, one of the southern seaside suburbs of Dublin, where, from 1831 to 1835, Mrs. Aikenhead remained completely invalided, suffering from chronic inflammation of the spine.

In 1832 another and more trying ordeal awaited them. In that year Asiatic cholera broke out in Ireland, making its first appearance in Dublin, a city ill prepared, owing to overcrowding and squalor, for such a visitation. The courage and zeal of the Irish Sisters of Charity rose to the occasion. In their visits to the Grangorman Penitentiary, converted into a cholera hospital, the Sisters, some of them only novices, displayed that self-sacrificing heroism in which Irish nuns, whether facing death in hospitals or on battlefields, have never been found wanting. They were at the hospital from 8 o'clock in the morning until nightfall, only going to their convent at midday to snatch a hasty and meagre meal. The mortality was fearful. So rapidly did death carry off its victims that frequently eight different occupants of one bed succeeded each other in the course of a single day. The deaths daily posted at the hos-

pital gates numbered from fifty to eighty; the scenes among the crowd that constantly collected, as one after another read the name of a dear relative, being most distressing to witness. The nuns' zeal and total disregard of personal danger made a profound impression and compelled respect and admiration even on the part of Protestants not predisposed to regard Catholic religious favorably. One of the Sisters caught the contagion, but she recovered, and in a few days was again at her post. The epidemic disappeared from the city at the close of 1832, but reappeared in Sandymount and Irishtown the year following, when Mrs. Aikenhead opened a temporary hospital, served by the Sisters, at Ringsend, in close proximity to the latter place.

The cholera raged longer and with greater severity in Cork, where, the doctors failing to check its ravages, the people not only lost all faith in their treatment, but even regarded them with violent antipathy. The Sisters of Charity, at the instance of the Bishop, went from house to house in the lanes and alleys, endeavoring to persuade the stricken people to go to hospital. It was only the presence of the nuns, when brought to the hospitals, that restored public confidence, and often, it was only in their wake that the doctors could go in with safety. Many conversions took place on the bed of suffering or of death, for the poor stricken Protestants who lay there had none to give them spiritual consolation, their own ministers, both in Cork and Dublin, with one solitary exception, having declined to attend the cholera patients. When they saw those around them consoled in their last agony by the ministrations of the priests and Sisters of Charity, it was not strange that they should think that the religion which prompted its professors to such deeds of self-sacrifice and mercy would afford them the safest transit to the next world.<sup>10</sup>

Widespread destitution followed in the train of the cholera and afforded the Sisters occasion for a further exercise of that self-devotedness of which they had already given evidence, taking an active part in the work of relieving the famishing, the management and distribution of funds and food being assigned to them.

Meanwhile, during this life and death struggle with disease and destitution, Mrs. Aikenhead, placed *horse de combat* by her prolonged and painful illness, suffered a continual physical and moral martyrdom, being obliged to be constantly reclining in the one position except when she went out occasionally in a little vehicle to visit her convents and other places where her presence was necessary, unable to stand or move without intense pain. The patience and cheerfulness with which she endured all this reminds one of what is recorded of bed-ridden saints. Her only solace was reading, of

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<sup>10</sup> Maria Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

which she was always very fond. "One of the most remarkable features in her life," writes Maria Nethercott,<sup>11</sup> "is the fact that what would have brought an ordinary person's career of usefulness to a close was the very thing which formed the basis of the reverend mother's greatest undertakings. Confined as she was to her room, and often her bed, for weeks, months, and years, Mrs. Aikenhead governed her order by her pen, deepened the spiritual life in it by her own sufferings and instructions to others, and seemed endowed with inexhaustible energy and hope in opening out works of charity in every direction. So long as she was herself overwhelmed with exterior work and leading a life of constant unreprieve, it was impossible she could become the fountain of living water to others. Divine Providence altered all that by chaining the mother general to one spot, whence all her children might derive sustenance and guidance. Others might be the hands and feet, she was the *heart* and *soul* of the congregation. In the letters written at Sandymount, which were the first of a long series continued in other places, she spared herself no trouble, in some of them entering into minute directions about charitable projects or domestic affairs—for nothing of this sort was beneath her notice—in others treating of the most deeply spiritual subjects."

To this period belong the taking over, in 1833, of the Penitents' Asylum in Townsend street,<sup>12</sup> removed to Donnybrook in 1837; the founding, in 1835, of St. Vincent's Hospital, Stephens Green, one of the principal hospitals and medical schools in Dublin, started with a gift of £3,000 from Sister M. Teresa O'Ferrall, in what, in pre-Union times, had been the town house of the Earl of Meath, to which was added, in 1841, an adjoining house belonging to the Marquis of Westmeath; the sending out of a small colony of five Sisters, who volunteered for the mission in Paramatta, New South Wales, then a penal settlement; an unsuccessful attempt in 1840 to establish a branch of the order in Preston; a very successful foundation in Waterford in 1841; a foundation in Clarinbridge, in the west of Ireland, in 1844; at Clonmel in 1845; at Harold's Cross, which

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> This institution was begun by two persons in humble life, Mrs. Bridget Burke and a man named Quarterman, who organized a penny collection, procuring lodgings for poor women they sought to reclaim from evil life. The pious project succeeded so well that they were able to rent a house for the reception of the penitents, who were employed in washing and needlework. After a time its superintendence was undertaken by a zealous lady, Mrs. Ryan, niece of Archbishop Troy, under whose management it prospered, but after whose demise it suffered financially and otherwise. It was reorganized by Sister Francis Magdalen MacCarthy, of the Stanhope Street Convent. The work was subsequently transferred to Donnybrook Castle, formerly the residence of Chief Justice Flood father of the famous Henry Flood, one of the foremost figures in the old Irish Parliament.

became the mother house in place of Stanhope street convent, in the same year, and in 1858 one close to the venerable ruins of Benada Abbey, which formerly belonged to the Erenites of St. Augustin and was now, after the lapse of several centuries, restored to religious uses, the last official act of the foundress.<sup>13</sup>

Mary Aikenhead was a type of the valiant woman in the Biblical sense of the words. Difficulties neither deterred nor dismayed her. Those she encountered in the establishment of St. Vincent's Hospital, of all her foundations the one dearest to her great charitable heart, were not only financial, but arose from the captious criticism of people who thought it an imprudent undertaking, unsuited to religious. The majority, however, gave their sincere sympathy and approval and regarded with admiration the noble-minded woman to whose courage and exertions it owed its accomplishment.<sup>14</sup> That end was not reached until obstacles had been overcome which put her confidence in God, firmly founded on faith, to the test. "To yourself alone," she wrote to one of the Cork Sisters, "I freely say that we have not, or seem not to have, any one but the Almighty Himself to aid us in this great undertaking. Such coldness from all as would surprise you! . . . This want of support, this falling away of every one is a trial to me." She bore this trial, as she bore every other, with patience and fortitude. Soon influential friends like the Marchioness of Wellesby, a Catholic of Irish descent whose husband was Viceroy for the second time, and Daniel O'Connell, the liberator of Irish and English Catholics, who always took the greatest interest in St. Vincent's, gathered round her, money poured in,

<sup>13</sup> During the Elizabethan war, which laid Ireland waste, the troops of Sir Richard Bingham invaded the abbey, which was confiscated and bestowed upon a Welshman named Roger Jones, a bitter Protestant, whose descendants down to the close of the eighteenth century signalled themselves as fierce persecutors of the Catholics. The Roger Jones of that day, a man of violent temper, hearing that the parish priest was about to denounce from the altar a member of his flock who lived on the Benada property, threatened if he dared to carry out his intention he would assault him at the altar. The priest, however, took no notice, and on the following Sunday proceeded to perform what he considered his duty, and mentioned the name of the man whose conduct deserved this public censure. No sooner were the words uttered than Jones, who was in the church, sprang over the altar rails and lifted his hand to commit the outrage. The people rose and with one voice cried out: "The curse of St. Athracha be upon you!" Immediately the uplifted arm dropped powerless, stricken by a fatal paralysis. He recognized a supernatural power in it, sent for the priest, begged his forgiveness, and after a time was received into the Catholic Church. His eldest son became a priest and bequeathed the property to his nephew, from whom sprang the first generation of Catholic Joneses. The eldest son of this nephew became a Jesuit and two of his daughters nuns, one an Irish Sister of Charity and the other a Sister of Mercy. Father Jones became the founder of the Convent of Our Lady of Benada, donating the ancestral seat of Benada Abbey to Mrs. Aikenhead for her congregation.

<sup>14</sup> Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 105.



and the supplies did not fail until all was satisfactorily accomplished at a cost of about £8,000. The magnificent banqueting room in the Marquis of Westmeath's town house, which had been the scene of many a brilliant revel in pre-Union times, was filled with the sick poor of Dublin, Protestants as well as Catholics, a noble example of large-hearted and broad-minded Christian charity in a country where the Catholic majority were still often the victims of intolerance and injustice, a fact which did not prevent her from appointing Dr. Bellingham, a Protestant of a very anti-Catholic family, as second physician to the hospital.

From 1835 to 1845 Mrs. Aikenhead usually lived at St. Vincent's, where, in 1840, she kept the silver jubilee of the foundation of the Irish Sisters of Charity, and two years later the fortieth anniversary of her reception into the Church. There she brought out translations, compilations and new editions of standard works for the use of her communities, and there received many distinguished visitors, including Dr. Wiseman (not yet Cardinal), whose cousin, Mrs. MacCarthy, was at the time rectress; Dr. Pusey, who found conversation with her so absorbing that on one occasion his visit extended to two hours, for she was deeply interested in the Oxford Movement, and gratified his wish to witness a religious profession, which he did at Stanhope street convent; Gerald Griffin, who came from time to time to see his sister, then a novice, to whom he expressed his appreciation of the foundress in the laconic comment, "She'll do," but who had already poetically panegyricized the Sisters of Charity in his exquisite verses, and Richard Dalton Williams, another Irish poet, whose poem in praise of the "Sister of Charity, gentle and dutiful," was read in court when, in 1848, he was tried for treason-felony, and *Iræ* and "Adoro Te devote" for the "Manual of Prayers" Mrs. *Iræ* and "Adoro Te devote" for the "Manual of Prayers" Miss Aikenhead brought out for the use of the congregation, and wrote an original poem, "Teach me, O God," for their little hymn book. She does not appear to have ever met Newman during the great Oratorian's five years' sojourn in Dublin (1845-59), but his name was inscribed in the list of donors to St. Vincent's Hospital, and he sometimes said Mass in the chapel while rector of the Catholic University. Had they met two remarkable personalities, types of rival races but united in the same faith, would have encountered each other. She was a born leader of women, as he was a born leader of men. Her bearing at this time is described as majestic, and the sweet benignity of her countenance as expressive of the qualities that made her both revered and loved by her spiritual daughters and sisters, and gave her such an extraordinary influence over all who came in contact with her. The most eminent and distinguished persons considered it a

treat to converse with her, for she was exceptionally well informed on a wide range of subjects, and they frequently found their way up the long ascent to her apartments in the upper story, where they felt they were in presence of a remarkable woman of a strongly individualized character. She was open and genial with every one; even in the least concerns, observes one of her biographers,<sup>15</sup> her greatness of soul and her indifference to worldly opinions were apparent.

She was a visible embodiment and living illustration of the rule she vowed and followed faithfully to the end, both in the letter and the spirit. She was full of kindness in her intercourse with her subjects, though Faber says that religious folk, as a rule, are an unkindly lot. Of her pleasant, half-humorous way of administering a reproof some piquant traits are given, which reveal at once her character and her method of direction. Her love of truth was intense, and she particularly encouraged straightforwardness in the young Sisters. "A deep sense of truth without quibbles," she says in one of her letters, "we should be careful to require in every candidate of both classes. Try that all ours should discriminate between artful and real simplicity." Another time she wrote: "I wish we could teach folk the importance of simplicity. Truth suffers always from any deviation from beautiful simplicity." She had great skill in reading character, and was not easily deceived. It was said she could "rip up the truth with a look," with one of those "long glances" described by her children. Those who did careless or stupid things, with the idea that they were cultivating piety, were her special aversion. "We want young women who have sense and know how to use it," she would say. Perfection, she taught, consists in doing ordinary actions in a perfect manner, and with the full bent of the powers of the soul. "I don't like people who always look down," she once said to a lay Sister who had charge of the halls and parlors. "Look up, child," pointing to the ceiling, from which a large cobweb hung. "And now, my child," she added, "if you looked up more to the heavens, you would do your work in a more perfect way for God." While she liked fervor and earnestness, showing that a Sister's heart was in the work, she disliked and discouraged fussiness. "My child," she said to a nun who was overanxious about one of the patients she had charge of, "you would want to carry about a priest in one pocket and a doctor in the other." She delighted to see the Sisters going through the wards, busy and cheerful, attending to the sick poor. When she saw an expression of anxiety or weariness on a Sister's face she would say: "Have you too much to do, my heart? I am afraid the yoke of the Lord is too heavy for you. God loves

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<sup>15</sup> Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

the cheerful giver." On occasions she did not hesitate to rebuke severely, and cut deep, but it was a tongue that smote only to heal. "Did you meet N. N.?" she asked of a Sister. "Yes, mother," was the reply; "she seems in great affliction." "I fear I did speak to her severely," said Mrs. Aikenhead. "Oh, I am sure you did," the nun observed, "for she is breaking her heart crying." "I am glad to hear it," she quietly remarked. "God loves a heart that is easily made to bleed. He can readily imprint His own Divine character on it." Of a young nun she wrote: "Talent of a useful kind she has, but we must try to plough up the ground somehow. True humility she has never evinced, and she is quite deficient in self-knowledge. Pray, and teach her as much as you can. I fear there is a want in her brain, and unless our Lord is pleased to grant abundant grace, I should fear our ever being able to make use of the talent. Do, my dear child, teach her to take her heart asunder, and to look into the folds of it. She certainly thinks herself of more importance than any one without solid virtue can ever be in a community. That confidence which utter ignorance gives to certain characters is really astonishing. We often observe that she is one never apt to ask a question, and never to see her own defects; but she has one blessing, *good temper*. However, that is often an accompaniment of bold, undaunted characters. Don't be disedified. I only speak as I would of the maladies of her body to the physician. She is one who would really be the better of a real humiliation caused by her own actual fault." This passage is photographic in its minute delineation of character and depicts *au vif* the sagacious superior with the ripened mind and the raw, unformed subject. "One word for all," she wrote to a superior of one of her houses, "beware of over-smooth, quiet folk. Those who fall into many faults either from ardent temperament, or even a certain degree of levity and vanity, have a good experience of humiliation, and with openness of heart will improve and be useful." Of a certain nun she said: "M—— has not much quickness, but if she turn her mind to zeal, and does not allow her own body and its ailments to occupy the powers of her soul—I mean the memory and the will—she has a vivacity of intellect which will help her. Indeed, the less we indulge our poor imaginations on points entirely selfish, either relating to soul or body, the holier and happier we shall be. And I do believe the arch-enemy is ever trying to keep us occupied with self in some shape or other, well knowing, the cunning wretch, that whilst he can keep us in such occupation of mind, he succeeds in forming an obstacle to all sanctity." She greatly disapproved of any of the Sisters wishing or praying for death, declaring that "it is a glorious lot to live and be allowed to labor for God. This," she added, "I learned from the dying lips of

a young and saintly nun,<sup>16</sup> when near her last struggle, and I have often thought that if any one ever died in the enjoyment of a certain conviction of the Divine Presence, that holy soul was the one. So, my dear, let us ever glory in our exercises of mind and body in this life, trying to live by faith." To one of the nuns she wrote "not to allow the faint-hearted idea of wishing to be relieved by death to have one instant's place in her passion of thoughts," characterizing it as "worse than cowardice" and tending to "a very great illusion" and "non-conformity with the Divine will."

Her practical bent of mind is shown in the following bit of advice to a nun engaged in an important work: "You know it would be a sort of presumption to say, 'I can do all things in Him who strengthens me,' if you were to omit the necessary exertion on your part. Your character requires not so much the exercise of disengagement from creatures as a steady effort to die to self. Be assured of it, self-love is the source from which all our trials derive their bitterness." She was not one of those who would put a high thing upon a low ground; her idea of the religious state and its obligations was elevated. Though permanently invalided, and, like St. Teresa, nearly "ground to powder" with letter writing, she threw herself heart and soul into the work of directing by means of correspondence the superiors of distant houses, many of whom were comparatively young and inexperienced, anxious that the spirit of the first band of Sisters of Charity should be transmitted to future generations. That spirit was akin to that of the saints. "Truly," she wrote to one of the Sisters to whom she was sending an ecclesiastical history of Ireland, "we are the successors of eminent saints, and we ought to know and emulate their virtues." Like the saints, she had to sow in tears what she reaped in joy. Alluding to the difficulties that frequently beset her, she wrote: "Only that we must confide in the miraculous Providence of the Almighty Father, I own to you I should 'faint in the way' from the difficulties that surround us; but we must try our best to stand steadily under the heat and burden of the day, and with perseverance labor in our special engagements in the service of the poor. . . . A Sister of Charity would be very faulty who should refuse to cast all her solicitude upon that Almighty Providence of whose miraculous power we have had during the last thirty years such constant and wonderful proofs." She always met blame and misrepresentation, of which her critics were unsparing, with silence, and advised the superiors of her houses to do likewise. Nothing would induce her to admit as a member any one

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<sup>16</sup> One of the Gardiner street community, who died of brain fever in 1845. and who, while still a young novitiate, had zealously tended the stricken and dying during the cholera epidemic in Dublin.

who stipulated to be sent to any particular locality or engaged in any special work. "I *never* will admit any person to profession for a particular place," she declared emphatically. "If ever that be done (no superior could do it with a safe conscience), we may date the upset of the congregation. If £3,000 a year, or £10,000 were the fortune, a point of this kind, which includes the destruction of *obedience* and *dependence*, must never be conceded." One of the Sisters who happened to be with her on an occasion of severe trial to the congregation, relates that no word of censure towards those who caused the trouble or the slightest act betrayed the anguish she was enduring; only occasionally the murmured words, "O my God, not as I will, but as Thou wilt," or "*Fiat! fiat!*" escaped her lips. Even when her physical sufferings increased, and her chronic spinal malady became complicated with frequent attacks of bronchitis and cardiac trouble, she was always uncomplaining and cheerful. "How are you to-day mother?" she was asked one morning. "Ah, how could I be, my dear child," she replied, "but like a crock that you may have seen in the country tied up with cords and kept together by careful handling. Only for the charity and attentive care of our dear Sisters, I should long since have come asunder." Another time, when unable from ill health to attend daily Mass, she was asked if she did not feel it a great privation. "Oh, yes, child; the very greatest," she answered; "but I'll tell you how I sanctify it and occupy my thoughts during Holy Mass. First, I reflect how unworthy I am of being present at the great Sacrifice of Calvary; therefore, it is right He should call on me to make the greatest sacrifice I can offer Him. Then I solace myself by going in spirit to each of our convents, and uniting at each altar with the great Victim who offers Himself to His Eternal Father for us poor sinners. And I think with humility of the condescension of the great God in making use of *me*, so weak an instrument, to procure His Divine Majesty so much glory. Oh, pray, child; I ought to be a saint!" If she was not a saint in the sense of those who have been raised to the honors of the Church's altars, she strove to follow in their footsteps and, at least, assimilated some of their qualities. A distinguished ecclesiastic who knew her intimately said she reminded him of St. Teresa and St. Catherine of Siena, "with a dash of the Celtic nature." One of the characteristics of the saints which she possessed was freedom of spirit, a Catholicity and breadth of mind which excluded all narrowness. She was entirely free from any rivalry or jealousy of other orders, saying that "in the Holy Church there is room for all," warning her subjects against "every illusion of false zeal or false love of their own institute." She sympathized deeply with those who devoted all their energies to alleviate the sufferings of the

wounded during the Crimean War, expressing her warm appreciation of the noble mission of the Sisters of Mercy who went to the East, ordering prayers to be offered for them in all her convents. She had already established a union of prayer and good works with the York Convent, the Congregation of Hospitaliers of St. Thomas and the French Sisters of Charity, the Irish Sisters being almost in spiritual union with the Dominican Order and the Society of Jesus.

Her last days were spent at Our Lady's Mount, Harold's Cross, to which she removed from St. Vincent's in 1845, the year of its foundation, and where the apartment she occupied is shown to visitors. Although her closing years were a series of struggles against an accumulation of infirmities, she retained her clearness of intellect and vivacity of spirits to the last, her Irish wit and humor enlivening her conversation, still continuing interested in passing events and still writing, though suffering great bodily pain. A postulant of that period, who went to arrange about entering the noviceship, describes how "the great old mother" entered the room, leaning on a stick and attended by her favorite black dog, which leaped up beside her when she sat down. "There was a grandeur in the outline of the features and in their expression," she says, "and there were certain curves about the mouth and cheeks which I do not remember to have seen so marked in any other face. Her large, well set eyes, which looked soft enough to melt when she moved, and were so heavenly when a holy chord was touched, had also much humor in them at times, and could give full expression to a majestic severity when it was necessary to defend a just cause. Her soul shone through them. She inspired both fear and love. But the fear was perhaps rather that diffidence which one feels in the presence of a powerful and strongly individualized character. And yet I do not remember that I ever met any one to whom I approached with greater confidence and in whose presence I less felt my own weakness."

Letter writing became more and more difficult during those closing years on account of a rheumatic affection in her fingers, and she used to speak of "her poor lame pen." As the end approached she was unable to leave her bed. She suffered from an affection of the heart and a tendency to dropsy, and when the latter subsided paralysis set in. To her physical sufferings were added spiritual trials—that feeling of loneliness and desolation akin to the dereliction on Calvary, which some souls are called upon to endure before the spirit leaves the body. One day, after her confessor had left, the infirmarian heard her murmur, as if thinking aloud: "No comfort, no support!" The Sister ventured to remind her of St. Francis Xavier on the desert island of Sanciano without one kindred spirit to commune

with. "True, child, true," was the reply. One of the virtues specially practiced by her in those last days was humility, shown notably when she reverently received Holy Communion, which she did several times in the week, and in the penitential exclamation, uttered with bowed head: "Oh, that *I* should have *presumed* to offend the majesty of the great God!" Some time before her death her usual serenity of mind returned, and she recovered her peace of soul, receiving great consolation from the Rev. Dr. Bartholomew Russell, O. P., who paid her several visits, as did also Archbishop Cullen. Towards the close of March, 1858, she received the last sacraments, and on July 22, the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, the Viaticum, expiring about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while her children knelt around her. In a crypt under a beautiful limestone cross in the cemetery at St. Mary's, Donnybrook, rest the remains of the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

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#### THE NEO-PAGANISM PROFESSED IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

THE conscience of every Christian in the land must have been shocked by the revelations recently made of the anti-Christian, anti-social and anti-American teachings scattered broadcast from certain professorial chairs of the leading non-Catholic institutions of higher learning. These revelations have been published in the columns of a reputable magazine<sup>1</sup> on the authority of a writer who seems to have taken pains to verify the utterances which he records. And, since these articles have remained unchallenged and uncontradicted, we should be justified in presuming that they are correct, and that they fairly represent the tone and spirit of American university teaching on religious and social subjects. But we are saved from the necessity of relying on mere report by the recent publication of the authentic utterances of a man who has been for forty years president of the foremost New England university, who may, therefore, be reasonably presumed to be well acquainted with the views on religion that obtain in the other universities, and who maintains, as the outcome of all his experience and observations, that a new religion, of which he gives the grotesque outlines, is needed and is bound to come in the near future.<sup>2</sup> Dr.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Cosmopolitan* for May, June, July, August, September, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1909, "The Religion of the Future," by Charles W. Eliot.

Eliot in his lecture puts on a certain veneering of Christian ethics, preserves a faint echo of Christian teaching, which makes his neo-paganism all the more insidious. Nor can we, indeed, be astonished at the wildly extravagant pronouncements that issue from the dry wood of the rostrums of irresponsible professors when we find that such deeply anti-Christian tenets are held and openly professed in the green wood of the respectable, supposedly conservative presidential chair of Harvard.

It would seem at first sight that the Catholic Church or a Catholic Review like ours has little or no concern with such pitiful lucubrations of unbalanced professorial minds. Catholics are nowise surprised at the erroneous utterances of those whose teachings are based on the shifting sands of religious and philosophic doubt. Nor is it to be feared that any considerable number of those who possess the faith will be influenced by the strange vagaries of the professors. Still there is no knowing how deeply and widely such poison filters. Moreover, the Church has always a duty towards the truth, of which she is the "pillar." She is bound to refute and repel error wherever she meets it, whether within or without the fold; and she has the God-given mission to safeguard and hold aloft for all men, as well as for her own members, the lamp of "the true Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world." There is a further and very special reason why Catholics should take notice of these utterances. It arises from the fact that large numbers of Catholic young men frequent those very institutions, which, from their presidents down to their youngest professors, appear to be tainted with anti-Christian teaching. St. Paul tells us that "Faith cometh by hearing; and hearing by the word of Christ." (Romans x., 17.) Faith can also be lost by hearing, and especially by hearing doctrine so subversive of the word of Christ as that set forth in his lecture by the president emeritus of Harvard University.

It is appalling to think of the injury done to faith and morals by such teachings as those before us, set forth with all the prestige and influence of professedly learned presidents and professors. And it is a very serious question for Catholics whether they can conscientiously expose their sons or daughters to the not only faith-less but faith-destroying atmosphere of such colleges. Catholics know that there is only one answer to this question, the answer recently voiced before an admiring House of Commons by an Irish Catholic member, when he said that he would prefer his children to know the "Our Father" than all the "ologies" taught in universities. Short of sheer necessity, it is a grave responsibility for Catholic parents to expose their children to the agnostic teaching which prevails to-day in nearly every non-Catholic university. There may be, and there are, cases



where it becomes necessary for Catholic young men to avail themselves of the technical and professional schools of State endowed universities. But in such cases it behooves the parents and the Church to provide suitable antidotes, in the way of proper instruction and supervision. In this connection one cannot praise too highly the care and forethought of the Bishops who have taken means to supply proper Catholic instruction and guidance to the young men whom circumstances cause to attend secular universities. Of course, the ideal would be to have such abundance and quality of higher institutions of our own as would obviate any such necessity. And it may be said that we have them, even at present, in greater numbers and efficiency than Catholics realize. And if wealthy Catholics were only to imitate their non-Catholic social friends in generosity towards educational institutions and in *esprit de corps*, there would be no need for sitting at the feet of agnostic lecturers. This is the "consummation devoutly to be wished." Meanwhile, it is incumbent on us all to counteract, as far as we can, the mischievous doctrines of neo-paganism. This is the purpose of the following notice of Dr. Eliot's Harvard lecture on "The Religion of the Future."

Dr. Eliot's views of the "new religion" which he forecasts may best be gathered from his own words, which are to be found in the report, already referred to, of his lecture delivered at the close of the Harvard Summer School of Theology. He premises by saying that his "point of view is that of an American layman."<sup>3</sup> And he gives as reason for broaching the subject his conviction that the varying winds of doctrine ventilated at the summer school "must surely" have made on his auditors "the general impression . . . that religion is not a fixed but a fluent thing."<sup>4</sup> He bids them conclude that "the religion of a multitude of humane persons in the twentieth century may, therefore, be called, without inexcusable exaggeration, a 'new religion'—not that a single one of its doctrines and practices is really new in essence, but only that the wider acceptance and better actual application of truths familiar in the past at many times and places, but never taken to heart by the multitude, or put in force on a large scale, are new."<sup>5</sup> He gives no reasons for prognosticating this new religion, nor does he say why it is to be confined to "humane" persons, excluding the "profanum vulgus" who are usually supposed to be most in need of religion. But Dr. Eliot, who, apparently, shares with the freedman poet of Rome contempt for the common people, understands, we suppose, by "a multitude of humane persons" the product of American colleges, such as

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<sup>3</sup> P. 391.

<sup>4</sup> P. 390.

<sup>5</sup> P. 390.

we see them at intercollegiate football matches. For these most people would think that it is not a new religion, but a revival of some few, at least, of the salutary truths of the old religion of Christendom that they need. Their spokesman, however, thinks that what they want and will have is a new religion, meaning thereby, as he explains, nothing new in essence, but a conglomeration of the intellectual aberrations and vaporings of human passions which have cropped up in individuals or in heretical bodies "at many times and places," and which are henceforth to be the religious pabulum, the rule of life of the "multitude of humane persons," that is, of the American educated classes, "in the twentieth century."

It is interesting to discover the negative and positive elements of this religion of the humane persons of the immediate future, such as they appear to the experienced mind's eye of the forty years president of Harvard. In reading over his *exposé* of the new religion one cannot but regret that the author seems never to have studied the "institutional Christianity," to which he contemptuously refers,\* especially the only true, historic form of it, the Catholic Church. Had he done so, he would know that the Christian Church has never set on high some of the idols which the new religion is to knock down, such as "the personification of the primitive forces of nature," the "worship, express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers or rulers," nor "the identification of any human being, however majestic, with the Eternal Deity." Again, had Dr. Eliot studied Christianity, he would have learnt that what he considers as one of the chief "finds" of the twentieth century, the indwelling of God in His rational creatures, in the sense of St. Paul's words: "In Him we live, move and have our being," has been taught and practiced in the Church from the beginning in a way which, unhappily, the ex-president wots not. But it would be too much to expect that those who speak and write so flippantly of subjects supposed to be within their immediate cognizance, as many American professors are reported to do, should study seriously the authentic doctrines of Christianity. They prefer to utter the fictions of their own minds and to surmise that their humane listeners will accept their views of what religion should and should not be. Dr. Eliot gives us a series of seven negative attributes of his new religion—a sort of *Septem Contra Thebas* attack on what he erroneously considers the Christian religion. And when he has done with this lopping off process, little remains but a skeleton God who is an essential, immanent part of humanity.

Let us now see "what," according to Dr. Eliot, "the religion of the future seems likely not to be."

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\* P. 293.

1. "The religion of the future will not be based on authority either spiritual or temporal." The religion thus negatively described would be a contradiction in terms. For there can be no specific form of religion which is not founded on authority either human or divine. For, as the Angelic Doctor teaches, whereas the rendering due honor and reverence to God, in which religion essentially consists, is a dictate of man's natural reason, the determination of this innate impulse to one form of worship or another is the effect of human or divine institution, that is, of "authority either spiritual or temporal." The rudest form of religion among savage tribes is based on ancestral custom or on tribal enactments; the religions of the cultured pagans of Greece and Rome, of Persia and Egypt were based on state ordinances and ceremonials; the religion of the Israelites claimed to be based on divine authority, which regulated even the details of its majestic liturgy; the religion of the Christian Church, in its Catholic, Apostolic form, is based on the immediate authority of its Head, the Christ, the Son of God. But Dr. Eliot's "religion of the future will not be based on authority either spiritual or temporal." Surely this cannot be; such a religion would be based on airy nothing. And if all else fails, if every other authority, spiritual and temporal, is to be ignored, the multitude of humane persons will refer to Dr. Eliot himself, and to his fellow-professors as authorities on the scope and purport of their new religion.

2. "There will be no personification of the primitive forces of nature." It is not easy to see what the ex-president is driving at here. One would hardly think that Americans of the twentieth century, especially the "multitude of humane persons," would be at all likely to fall back on the thunder and lightning worship of the aboriginal Indians, or on the Sun worship of the Eastern peoples. However, the "personification of the forces of nature," which would lead, even indirectly, to the discovery of the Author of nature, would be far more rational than the pantheistic God, whom Dr. Eliot describes as "the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy."<sup>8</sup>

3. "There will be in the religion of the future no worship, express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers or rulers; no more tribal, racial or tutelary gods; no identification of any human being, however majestic, with the Eternal Deity." The first two clauses of this paragraph have little interest or meaning for Christians, except, perhaps, they apply to the hero-worship of New Englanders for the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth Rock; but there is much anti-Christian venom concealed in the last clause, if we interpret Dr. Eliot's mind

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<sup>7</sup> 2-2, lxxx1., 2 ad 3.

<sup>8</sup> P. 394.

aright. When he says that in his supposed religion of the future there will be "no identification of any human being, however majestic, with the Eternal Deity," he must be referring to the Christian worship of the God-Man, the Word Incarnate, the Redeemer of the world. Here, again, allowance must be made for the want of knowledge of the doctrine of the Incarnation which Dr. Eliot shows, in common with the ninety-nine hundredths of those outside the Catholic Church, who even profess Christianity. In the Catholic faith concerning Jesus Christ there is no "identification of a human being with the Eternal Deity." The Catholic holds that in Christ there are two natures, the human and the divine, each entirely distinct from the other, but both united in the hypostatic union of the Word, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. There is here no identification of the human being with the Eternal Deity, but there is recognition of the fact that Christ is God and Man at the same time, that is, One in Person, and that this Person is the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity. Hence divine worship is due to Christ, as to the Eternal Deity, with whom, in His Divine Nature, He is consubstantial. Dr. Eliot is, probably, correct in his forecast that the multitude of humane persons taught by him and by his fellow agnostic professors will reject the Divinity of Christ, as, indeed, they have rejected it already. Such a doctrine as that of the mystery of the Incarnation cannot possibly subsist where revelation and authority are decied.

4. "In the religion of the future the primary object will not be the personal welfare or safety of the individual in this world or any other." Here we have a proposed communism in religion, which is far more unreasonable than the communism in goods, the economic socialism which Dr. Eliot and his humane followers would be the first to condemn. Religion is essentially a personal affair, and its immediate object must always be the spiritual welfare and safety of the individual. For the very end and purport of religion is to bind the individual soul to God, through knowledge and love, reverence and worship. The neglect of one's own salvation, the suffering the loss of one's own soul would be the negation of religion. It is true that the Anglican Bible makes St. Paul say: "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh" (Romans ix., 3); but this is, evidently, a mis-translation and a misinterpretation of the Apostle's mind. The original Greek word is more correctly rendered by the Latin word *optabam* in the Vulgate and by the English of the Rheims version in use among Catholics—"I wished"—referring, clearly, to his former zeal in persecuting those same Christians whose religion he is now spending himself to preach. (Acts ix., 2; I. Cor. xv., 9.)

Indeed, it is in St. Paul's teaching that we find the most explicit enunciation of the truth that one's own salvation primes over every other consideration. The great preacher tells us that he chastises his body and brings it into subjection, lest, perhaps, when he has preached to others he himself should become a castaway. (I. Cor. ix., 26.) And he tells us, further, that he knows that if he have not divine charity, that is, personal union with God, his preaching would be as sounding brass, his knowledge and faith would count for nought; yea, martyrdom itself would profit him nothing. (I. Cor. xiii., 1-3.) In his touching farewell address to the Bishops of Ephesus he exhorts them to take heed to themselves first, and then only to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed them Bishops. (Acts xx., 28.) It is the same advice which he gives to his beloved disciple, Timothy: "Exercise thyself unto godliness. . . . Take heed to thyself." (I. Tim. iv., 7, 16.) The priority of personal sanctification over every other religious consideration is the most marked lesson to be gathered from the life of Him who said of Himself: "For them do I sanctify Myself. (John xvii., 19.) And the author of "The Imitation of Christ," who has probably best interpreted the Divine Master's teaching, expresses this truth very emphatically: "Whatever may become of others, neglect not thyself."\* The professedly disinterested altruism of the new religion is very pleasing on paper; but no thoughtful man can sincerely believe in its existence in fact. To hold that men, even the multitude of humane persons, will live and labor for others, with no thought of the final outcome for themselves, in this world or the next, is to ignore the facts of experience as well as the very nature of man's constitution. A learned and thoughtful university professor, Dr. Inge, of Cambridge, in a recent sermon at Westminster Abbey, well expressed this truth.

✓ "We need not fret and fume about the future of religion or of civilization. God will see to that; but if we neglect our own souls, that little bit of work will remain undone, for no one else can do it. It is just because this kind of teaching is unpopular that I want to insist upon it. The popular preacher just now is the man who congratulates himself and his hearers that we have got rid of 'selfish individualism'—that we no longer think of saving our own souls, but of the Divine principle of human brotherhood; above all, that we have brought down religion from the clouds to rest on solid earth. I am afraid that this talk about selfish individualism is little better than mere cant. The real reason why people do not like to be exhorted to save their souls is that they are not sure whether they have souls to be saved. The real reason why a secularized Chris-

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\* "Imit. of Christ," Book I., Chap. XXV.

tianity appeals to them is that the eternal 'things which are not seen' are not only out of sight, but out of mind. They are not really believed in. There are many clergymen now who stigmatize as 'unpractical' and 'useless' any teaching which has no immediate bearing on the bread problem. It is strange that any reader of the Gospel should think that there is anything in the world more practical than the eternal destiny of souls."<sup>10</sup>

5. "The religion of the future will not be propitiatory, sacrificial or expiatory." In elucidation of this fifth negative quality of the new religion the lecturer gives us his views of the origin and nature of religious sacrifice in words which show an entire want of knowledge of the whole subject. He regards the origin of religious sacrifice to be "the fear of the supernal powers, as represented in the awful forces of nature, in primitive society;" he refers contemptuously to the sacrifices of the Hebrews; he thinks that "the Christian Church made a great step forward when it substituted the burning of incense for the burning of bullocks and doves," but he regrets that "to this day there survives not only in the doctrine but in the practices of the Christian Church the principle of expiatory sacrifice." And, of course, he concludes that "it will be an immense advance if twentieth century Christianity can be purified from all these survivals of barbarous or semi-barbarous religious conceptions, because they imply such an unworthy idea of God."

All this means, what is more explicitly expressed elsewhere in the lecture, the total rejection of the Old Dispensation and the New, the denial of the sovereignty of God, of the dependence of the creature, of the fall of man, of the need of atonement, of the fact of the Redemption. It is not to be wondered at that those who have rejected the great Sacrifice of the New Law should logically throw overboard sacrifice altogether; but a little careful study of the Christian religion would have saved the lecturer from the error of ascribing a savage origin to the idea and practice of Christian sacrifice. Sacrifice, in its proper sense of an offering, whether of external sensible things or of the soul itself to God, to acknowledge due subjection to Him as the sovereign Creator, and to honor Him, is, as St. Thomas points out, a dictate of the natural law. Hence it has been practiced by all peoples and in all ages.<sup>11</sup> There is deep down in the mind of man, whether savage or civilized, a sense of dependence on a Superior Being, whom it is necessary to propitiate and honor by sacrifices of one kind or another. Christians hold that man needs sacrifice for three purposes—the remission of sin, the preservation of grace and the attainment of eternal bliss.<sup>12</sup> The sin offering, the

<sup>10</sup> See *The Guardian*, September 8, 1909.

<sup>11</sup> 2-2, 85, 1.

<sup>12</sup> 3, 22, 2.

peace offering and the holocaust of the Old Law fulfilled this three-fold end of sacrifice in a partial and figurative manner; it remained for the God-Man, through the sacrifice of His human nature on the Cross on Calvary, to satisfy fully and literally the requirements of eternal justice, and at the same time secure the peace and happiness of divine grace and the means of final union with God for all mankind. For He "was delivered up for our sins" (Rom. iv., 25); "And, being consummated, He became, to all that obey Him, the cause of eternal salvation" (Hebr. v., 9); and we have "therefore, a confidence in the entering into the sanctuary by the Blood of Christ." (Hebr. x., 19.) All these effects of the Passion and Death of Christ are fully renewed and perpetuated by what Catholics know as the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.<sup>13</sup> But Dr. Eliot tells us that his new religion "rejects the entire conception of man as a fallen being;"<sup>14</sup> and that it "will magnify and laud God's love and compassion, and will not venture to state what the justice of God may or may not require of Himself (sic) or of any of his (sic) finite creatures. This will be one of the great differences between the future religion and the past."<sup>15</sup>

With the fall of man ignored and the justice of God brushed aside, there will, indeed, be no room or need in "the religion of the future for anything propitiatory, sacrificial or expiatory."<sup>16</sup> However, in denying the fall and in shutting their eyes to the requirements of the justice of God, those "humane persons of the twentieth century" will be going counter to the beliefs and practices of all mankind, since the very dawn of creation. Even Voltaire acknowledged that "the fall of degenerate man is the foundation of the theology of all ancient nations."<sup>17</sup> And the great naturalist, Cuvier, asks: "Could peoples, with so few relations with one another, with so little in common, in language, in religion, in morals, could they agree on this point of the fall of man if their ideas on the subject were not founded on truth?" This belief is found in the legend of *Prometheus Vincit*, as dramatized by Æschylus; it was taught by the Druids; it is believed by the Hindoos; it is found in the books of Zoroaster; and modern philological and ethnographical researches have discovered it in the ancient creeds of Yucatan, Peru and Mexico. Moreover, sane philosophy has to recognize it; for, as Pascal said in his *Pensees*, without this mystery of original sin, and the consequent fall, man would be, in his present condition, incomprehensible to himself;

<sup>13</sup> Quidquid est effectus Dominicæ passionis, est effectus hujus sacramenti—St. Thomas. In Iren., 6.

<sup>14</sup> P. 395.

<sup>15</sup> P. 401.

<sup>16</sup> P. 393.

<sup>17</sup> See "L'Ami du Clerge," 4eme Serie, No. 42.

man is more unthinkable, without the light of this mystery, than the mystery itself is unthinkable to man. Indeed, no human philosophy, apart from the revelation of this mystery, could ever give any satisfactory explanation of the disorder and woe which prevail in the world. There is no other truth more important to grasp for those who sincerely wish for the embetterment of mankind. Those who ignore or reject it fashion, instead, such wild utopias as those which the new religion promises to bring in its wake.

6. "The religion of the future will not perpetuate the Hebrew anthropomorphic representations of God, conceptions which were carried in large measures into institutional Christianity. . . . The nineteenth century has made all these conceptions of Deity look archaic and crude."<sup>18</sup> This negative statement concerning the new religion may best be refuted by the lecturer's own words a few paragraphs later on, where he says of it: "It is anthropomorphic; but what else can a human view of God's personality be? The finite can study and describe the infinite only through analogy, parallelism and simile; but that is a good way."<sup>19</sup> So here we have what the "nineteenth century made look archaic and crude" in the Old Revelation described as "a good way" for the new religion. It would, therefore, seem that the new religion, after disrobing itself of all the old beliefs, must turn round and don again some shreds of them to cover its metaphysical nakedness.

7. "The religion of the future will not be gloomy, ascetic or maledictory. It will not deal chiefly with sorrow and death, but with joy and life. It will believe in no malignant powers, neither in Satan nor in witches."<sup>20</sup> Here we have another example of Dr. Eliot's usual method of jumbling together ideas which have nothing in common. His main purpose seems to be to contrast the glories of the new religion with the "institutional Christianity," which he derides. But he goes out of his way to bring in bits of idolatry and of savage worship, which he blends in his argument with the teachings and practices of Revealed Religion. Perhaps he is quite unconscious of the vast and vital distinctions between both; but in that case he should have left the whole subject to other hands, even to those of some other "American layman." In the passage before us he mixes belief in Satan with that in witches, and gloom and malediction with asceticism in the categories of beliefs to be rejected by the new religion. Dr. Eliot should know that no form of Christianity professes belief in witches, but that every Christian is bound to accept the very positive revelation made to us by God regarding the

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<sup>18</sup> P. 394.

<sup>19</sup> P. 397.

<sup>20</sup> P. 394.



existence and the evil character of Satan. It is not the new religion that will drive his sable majesty out of the world, or even weaken his influence therein. Again, the lecturer ought to know that there is nothing gloomy in authentic Christianity. Peace and joy were the blessings proclaimed in the heavens at the advent of the Incarnate Word; they were the inheritance left to His own by the Founder of Christianity. (St. Luke ii., St. John xiv.) Probably the ex-president of Harvard has in mind the gloomy tenets of the New England Puritans. But whilst not gloomy or maledictory, Christianity, and, for that matter, all religion is necessarily ascetic, that is, exercising the faculties of the soul to attain their end, the knowledge and love of God, and, consequently, restraining by self-discipline and mortification the lower or animal faculties of man, which, in consequence of the disorder wrought by original sin, are constantly "warring against the spirit." Unfortunately, our lecturer does not believe in original sin or in sin of any kind. His new religion, therefore, has no use for asceticism or for repentance, since, as he tells us, "it will teach that repentance wipes out nothing in the past."<sup>21</sup> This new religion is to be all joy and life, and to eschew sorrow and death. Perhaps the skilled surgeons who, it seems, are to be the priests of the new religion, will have succeeded in eliminating death altogether from human experience. This, however, is scarcely to be expected; and the multitude of humane persons of the twentieth century, as of every century before, will have to face the inevitable, as they call it. The gloom of death will flit across their joy and life and fill them with the saddest of all sadness, the pagan sadness such as runs through the writings of that most cultured votary of pleasure, Horace, whose works Newman found to be, for this reason, sad reading.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, one of the greatest blessings of Christianity is the abiding solace and comfort which it offers to man in the presence of sorrow and death. Any form of religion, so called, which offers no supernatural balm for the wounds of sorrow and misfortune, no eternal hope beyond the dark portals of death, is utterly worthless. How different is the rôle of historic Christianity, as embodied in the Catholic Church! A distinguished university president, a convert to the Church, has quite recently set it forth in the following words, which reflect the serious frame of mind which the world has a right to expect in university trained men: "To many of us, and especially to those who have arrived at or passed the middle age, the Church stands prominently out as a consoler and helper in time of trouble. Few, indeed, have reached the '*mezzo del cammin de nostra vita*' without having experienced the need of that help and sympathy

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<sup>21</sup> P. 393.

<sup>22</sup> "Life and Letters of Miss Mozley."

which the Church is so well able to extend in the hour of stress and tribulation. Those who are near and dear to us are called away; friends become estranged; children disappoint; the Church is ready to pour balm into the wounds of the spirit. Misfortune and ill health dog the footsteps; the Church is there to point to a better world, where God will wipe the tears from every eye. She is there, too, to promise that when we also are called to pass 'ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem,' she will unceasingly pray to God for us that He may give us the entry to that place of refreshment, light and peace, for which every tired spirit longs. From this point of view few of us Catholics advance any very great distance along the pathway of life without finding abundant reason for crying out, 'Thank God for our holy faith.'"<sup>23</sup>

Compare this language of one of the foremost scientists of the day with Dr. Eliot's description of his new religion in its relations to sorrow and death. "To the wretched, sick and down trodden of the earth religion has, in the past, held out hopes of future compensation. . . . Can the future religion promise that sort of compensation for the ills of this world? . . . A candid reply to this inquiry involves the statement that in the future religion there will be nothing 'supernatural.' . . . It is obvious, therefore, that the completely natural quality of the future religion excludes from it many of the religious compensations and consolations of the past."<sup>24</sup> Thus the new religion stands self-condemned as lacking the power to supply the greatest need of suffering humanity, supernatural hope and consolation.

Having thus considered with Dr. Eliot "what the religion of the future will not be," let us now consider, with him, "what its positive elements will be." Here we are in presence of an attempt to build a great structure out of airy nothing, contrary to the dictum of that humane materialist of antiquity, Lucretius—*Nihil ex nihilo fit*. Let us see how it succeeds.

"The new thought of God," says Dr. Eliot, "will be its (the new religion's) most characteristic element. This ideal will comprehend the Jewish Jehovah, the Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy and the biological conception of a Vital Force. The Infinite Spirit pervades the universe, just as the spirit of a man pervades his body, and acts consciously and unconsciously in every atom of it. The twentieth century will accept literally and implicitly St. Paul's statement, 'In

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<sup>23</sup> Address by Dr. Bertram C. A. Windle, K. S. G., president of University College, Cork, on "The Intellectual Claims of the Catholic Church," October, 1909.

<sup>24</sup> PP. 397, 398.

Him we live, and move, and have our being,' and God is that vital atmosphere, or incessant inspiration. The new religion is therefore thoroughly monotheistic, its God being the one infinite force; but this one God is not withdrawn or removed, but indwelling, and especially dwelling in every living creature. God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him (sic) and the least particle of his (sic) creation." We are informed that in the new religion "every man makes his own picture of God (that is, of the god to whom the new prophet refers without using capital letters). If, now, man discovers God through self-consciousness, or, in other words, if it is the human soul through which God is revealed, the race has come to the knowledge of God through knowledge of itself; and the best knowledge of God comes through knowledge of the best of the race." Here we have set forth the false doctrine of *immanence* which the Pope recently condemned in the writings of Modernists. It is a doctrine which, as we shall see, involves pantheism and must logically end in atheism. Our lecturer acknowledges, yea, boasts, that this doctrine "is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness, and Satan against Christ. The doctrine of God's immanence is also inconsistent with the conception that He once set the universe agoing, and then withdrew, leaving the universe to be operated under physical laws, which were his vicegerents or substitutes. If God is thoroughly immanent in the entire creation, there can be no 'secondary causes' in either the material or the spiritual universe. The new religion rejects absolutely the conception that man is an alien in the world, or that God is alienated from the world. It rejects also the entire conception of man as a fallen being, hopelessly wicked, and tending downward by nature; and it makes this emphatic rejection of long accepted beliefs because it finds them all inconsistent with a humane, civilized or worthy idea of God."<sup>25</sup>

In the above description of the God of the new religion we have, as elsewhere in the lecture, some expressions, such as that "man is hopelessly wicked," and that God "withdrew" from the universe which He had created, apparently set up to be easily knocked down, carrying with them in their fall some of the most fundamental beliefs of Christianity. But the main idea of the new God immanent in every creature is bluntly anti-Christian, and, if the lecturer would only reflect and acknowledge it, anti-theistic. There is a true sense, in which it must be said that God is indwelling in the universe, and especially in every living creature; there is even a still higher and

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<sup>25</sup> PP. 394, 395.

closer indwelling, which, we fear, is beyond the ken of the votaries of the new religion, the indwelling of God in the souls of His elect, through divine, supernatural grace. The omnipresence of God is an elementary truth of theistic philosophy, as well as of Divine revelation. But the mode of this omnipresence is the stumbling block of modern Kantian philosophy, which is the basis of the new religion. The philosophy which the schoolmen adopted from Aristotle solves this question, like so many others, in the only way which is consonant with right reason and with Revelation. God is present in everything, since He immediately operates in everything that exists (Isaias xvi.); but He is present not as a part of the essence of things nor as an accident, but as an agent is present in the object of His activity. Every created being is an effect caused by the uncreated, self-existing Being of God; and this effect is caused not only in the first creation of beings, but it continues as long as they continue in existence, just as light continues to be caused by the sun, as long as the atmosphere continues to be illumined. In the same manner God is present everywhere, not as filling space, but as the One who has given being to all things that are in space (Wisdom xi.). God is present in every being by His essence, as the cause is present in the effect; by His power, since all things are subject to Him, just as the sovereign supremacy obtains everywhere throughout the state; by His presence, inasmuch as all things are naked to His eye. Moreover, God is present in a special and intimate manner in the relational soul which is united to Him by knowledge and love—a union which is effected by Divine Grace alone, and which, therefore, exists only in the souls of the just.<sup>26</sup>

This rational and, at the same time, Christian view and explanation of God's omnipresence is radically opposed to the doctrine of *immanence*, which, we are told, is to be the most characteristic feature of the new religion. *Immanence*, as interpreted by its supporters, from Kant down to the Harvard lecturer, means that God is present in every being, and especially in living beings as part of their essence. In other words, every being is a part of God. This doctrine makes all beings, in their several spheres, especially, of course, humane persons, so many gods. God is what their individual consciousness represents Him to be, and nothing more; their beings and lives and movements are those of God. And this is the perverse meaning they give St. Paul's words to the Athenians: "In Him we live, move and are." (Acts xvii., 28.) There is a fathomless abyss between the omnipresence of God by essence, power and presence, and between even His special presence in the souls of His elect by the knowledge and love which are the effects of His grace, and the

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<sup>26</sup> St. Thomas, "Summa," 1-8-1-4; Aristotle, "Physics."

*immanence* which represents God as sharing His very essence with His creatures, and thereby making them, as the serpent promised Eve, "be as Gods." (Genesis, iii.)

This doctrine of the *immanence* of God in created beings, as interpreted by its votaries, is nothing more or less than rank pantheism. And pantheism dissolves logically into atheism. For cause and effect cannot co-exist; and if God shares the essence of His being with creatures, which have only participated being, He cannot at the same time be the Great First Cause, the eternally self-existing Being, which reason postulates as God; and therefore there is no God outside the creature, which means that there is no God at all. Yet this is to be the main, "the most characteristic element" of the new religion. The consequences of such a notion of God are far-reaching. It does away with all objective truth outside man's own consciousness; it rejects all revelation other than that which man develops within himself; it sweeps away all ethics and morality save what is agreeable to the individual or collection of individuals at a given time; it brings God down to the level of the creature, and makes man his own God, irresponsible save to himself. And we are told that man thus raised to the dignity of a self-conscious god, will straightway cease to be selfish, and will go out of himself to "universal love and service."<sup>27</sup> When we reach this point of Dr. Eliot's description of his new religion and new God, we are prepared for all manner of extravagant utterances regarding the beneficent effects that will follow. "It will teach a universal good-will, under the influence of which men will do their duty, and at the same time promote their happiness."<sup>28</sup> "The new religion will foster powerfully a virtue which is comparatively new in the world—the love of truth and the passion for seeking it."<sup>29</sup> "The new religion affords an indefinite scope or range for progress and development. . . . It is not bound to any dogma, creed, book or institution."<sup>30</sup> The lecturer thinks that the new religion will be "as helpful to the spirit of man" as what he calls "the numerous deities revered in the various Christian communions—God the Father, the Son of God, the Mother of God, the Holy Ghost and the host of tutelary saints."<sup>31</sup> Fancy the deep knowledge of Christianity displayed in this last sentence by the forty years president of Harvard University! Yet it is on a par with the rubbish scattered all through the lecture. Worst of all, the lecturer winds up with what must appear to the rationalist even a gross libel on the Gospels, but what must shock the Christian

<sup>27</sup> P. 401.

<sup>28</sup> P. 402.

<sup>29</sup> P. 403.

<sup>30</sup> P. 404.

<sup>31</sup> P. 403.

as a horrible blasphemy. After telling us that what he calls "the numerous deities—God the Father, the Son of God, the Mother of God, the Holy Ghost" are to be brushed aside by the religion, that its "scientific doctrine of one omnipresent Energy is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness and Satan against Christ," that "in the future religion there will be nothing 'supernatural,'" that "its sacraments will be, not invasions of law by miracle, but the visible signs of a natural spiritual grace" (whatever that means), that "the completely natural quality of the future religion excludes from it the religious consolations of institutional Christianity," that "the future religion will not undertake to describe, or even imagine the justice of God," that "the new religion will teach no such horrible and perverse doctrines" as "the prevailing Christian conceptions of heaven and hell" which, we are told, "have hardly any more influence with educated people in these days than Olympus and Hades have"—after telling us all this, the president *emeritus* of Harvard concludes: "Finally, this twentieth-century religion is not only to be in harmony with the great secular movements of modern society, but also in essential agreement with the direct, personal teachings of Jesus, as they are reported in the Gospels. The revelation he (sic) gave to mankind thus becomes more wonderful than ever."<sup>32</sup>

Indeed, this gloss on the Gospels and on the teachings of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is "more wonderful than ever" was conceived by gnostic or agnostic, by pagan or heretic. It is left for the forty years president of the leading American university to set forth as the only acceptable religion of humane persons the pantheism, and atheism, the self-worship and self-chosen ethics of the pagan past, and clothe them in some of the tattered garments of Christianity.

Dr. Eliot's fellow professors appear to be less squeamish about preserving even the semblance of Christian garments for their religious and ethical theories. They, if we are to believe the statements already referred to, frankly reject Christianity and all its belongings. They rejoice with far more outspoken glee at the overthrow of the beliefs of ages. In reading their rapturous onslaughts on the most cherished tenets of Christianity, one is reminded of what a great English layman, who knew something of the nature and history of Christianity, as well as of paganism, Mr. Gladstone, once wrote in comment on the anti-Christian teachings of a celebrated professor of the dechristianized Sorbonne: "I own my surprise not only at the fact but at the manner in which in this day writers, whose name is legion, unimpeached in character and abounding in talent, not only

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<sup>32</sup> P. 407.

put away from them, cast into shadow or into the very gulf of negation itself, the conception of a Deity, an active and a ruling Deity. Of this belief which has satisfied the doubts and wiped away the tears, and found guidance for the footsteps of so many a weary wanderer on earth, which among the best and greatest of our race has been so cherished by those who had it, and so longed and sought for by those who had it not, we might suppose that if at length we had discovered that it was in the light of truth untenable, that the accumulated testimony of man was worthless, and that his wisdom was but folly, yet at least the decencies of mourning would be vouchsafed to this irreparable loss. Instead of this, it is with a joy and exultation that might almost recall the frantic orgies of the Commune, that this, at least at first sight, terrific and overwhelming calamity is accepted and recorded as a gain. For those who believe that the old foundations are unshaken still, and that the fabric built upon them will look down for ages on the floating wreck of many a modern and boastful theory, it is difficult to see anything but infatuation in the destructive temperament which leads to the notion that to substitute a blind mechanism for the hand of God in the affairs of life is to enlarge the scope of remedial agency; that to dismiss the highest of all inspirations is to elevate the strain of human thought and life; and that each of us is to rejoice that our several units are to be disintegrated at death into countless millions of organism; for such, it seems, is the latest 'revelation' delivered from the fragile tripod of a modern Delphi."<sup>33</sup>

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## IS MARS INHABITED?

THE question as to whether the planet Mars is actually inhabited by a race of intelligent beings is frequently brought to our notice by the press. It is a most interesting question, not only in itself, but also in the manner in which it is debated. Victory seems to be uncertain as to which side it shall award the palm, since, as is natural to human beings, each champion will generally unwittingly commit himself to an erroneous or exaggerated statement, and thus expose a weak point to the shafts of his adversary.

Professional astronomers are almost all on the negative side.

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<sup>33</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1885, "The Dawn of Creation," a critique of Dr. Reville's "Prolegomenes de l'Histoire des Religions."

Percival Lowell, of the Flagstaff Observatory, Arizona, is the strongest advocate of the positive side, and as he is also the best observer of Mars and has at hand a larger and better mass of actually observed facts than any other astronomer, he is in a position to assail any argument that is claimed to be based on facts.

The only safe way, therefore, to study the problem is to take Lowell's own writings, to grant his observed facts, and then to analyze his deductions and examine his arguments. It is only in this manner that the battle may be fought on even ground, for when it comes to reasoning, a recluse in his cell is on a par with the best observer.

Lowell has collected all his observed facts and expressed his ideas in two popular books, "Mars and Its Canals" and "Mars as the Abode of Life," published respectively three years and one year ago. When quoting these works I shall call them I. and II., respectively, followed by the page number. But before proceeding to review these books it will be necessary briefly to recall the principal facts concerning our sister planet as they are given in astronomical textbooks.

Mars, as we know, is the planet whose orbit is next outside the earth's. It requires 687 days, or one year and ten a half months of our reckoning, to complete its circuit about the sun. Its distance from this luminary is about fifty percent. greater than ours, so that it receives only about half as much light and heat per square mile as the earth does.

The planet itself is a globe like the earth, and is about as much flattened at the poles. It is certainly a solid, as the permanence of its surface markings proves. Its diameter is about 4,200 miles, a little more than half the earth's. Its volume is only one-seventh as much, and its surface area about twenty-eight per cent., that is to say, 100 pounds on earth would weigh only 38 pounds on Mars. It turns on its axis in 24 hours, 37 minutes, 22.67 seconds, so that its day and night are only a little longer than ours. Its equator is inclined to its orbit at very nearly the same angle that the earth's is, so that its seasons are identical with ours, except that they are about twice as long.

Mars has a very rare and transparent atmosphere. The barometer which registers a terrestrial pressure of about thirty inches at sea level would sink down to less than four inches on Mars. Human beings, therefore, like ourselves could evidently not exist there. This is admitted by all. This rare atmosphere is seldom obscured by clouds, and these clouds are rather dust than water vapor. On account of this wonderful transparency of its atmosphere, combined with the fact that when Mars is nearest the earth it turns a fully



illuminated disk towards us, it is that we are enabled to see so many details upon its surface.

Three kinds of surface features are generally distinguished upon Mars. The first are the white patches about the poles, which are formed during the winter and disappear during the summer. The second are patches of bluish gray or green, and the third are extensive regions of various shades of orange and yellow. While the first are still supposed by many to be snow and ice, the second were for a long time taken to be water and the third land, but modern observations have shown that the famous canal system to be mentioned later traverses both regions indiscriminately, and that therefore this division must be abandoned.

Lowell maintains that the green portions are vegetation (II., 106), and that the orange ones are deserts, and that these latter cover five-eighths of its surface (II., 186). Mars, he says (II., 142), "is a world-wide desert, where fertile spots are the exception, not the rule, and where water everywhere is scarce. So scanty is this organic essential that over the greater part of the surface there is none to quicken vegetation or to support life." And (II., 144): "Untraversable without water to organic life, and uninhabitable, the Sahara cuts off completely the planet's hemispheres from each other, barring surface commerce by sundering its supplies." Mars' water supply, he estimates (II., 141) as 1-189,000 as much as the earth's.

Owing to the low barometric pressure on Mars, water would boil (II., 40) at about 110 degrees Fahrenheit. It would for the same reason rapidly evaporate. It must, therefore, if it exists at all, be found to some extent in the atmosphere of Mars and be visible in our spectroscopes. Whether this is the case or not is at present under discussion, and scientific journals abound in statements made by the opposing parties. As our own terrestrial atmosphere contains water vapor in ever varying quantities, we must ascend to the top of a high mountain in order to look through the least possible amount of air and vapor. Then by pointing the spectroscope successively to Mars and our moon at equal altitudes, we have a standard of comparison, because the moon is known to have only a most insignificant amount of water vapor on its surface, if it has any at all. Lowell maintains that under these conditions Mars shows the band of water vapor in its spectrum much more intensely than the moon, while Campbell, the director of the Lick Observatory, cannot see any difference.

Mars has no mountains. If any existed, they would be easily seen at the terminator, the sunrise or sunset circle, where they would cast conspicuous shadows, as they do on the moon, which for that reason is such an interesting object even in small telescopes. "Altitude

must therefore be a negligible factor in Martian surface meteorological phenomena. Both density and temperature can be but little affected by such cause." (I. 63.)

Owing to the rarity of the air and the general absence of clouds, "insolation on Mars is more of a factor than with us" (I. 79). Hence during the long days of summer, which itself is about twice as long as ours, heat may accumulate to a considerable extent in spite of the rarity of the atmosphere. This is a point well taken by Lowell. There may, therefore, be sufficient heat for the support of life, which the equally long and extremely cold winter would only cause to hibernate without destroying. (II., 187.) "The Martian climate is one of extremes. . . . In summer and during the day it must be decidedly hot, certainly well above any possible freezing. . . . The maximum temperature, therefore, cannot be low. The minimum, of course is. . . . Organic life is not in the least debarred from finding itself there." (I. 380.)

And in reference to observations that he has himself made on the top of the San Francisco mountains near his observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, Lowell says (II. 96) that "the fact of a few warm weeks made life possible, outweighing the impossibility of all the other long, cold, forbidding months."

He claims that "the mean temperature of the surface air of Mars should be about 48 degrees F.; . . . that of the earth is only 60 degrees F." (II. 86.) Here, however, he is at variance with Poynting (*Monthly Weather Review*, November, 1904) and the generality of astronomers, who say that the four terrestrial planets, Mercury, Venus, Earth and Mars, part with the sun's heat by radiation into space as fast as they receive it, and that therefore their surfaces must be at a constant mean temperature. This temperature is for the earth about 62 degrees F., and for Mars 36 degrees below zero. With such a low average temperature it is hard to see how life could endure. However, Lowell remarks (II., 103) that "man can endure 70 degrees below zero F. if the air is still, but perish at 40 degrees below under the least wind. Even a breeze, therefore, is equivalent to a fall of 30 degrees F. in the temperature." The rarity of the Martian atmosphere precludes the possibility of violent winds, and in so far favors the existence of life.

Nor is this rarity of the Martian atmosphere such an essential bar to life as is generally supposed. "Another point the presence of the animals on the San Francisco Mountains serves to bring out—their indifference to thinness of the air." (II. 96.) Lowell says that the species of deer, bear and other animals are the same at 10,000 feet elevation, where the barometer is only 18 inches, as they are at sea level, with 30 inches. In the same way meadow larks at 8,000

feet in Colorado are the same as at 2,000 feet in Kansas. Moreover, many of these animals migrate semi-annually from the top of the mountains to the bottom or the reverse with the change of the seasons. And even men adapt themselves to live at various heights. The thinness of the air on Mars is consequently no obstacle to the existence of animal and much less of vegetable life.

The absence of mountains on Mars increases the probability of life. "That we do not find animal and vegetable life at the tops of our highest mountains" (II., 103) is because they are isolated peaks separated by impassable gulfs. This hindrance does not exist on Mars. These, we must admit, are points in which Lowell reasons well.

What shall we say of the polar caps of Mars, which grow during the winter and diminish during the summer? The northern cap diminishes from 78 degrees to 6 degrees, and the southern one from 96 degrees to nothing (II., 114), while on earth the north polar cap is never less than 20 degrees or 30 degrees, and the southern 38 degrees (I. 42). Lowell maintains these caps to be ice and snow. "As the north polar cap melts, there comes a season when an indefinite pearly appearance fringes its edge, obliterating its contours, which before were sharp. This persists for some weeks, off and on, and when at last it clears, the cap is seen reduced to its least extent. That it is mist caused by the melting of the cap there is little doubt." (II., 136.) This mist, he says (II., 82), is a blue belt and proclaims the presence of a liquid. "The substance composing the caps was therefore snow. For no other that we know of dons their snowy aspect with change of state."

The late Simon Newcomb said in the *Monthly Weather Review* for October, 1908. "For snowfall substitute frost fall; instead of feet or inches say fractions of a millimeter, and instead of storms or wind substitute little motions of an air thinner than on the top of the Himalayas, and we shall have a general description of Martian meteorology." The polar caps he maintains to be hoar frost. Even at the equator the sun cannot melt more than one or two inches of ice in a day, and this freezes at once over night. Snow and ice evaporate at all temperatures; this explains the shrinkage of the caps. A planet radiates as much heat as it receives; air blankets very little.

Lowell maintains (II., 140) that owing to the peculiar topography of Mars "moisture would proceed poleward, to remain there." The sun's heat and the rare atmosphere would evaporate the water wherever it existed. At the poles there would be evaporation only in the summer time, while during the winter the moisture from other regions would distill over and be precipitated there. The water, he says, is returned to the equatorial and other zones by artificial means, as we shall see later.

He claims that the polar caps cannot be carbonic acid, as some have maintained, because although this when frozen is as white as snow, it changes from the solid to the gaseous state without passing through the liquid state. Now the polar caps of Mars are always fringed with a deep blue line, which cannot be anything else but water. (I., 39.)

This fine blue line fringing the caps seems to be Lowell's only real argument for proving the presence of water on Mars. It is a rather slender thread to support such a weighty conclusion. It is needless to say that he is alone in this contention.

And as water vapor is there, Lowell infers that therefore the less volatile gases—nitrogen, oxygen and carbonic acid—must be there also (II., 104). As all these gases, which are the constituents of our own atmosphere, found their presence on Mars ultimately on the fine blue line which fringes the polar caps, and which Lowell is the only one to have seen, the argument is rather weak and unconvincing. The direct spectroscopic proof of the presence of oxygen in the atmosphere of Mars, which Lowell claims recently to have obtained, still awaits confirmation.

We come now to the most interesting part of Arean topography—the famous canal system. Here we must trust Lowell almost implicitly, since no other person has ever been able, even with superior optical power, to see as much as he has depicted. The keenness of his eyesight, as well as his assiduity, are truly marvelous. According to Lowell the canals cover the whole surface of the planet (II., 194). They are extremely fine lines, almost entirely beyond the visibility of most observers. They run in arcs of great circles, that is, to use an unmathematical term, they are perfectly straight. Their smallest width is about one mile (I., 181), and as to length, 2,000 miles is common; many exceed 2,500; one is 3,540 miles long (I., 183). This is one-third of a circumference (I., 183), or, rather, only one-fourth (II., 150), and as long comparatively as if it extended on earth from London to Denver, or from Boston to Behring Strait. They are to be found in all latitudes, longitudes and directions (I., 190). They are, however, visible only during the summer; they “hibernate” (I., chap. xxv.) and disappear during the winter (II., 197).

But the most wonderful feature of these canals is their gemination or doubling, two fine lines being perfectly parallel and equidistant throughout their whole length. Lowell estimates an average double canal to be about 2,250 miles long, each one being 20 miles wide and 130 miles from its fellow (I., 206). Out of the 437 canals (II., 151) on Mars only 51 have been seen double (I., 208; II., 159). He says that this gemination is seasonal (I., 212), and that doubles are an

equatorial (I., 239) or tropical (II., 163) feature, since they are practically confined within 40 degrees of the equator, and that beyond 63 degrees north and 35 degrees south there are none at all. And all except one are confined to the light colored regions of the planet (II., 163). That these canals, single and double as well, are no optical illusion, but exist in reality, is now admitted by all, because they have actually been photographed (I., 277).

Intimately connected with the canals are the so-called oases, which are to be found only at their junctions (II., 195). There are seldom less than six canals to meet in an oasis (II., 194), and in one case (II., 157) there are 17. The oases are always true circles (II., 197). They vary in size from 20 to 75 or 100 miles (I., 253, 332). About 186 oases have been counted (II., 157).

We are now in a condition to consider Lowell's arguments for the presence of intellectual life on Mars. They are twofold—a priori and a posteriori.

The a priori argument he states boldly (II., 39): "From all we have learned of its constitution on the one hand, or of its distribution on the other, we know life to be as inevitable a phase of planetary evolution as is quartz, or felspar, or nitrogenous soil. Life . . . is only a manifestation of chemical affinity." And (II., 36): "There is now no more reason to doubt that plants grew out of chemical affinity than to doubt that stones did. . . . Spontaneous generation is as certain as spontaneous variation, of which it is, in fact, only an expression." And he proves it by the case of our own earth (II., 66): "Life did not reach this earth from without. No fanciful meteorite bore it the seeds which have since sprouted and overrun its surface." "The proof that life was here spontaneously evolved appears at every stage of its history. . . . Until the conditions were such as could support life, no life appeared. This is the first coincidence. . . . As soon as this (the land) was suitable, plants appeared to take possession of it." (II., 67.) "The last of this procession of coincidences, man, came on the scene at the time when the cooling of the globe rendered his own extension possible at the least expense to himself. . . . Thus all along the line we perceive that life and its domicile arose together." (II., 69.) He paints a graphic scene in this evolution (II., 53): "Then came the exodus from the sea. We may picture some adventurous fish, spurred blindly from within, essaying the shore in preference to the main. . . . Finding the littoral not inhospitable, the pioneer reported his exploit and was followed by others whom mutation had specially endowed. . . . From this aboriginal crawling out upon terra firma the organism progressed until finally it came to stand erect and call itself a man."

Let me conclude Lowell's *a priori* reasoning with the strongest of his arguments (II., 39): "For proof of the continuity of the processes of both structure and change in the inorganic and organic alike, nothing at once more conclusive and more interesting can be recommended than the books of the great Haeckel." What an unfortunate reliance upon a man who has been forced to acknowledge that he has committed downright forgeries. Poor Lowell! When it comes to philosophic reasoning he is as much out of his element as his adventurous fish. As an able and persevering observer of facts he is unsurpassed. If he would only confine himself to his main and not essay the shore. It is evident that he is a rank materialist. In the two books under review there is not the least direct or indirect reference to a Creator. The word "providentially" occurs once (II., 211), and must have been an oversight; at all events it has no Christian meaning. Nature with a capital N is his god.

In his *a posteriori* arguments Lowell is more at home, and it is difficult and at times impossible to refute his contentions on account of his vast store of actually observed facts. Nor does the writer of these lines arrogate to himself such superior wisdom. His object is rather to present the question fairly and let the reader judge for himself.

Lowell says (II., 187) there are two most essential prerequisites to habitability, water and warmth. There is water in the polar snows, and there is also heat enough for life. Neither of these two is granted by astronomers. The presence of water has not yet been proved. That the requisite amount of heat is there can be claimed only by mathematical inference; it is certainly no fact of observation.

Vegetable life can reveal itself directly (II., 188) by the coloring it imparts. Such color effects actually exist on Mars (II., 106). This astronomers are willing to concede, although most of them would grant only the lower and creeping forms of vegetation, as W. Pickering claims for parts of the moon. But animal life can reveal itself only indirectly (II., 188), not by its body, but by its mind, by the imprint it has made on the face of Mars. "Already has man begun to leave his mark on this his globe in deforestation, in canalization, in communication. . . . But the time is coming when the earth will bear his imprint and his alone. What he chooses will survive; what he pleases will lapse, and the landscape itself become the carved object of his handiwork." (II., 109.) That this is true to the extent that the results may be seen from other planets is open to objection. Let us, however, grant it. Now, Mars bears such an imprint in his canal and oasis system. "That the canals and oases are of artificial origin," says Lowell (I., 366), "is suggested by their very look." And (I., 376) "that Mars is inhabited by beings of

some sort or other we may consider as certain as it is uncertain what those beings may be."

And then he gives eight reasons to prove that the canals are the work of intelligent beings (I., 368, 369): "1. Their straightness. 2. Their individually uniform size. 3. Their extreme tenuity. 4. The dual character of some of them. 5. Their position with regard to the planet's fundamental features. 6. Their relation to the oases. 7. The character of these spots. 8. The systematic networking by both canals and spots of the whole surface of the planet."

He says the canals cannot be natural features. They cannot be rivers or cracks, because they are of uniform size and straight (I., 186; II., 191). Nor are they meteor welts (II., 194), that is, the scarred furrows made by glancing meteors, as Wallace oddly maintains.

Lowell's ingenious theory is that the scanty moisture is precipitated only at the poles during the winter time, where naturally it ought to remain (II., 202). It is diligently gathered there by the Martians, who value it at an immense price on account of its great scarcity, pump it in covered pipes to the oases all over the planet, even across the equator to the other hemisphere, and dole it out for irrigation purposes along the canals and oases, which latter are the centres of population (II., 213). He says that the fine lines we see are not canals in our terrestrial use of the word, but narrow strips of land irrigated by these concealed pipes and covered with verdure. The increase of the visibility of the canals, or their apparent swelling, in spring and summer, shows him the progress of the irrigation, and tells him that the water travels 51 miles a day, or 2.1 miles an hour (I., 375). He says the speed is remarkably uniform (I., 375).

He admires the "intelligent and non-belligose character of the community which could thus act as a unit throughout its globe" (I., 377). War "is something a people outgrow. . . . Whether increasing common sense or increasing necessity, . . . we cannot say, but it is certain that they reached it, and equally certain that if they had not they must all die" (I., 377). "In an aging world . . . mentality must characterize more and more its beings in order for them to survive" (I., 382). And he ends with the prophesy that in Mars we see the future of the earth (I., 384).

The fundamental assumption of Lowell's ingenious theory is that Mars is much older than the earth. This is entirely gratuitous. It is an essential phase of the now rejected nebular hypothesis of Laplace. Nor do geologists accept the proof he bases on the widespread deserts of Mars, when he claims that deserts are a result of planetary evolution (I., chap. xiii.); that the oceans have diminished and the continents have increased in area on the earth (I., chap. xii.).

That Mars should age faster than the earth because it is smaller and must therefore have had a lesser sum total of the original supply of heat which all planets are losing rapidly, is another gratuitous assumption, since, as was said before, the mean temperatures of the four terrestrial planets are generally supposed to be constant, the sun supplying them with heat just as fast as they are losing it by radiation into space.

The *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 1764, reprints an article from the *New York Sun*, in which the question of the water supply of Mars is well discussed. It says: "It is argued that if the Martian atmosphere was so rich in aqueous vapor as to form these vast polar areas of ice, it would be so rich that, under any comprehensible theory of connection and atmospheric circulation, it would be impossible for it to be so arid in its equatorial and midway regions as to call for any system of irrigation at all.

"Furthermore, in opposition to the canal theory, it is held that if it really be ice at the polar caps, and knowing as we do the number of thermal units effective when the sun returns to shine upon each cap after its winter night, we cannot account for the rapidity with which the cap disappears in the sunlight. It vanishes with such speed that some observers have spoken of it as almost an evaporation, some such process as in the physics of the terrestrial atmosphere is observable in the warm Chinook winds of our northern Rocky Mountains, where whole fields of snow vanish as if dried up, the same phenomenon on the European Continent being equally familiar as the Föhn of the Alps.

"So rapid is the disappearance of the bright spots in the circum-polar region when the sun dawns upon it, that it is too rapid even to admit of the inference that it is only snow. It is said that nothing but hoar frost will at all answer the conditions observed. If the Martian atmosphere has so little vapor of water that its maximum polar deposits amount to no more than frost, it is clear that the evaporation constant must be so high that no canal could possibly carry the collection of drops from a region of melting rime as far as the equator of a planet as great as our own, or beyond the equator into the cold atmosphere, as the theoretical conditions demand.

"This dilemma may thus be stated. If the water vapor in the Martian atmosphere is sufficient in amount to yield an ice cap at the polar bright spots, the tension over the rest of the planet must be such that canals will not be needed because of a sufficient precipitation; if the water vapor content is so slight that the polar caps are nothing but frost, no amount of engineering skill could cope with the tension which would evaporate whatever water may have started in the canals."



Coming back now to the character of the canals, their straightness, uniformity and tenuity may perhaps be consistent with their being true cracks, whose irregularities cannot be distinguished at this distance, since the canals are generally beyond the powers of visibility of even skilled observers, even when provided with larger telescopes than Lowell's 24-inch. In fact, in a recent number of the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, A. N. 4348, Baumann maintains that they are cracks in icy oceans. He says the ice drifts and packs may extend in perfect straight lines from one oasis to another. Should the drift come from both sides, a double canal may result, whose interior space may be smooth ice. The oases, he says, are volcanoes which cause the cracks, and which while abounding on the greater earth and lesser moon, ought reasonably be supposed to abound also on the intermediate Mars. The varying coloring of the surface he ascribes to creeping plants, which get their moisture from the hoar frost which is deposited during the night and melted during the day. Or it may be owing to volcanic dust, which changes its color with moisture or heat. This explanation seems to fit most, if not all, of Lowell's observed facts. It is possible, however, that it may meet the fate of previous interpretations of the canal system, as Lowell may find some facts to contradict it. In this wise the merry battle goes on.

It would be rash to pretend to be able to answer every one of Lowell's a posteriori arguments. This no one has yet succeeded in doing. All we can say at present is that Lowell's proofs of the actual occupation of Mars by intelligent beings are judged by astronomers generally as entirely insufficient. Lowell is a most assiduous observer and the greatest living authority on Martian matters, and as he is also an eminent mathematician, it is a hazardous venture to attack him on observed facts or mathematical deductions. We must, for the present at least, grant all the facts he adduces, and then contend with him on their interpretation. His interpretation of the canal system is surely original and ingenious. It seems to fit all his facts, as far as we can see. But as most of these facts are furnished by him alone, that does not establish it on a sufficiently firm basis. The whole scheme is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that he has seen similar markings on Mercury and Venus. It is not likely a priori that all these planets have similar constitutions, since they are at such different distances from the sun and receive such different supplies of heat.

Here we must leave the subject for the present until further facts are discovered or further interpretations devised.

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THE CHRIST OF HISTORY AND THE CHRIST OF FAITH.

II.

IT HAS been seen in a former article\* that in order to rescue the truths of Christianity from what he regarded as the destructive effects of modern criticism, the modernist deemed it necessary to transfer bodily all the truths of faith in general and the divinity of Christ in particular from the realm of history to the region of faith, where alone they could be properly safeguarded from all attempts at molestation on the part of the terrible "la critique." While in that article we have said that the modernist has given no reason for this extraordinary procedure, this is to be understood in the sense that, first, he has given us no reason that is of any value, and, secondly, that it was not because he found himself compelled by the force of reasons which he found irresistible that he was led to make the transfer, nay, rather was it the exact contrary; that is to say, that he first cast about for a new means of safety for the truths of faith; that in his terror and desperation he invented the transfer as a haphazard measure; that it was with the utmost hesitation and timidity he ventured to suggest it, and that it was afterwards he set to work to devise reasons which he hoped might have at least a sufficient semblance of plausibility to justify the extraordinary proceeding.

It is the purpose of this article to inquire into the nature and merits of these reasons.

Criticism, the modernist tells us, has forced him to make a distinction between one or two elements in the Gospels, one corresponding to the historical reality, the other corresponding to the supernatural truth of faith. Here are his own words:

"Ainsi, de la nature des Evangiles, telle que nous la revele la critique, il resulte qu'il faut distinguer un ou deux elements, l'un correspondant a la realite historique, l'autre a la verite surnaturelle de la foi."

These two truths (the modernist does not call them classes of truth) belong, he tells us, to two different orders—the truth of history to the sensible and natural order, the truth of faith to the supersensible and supernatural order. Consequently these two truths (meaning evidently these two classes of truth) require different orders of knowledge; the truth of history can be established by means of sensible experience, while for the knowledge of faith, sensible experience, while it may be useful, does not suffice; the knowledge of faith requires a supernatural light. But let the modernist speak for himself:

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\* *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1909.

"Pour nous," we are told, "la verite de l'histoire est aussi grand que la verite de la foi, mais ces deux verites appartiennent a deux ordres differents, la verite de l'histoire a l'ordre sensible et naturel, la verite de la foi a l'ordre suprasensible et surnaturel. C'est pour cela que les deux verites exigent aussi un ordre different de connaissance; la verite historique peut etre constatee par le moyen de l'experience sensible, tandis que pour la connaissance de la foi, l'experience sensible, qui peut etre un moyen utile, ne suffit pas; elle demande une lumiere surnaturelle."

Having laid down this broad fallacious principle, the modernist proceeds to apply it to what, with a slight flavor of sarcasm directed against the encyclical "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*," he designates "the criminal distinction between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith."

"Appliquons tout ceci," he tells us, "a la distinction incriminee entre le Christ de l'histoire et le Christ de la foi. Le Christ est un par lui meme, mais il peut etre considere comme objet de l'histoire et comme objet de la foi. Comme homme, la personne de Jesus et ses actions exterieures etaient connues par le moyen de l'experience sensible et en ce sens il apparitient a l'histoire; comme Christ, c'est-a-dire en tant qu'uni a Dieu d'une maniere tres particuliere et en tant qu'intermediaire entre Dieu et nous de la revelation et des graces divines, il ne peut etre connu que par une lumiere spirituelle et divine, et en ce sens il n'appartient pas a l'histoire, mais a la foi."

That is to say: Christ is one, but He can be considered as an object of history and as an object of faith. As man the person of Jesus and His exterior actions were known by means of sensible experience, and in this sense they pertain to history; as Christ, that is to say, in so far as He is united to God in a particular manner and in so far as He is the intermediary between God and us both of revelation and divine grace, He can be known only by a spiritual and divine light, and in this sense He pertains not to history, but to faith.

And the modernist attempts to confirm this extraordinary statement by assuring us that Christ Himself made this selfsame distinction.

"Lorsque Pierre," he adds, "reflechissant sur les oeuvres et les paroles de Jesus conclut qu'il etait le Christ, le fils de Dieu, il merita de s'entendre dire: *caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi sed pater meus qui in coelis est*; ce qui dans le quatrieme Evangile s'etend a tout croyant: *nemo venit ad me nisi Pater qui misit me traxerit eum*. C'est l'histoire qui entend la revelation de la chair et du sang, la foi seule entend la revelation du Pere."

That is to say: While Peter, reflecting upon the works and words of Jesus concluded that He was the Christ, the Son of God, he

merited to hear: flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven; (an expression) which in the fourth Gospel is extended to every believer: no one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draw him. By the revelation of flesh and blood is meant history, by the revelation of flesh and blood is meant faith alone."

Such is the first reason without omission of a single word or syllable for the famous distinction. The utterances of a Delphian oracle are not more curt or brief. The military despatches of Cæsar are not more destitute of exposition. We sometimes meet men in the world who assume an air of magisterial authority and peremptory command, who imagine that their every word is an imperial ukase, and who seem to imagine that to doubt or question their statements is high treason against supreme authority. And we have also found that in proportion as the aid was peremptory and the tone of authority uncompromising and dictatorial, were the fallacies sure to multiply, the logic to become tainted and the shallowness to approach the mark of clear transparency. The lofty tone of unquestionable infallibility is no exception. Let us examine this first reason.

We are told that "As man, the person of Jesus and His actions were known by means of sensible experience, and in this sense He belongs to history;" but let that pass for the present. Next we are informed that "As Christ, that is to say, in so far as He is united to God in a very particular manner and inasmuch as He is the intermediary between God and us of revelation and of divine grace, He can be known only by a spiritual and divine light, and in this sense He belongs not to history, but to faith." Of course, the answer to all this sage observation and superior wisdom is very plain and very simple. The Christ of faith may not, indeed, be accepted as such unless by means of the supernatural light of faith, but this does not mean that He cannot by other means even as the Christ of faith. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that the modernist has been able to impose upon himself by this flimsy sophistry. Every tyro in logic, to say nothing of apologetics, is well aware of the proper distinction to be made here, nay, which at once forces itself on the properly trained intellect. To know *how* a thing is so is one thing and belongs to one order of knowledge; to know *that* a thing is so is quite another thing and belongs to a totally different order of knowledge. It is one thing to know *that there exists* a union between Christ and God; it is quite another thing to know *what is the nature* of this union. The former can be known by means of logical deductions drawn from sensible experience, the latter can be known only by faith; and even by faith not at all adequately. That Christ *is the mediator* between God and us and the intermediary of a divine revel-

ation and of divine grace can be proved conclusively to a mind open to conviction, by logical deduction from His earthly history, and has been so proved more than a hundred thousand times; *how He* is such an intermediary cannot be shown from history or from sensible experience or from logical deduction, or even adequately from faith; and if the modernist intends to convey that the notion that as such He can be known—which really seems to be the case—he asserts what he cannot maintain at the bar of human reason. But the Christ is “united to God,” and that He is God can be shown from the facts of history. Nothing is simpler or more easy to grasp than this distinction. In the sphere of the natural nothing is more common than the experience which proves to us conclusively that there are instances without number where we can form no conception of the *how* of natural phenomena, while at the same time we are equally convinced that these phenomena do *occur*. That the corn grows, that the oak is contained in the acorn, that nature dies in the winter and is revitalized in the spring—all these are facts so palpable that they force themselves daily upon us; how these things are so we are utterly ignorant of, and all man’s ingenuity has never been able to detect the secret. That one single force or power, electricity, at once carries our messages around the globe, brings the voices of distant friends within earshot, illuminates our streets so as to turn night into day, takes the place of pack horses and beasts of burden, supplants steam in ease of carrying power, gives health back to the sick and at the same time takes the place of hangman and the headsmen and writes in zigzag lines of fire across the face of the black storm cloud—that it *does all this* and a thousand other astonishing things besides is known by every child of this generation; *how it* does it an absolute mystery. Shall we therefore relegate electricity to the realm of the unknowable? Shall we bar and ban it from the realm of knowledge and history? Not at all. While we know not how it accomplishes such wonderful results, we are certain that it does accomplish them; and if we may institute an analogy between things natural and things supernatural, we may say that, just in the same way, while we do not know adequately how Jesus of Nazareth was really God, we know beyond cavil that He was God. Indeed, so conclusive is the evidence of it, that the modernist and the agnostic dare not face it to disprove it, and are forced to resort to the stratagem of excluding it from court altogether, so overwhelmingly conclusive do they find the evidence in favor of it. Neither the modernist, nor the agnostic, nor the rationalist dares to attempt to overthrow the evidence; so inviolable, so unassailable, so impregnable is it. Hence the first reason which the modernist gives for his impious distinction between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith is

of no value whatever. When he says that "as Christ," that is to say, "as He is united to God in a mysterious way and is the intermediary between God and man of revelation and of divine grace, He can be known only by faith," he forgets to distinguish between two things essentially different. How He is all this, we certainly cannot know because we cannot grasp the divine in meaning and essence; but the proof that Christ is all this comes entirely within the limits of man's feeble powers. It depends on the conclusiveness of the evidence. Nor must the modernist make the mistake of supposing that the knowledge that Christ is all this constitutes faith. It does nothing of the kind. The reason may be convinced, there may be even a reluctant assent on the part of the intellect, and still the act of faith may be wanting. For this divine grace is required. The conviction of reason may constitute what St. Thomas would probably call the preamble of faith; but it is not faith, though it may be conviction. It is knowledge, however; and it is knowledge obtained without the intervention of faith at all—knowledge which is the result of our reasoning from purely sensible facts; that is to say, from the external facts that came under sensible experience and have become history. Hence his first reason for the famous distinction is merely an attempt to deceive himself, on the part of the modernist. It is not likely to impose on any one else.

What the modernist wishes to do is—out of deference to the agnostic—to eliminate the supernatural from the life of Christ altogether. And in order to do this he is forced to divide Christ into two personalities, the one the Christ of faith, the other the Christ of history; or, to use his own expression, the one "Christ the man," with every vestige of the supernatural eliminated; the other "the Christ united to God," in whom the supernatural is tolerated. But this is Nestorianism pure and simple. It takes the human in Christ and treats it as if it had a separate and independent existence—so separate and independent, indeed, that it has a history of its own and is the only Christ known to history. It is the human nature separated from the divine, or, to use the modernist's phrase, from the superhuman; and, of course, since as such it could have no existence without a personality, it follows that there was also a human person in Christ; for, according to the modernist, this alone could be the object of sensible experience. Is the modernist prepared for this conclusion? The human nature could become an object of sensible experience only as subsisting in a personality; but as the modernist denies that a divine personality could be an object of sensible experience, it follows necessarily that the personality which came under sensible experience must have been a human personality. Hence "*comme homme*" we have a human person in Christ, and

"comme Christ" as united to God we have a divine personality, and consequently we have two persons in Christ, the human and divine—if the modernist's position has any meaning at all. We doubt whether the modernist will wish to stand by this inevitable conclusion from his premises. Faith has, indeed, learned to distinguish between the human and the divine nature in the divine personality of Christ, and reason confirms the teachings of faith; but neither faith, nor reason, nor history has given any distinction of persons in the Godman. The modernist has no other source of information regarding Christ the man—as he styles Him—than the Gospels. Here and here alone he obtains all his information concerning the words, the works, the life of Christ. Most of the works are of a superhuman character.

The modernist seems to forget that a supernatural fact can be presented to us otherwise than by the light of faith. For the full acceptance as believers of the supernatural truth faith is indeed necessary; but the facts as phenomena must come under the senses, and consequently the mind can know them and pass judgment about them as sensible phenomena. The senses may not, indeed bring us to a full knowledge of their true import, but they can be known by the senses. An example of this is furnished in the passage which tells us that doubting Thomas was convinced of a supernatural fact by the use of his senses when, after beholding the print of the nails and putting his hand into the side of the risen Christ, he exclaimed: "My Lord and my God!" The modernist will, of course, reject the resurrection, but how consistently he acts when rejecting one part of the Scriptures while approving of another we shall see presently.

The depth of the modernist intellect receives its best demonstration from the passage which he quotes from the Gospels to prove the truth of his contention, but which actually proves the opposite. As already quoted, he would have us believe that in the famous passage where our Lord rewarded the faith of Peter when He said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father who is in heaven," Christ actually made the distinction—which the modernist tries to make—between the truth of history and the truth of faith. The modernist would persuade us that the intention of Christ was to say that the expression "flesh and blood" meant the truth of history, while "the revelation of the Father" meant the truth of faith. "C'est l'histoire," he tells us, "qui entend le revelation de la chair et du sang, la foi seule entend la revelation du Pere." Indeed, here again it is melancholy to see the ingenuity with which men strive to dupe their own intellects. In this instance the modernist deliberately shuts his eyes against the palpable truth of even his own words. For what led Peter to the knowledge which forced from him the declaration,

"Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God?" Was it primarily originated by faith? Was it the same direct supernatural inspiration of faith from heaven which illumined the mind of Paul on the road to Damascus? Were there no sensible phenomena on which Peter based his conclusions—no sensible experiences which suggested to him the notion that Christ was more than a mere man? The modernist himself answers the question. Evidently wholly unconscious of the fact that their plain meaning cancels his entire contention, the modernist tells us in language which there is no mistaking that the knowledge and declaration of Peter were primarily founded on facts of his own sensible experience. "While Peter *reflecting*," he tells us, "*on the works and words of Christ concludes* that He is Christ, the Son of God, he merited to hear: 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father who is in heaven.'" Consequently according to the modernist himself, Christ as united to God could be known by means of sensible experience, "Lorsque réfléchissant sur les oeuvres et les paroles de Jesus conclut qu'il était le Christ, le fils de Dieu." Consequently it was by reflection on the works and words of Jesus that Peter arrived at the conclusion that He was the Christ, the Son of God; the very thing which the modernist is laboring (in this selfsame passage) to prove impossible. The modernist is evidently incapable of grasping the meaning of his own terms. He is arguing that Christ ascribes Peter's knowledge wholly to faith; yet in the very terms in which he couches his argument he flatly contradicts (without seeming to notice the contradiction at all) his own conclusion by telling us that Peter arrived at his conviction, not by faith, but by reflection on the works and words of Christ. In other words, he would persuade us that Christ intended to show that Peter's knowledge sprang from faith alone, while he himself declares in unmistakable language that Peter's knowledge was the result of reflection on his sensible experience. The thesis of the modernist was to prove that Christ as God could not be known to history at all; and here he proves that Christ as God is actually known to history. Such is the logical acumen of the men who have gratuitously undertaken the task of enlightening the rest of the world. We doubt if in the history of recoiling logic there could be found another instance in which the argument proves so conclusively the truth of the doctrine it was intended to demolish. Doubtless the true interpretation of the passage is that Peter's faith was based on the conclusions drawn from the words and works of Christ, and that to the faith of Peter these were the preamble. His gift of faith was undoubtedly the light of divine grace, but it was not a blind faith. It was founded on logical deductions drawn from the facts of his own sensible experience.



But we are not yet done with this famous passage which the modernist quotes to corroborate his own contention and which proves the direct contrary. It is so seldom that the modernist can be coaxed or wheedled into sanctioning with his approval the historicity of a Scripture text, that when we find him so condescending, one is tempted to make the most of it. It is, indeed, something to find a text of Scripture to which he vouchsafes the honor of his sanction, and here we have the very strongest sanction which the modernist can give to it—viz., that of quoting it in proof of his own argument. Now that we have irrefragable proof of the modernist's endorsement of this text, let us examine it a little more at length.

It will be remembered that the main contention of the modernist is that the Christ of faith can be known only by faith; in other words, that He can be known only by a supernatural light, and not at all by the light of history; and it will also be remembered that by the Christ of faith is meant Christ as "united to God," to use the modernist's expression. It is much then to have the modernist seal of approval upon this particular passage. To it we can appeal as history without fear of contradiction or challenge by the modernist; for does not he himself also appeal to it? Now there is no other passage in the whole New Testament which deals so unequivocally with Christ's own views on the subject of His divine personality. It is one of the most striking, as it is one of the most far-reaching in its results, of all the facts related in the Gospel. In it we have many features standing out in bold prominence. First, regarding His own personality, and this personality as related to the divinity. Next we have the confession of Peter that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God. Then we have the approval, or, more properly speaking, the confirmation of Peter's statement by Christ Himself that He was the Son of God; and this means that He was the Son of God in the sense that there is a communication of the divine essence, or that He was a sharer in the divine nature with the Father; for if it meant otherwise there would be no meaning in Christ's eulogy of Peter or in the accompanying declaration that the knowledge was revealed by the Father. Again, there is the reward bestowed upon Peter for his faith and confession. And, lastly, there is contained in the passage a declaration concerning the institution of His Church by Christ—something which, according to the modernist, belongs wholly to the Christ of faith and not to the historic Christ at all. But what we wish to call the modernist's attention to is that this passage proclaims that Christ was the Christ of faith; that in it He Himself unequivocally teaches that He is the Christ of faith, and that, even at this day we can know the Christ of faith from it. And this passage is history. The modernist cannot deny this; for, we

repeat it, does he not appeal to it as history? Consequently out of his own mouth it is shown that his "new position," that the Christ of faith cannot be known from history, is an absolutely baseless one. Indeed we may say, "Jew, I thank thee for that word."

The difficulty with the modernist is that he confounds the facts of history with the logical deductions from these facts. Indeed, he seems to have a special faculty for confounding things essentially different. The knowledge of revealed truths which comes to us from reading the New Testament, and the apperceptions of faith in the mind of the believer, are things as wide asunder as the poles; but the modernist does not seem to be able to view them apart. His completely warped mentality seems to be a sort of intellectual strabismus in which the axes of true mental perception are always out of parallel. Hence he is totally unable to perceive the wide difference which exists between the intellectual conviction that comes from logical reasoning on the facts, let us say, in the life of Christ, and the accepted certainty which follows the illumination of the mind by divine faith; in other words, the conclusions which are reached from an observance of facts that come under the senses and the act of faith which permits the Christian to say, "Credo—I believe." Yet we all know that examples of this nature are every-day occurrences even at the present time. There are numbers of people standing at the door of the Catholic Church, but outside, who are logically convinced of its truth. Their reason is convinced, but the supernatural illumination which would compel the act of faith is wanting.

The second reason of the modernist is of still more flimsy texture than the first. He tells us that "Another reason for distinguishing between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith is that in His life two states really different are really distinguished. The first state is that of his mortal life, in which He is found among men in the same sensible manner as a man among his equals, and the second is that of His glorious life, which commences with His resurrection and in which He continues to be in communication with us, but in an invisible and spiritual manner." The modernist's own statement is:

"Une autre raison de distinguer entre le Christ de l'histoire et le Christ de la foi est que dans sa vie on distingue réellement deux états bien différents. Le premier état est celui de sa vie mortelle dans lequel il s'est comporté avec les hommes de la manière sensible qu'un homme avec ses semblables, et le second est celui de sa vie glorieuse qui commence avec la résurrection et dans lequel il continue à être en communication avec nous, mais d'une manière invisible et spirituelle."

Now the obvious answer to all this absurdity is that this ingenious

division does not correspond in any way to even his own distinction in Christ's personality. The Christ of faith does not begin with His resurrection. It is not the post-resurrection Christ that constitutes the object of Christian faith. Nay, it might be truly said that it is not so much the post-resurrection Christ as the prae-resurrection Christ that is the object of the veneration that springs from faith. It is, indeed, true that the history of Christ after His glorious resurrection appeals to faith, but not precisely in the same lively—we had almost said affectionate—manner as that of His earthly career. The Christ that was cradled in the manger, whose death was sought by Herod, who at the age of twelve years was found in the temple instructing the doctors of the law, who at the Canan nuptials changed water into wine, who healed the sick and cured the blind and raised the dead to life, who fed the multitudes in the desert by His miraculous multiplication of bread, who taught and spake as no man ever spake, who chose His Apostles, who rode in triumph into Jerusalem, who later was mocked and scourged and crucified, who was "a worm and no man" and who trod the winepress alone, who drank the Gethsemane's chalice to the dregs and tasted of the bitterness of Calvary's vinegar and gall, who even experienced His hour of dereliction, and who throughout it all foretold His resurrection and claimed to be one with the Father—this is the Christ—if we are to have distinctions at all—to which attaches the liveliest faith of His Christian followers. That this Man was God from not only after the resurrection, as the modernist would make us believe, but from the time the angels sang at His birth; nay, from the time the archangel announced His coming—that is what Christians believe; so that when the modernist divides the life of Christ into ante and post-resurrection periods and asserts that the latter period corresponds to the Christ of Christian faith, he is simply striving to bolster up a theory of straw by an argument of stubble. Nothing but the wildest and most desperate extremity could suggest such wildcat argument so wholly at variance with the theory which it is supposed to support. The argument that Mars is inhabited because some one must have dug the canals (?) thereon is sublime wisdom compared to the modernist's second reason. The distinction of the second reason by which the life of Christ is divided into two parts, the first ending at His death and the second beginning with His resurrection, so utterly fails to make the second part coincide with the real object of Christian faith that nothing but sheer ineptitude and folly could find in it a semblance of a reason for making the distinction of the Christ of faith and the Christ of history.

There is, however, another corollary from this reason. In it the modernist would persuade us that previous to the resurrection Christ

was not God; but that somehow in His resurrection He became united with God—perhaps even very God. This, of course, implies that there was consequently no atonement and consequently no redemption. Is the modernist prepared for this conclusion? We are inclined to think that he would be likely to shrink from it.

Another answer to this inane reason is that in some respects it is identical with the first, being merely couched in different terms; and this denotes the modernist's poverty of reasons. From this point of view, however, it is already refuted in the first argument. That it is essentially identical with the first, only more inanely worded, is evident from the fact that he wishes to make precisely the same distinction as in the first—viz., that the Christ of history was known to sensible experience while the Christ of faith could not be known to experience or to history, but only to faith. "The first state," we are told, "is that of His mortal life, in which He lived among men in the same sensible manner as a man with his equals" (*"de la maniere sensible qu'un homme avec ses semblables"*). It is very evident, then, that the object of the modernist in this argument was to reduce the life of Christ to the terms of the first reason, in which he attempts to restrict the Christ of history to a few sensible and natural acts and the Christ of faith to the experiences of faith, although in this second reason he has wrenched completely the Christ of faith from even his own step and moorings. But with this feature we have already dealt.

There is a third reply to this empty reason. It is that if the modernist is to take the life of Christ at all and divide it into parts, he must take all the facts of that life; and consequently in what he calls "His mortal life" he must take account of all that is related of Him, whether natural or supernatural; and that if he includes the latter, these of themselves disprove his contention altogether and overthrow his argument. The converse of this is also true. It is that between the two divisions of the life of Christ the modernist has drawn the line in the wrong place. He wished, of course, to divide the sensible and visible from the invisible and spiritual, and places the dividing line at the resurrection. But the proper place, if we are not to manufacture our own facts, but to follow history, is not at the resurrection, but at the Ascension. There are no facts in what the modernist calls His "mortal life" more fully authenticated than are the facts from His resurrection to His ascension. The facts of His risen life are as duly authenticated as the facts of His public life, and both are as fully authenticated as any facts in history. But all this the modernist serenely ignores. He seems to be of opinion that all that is needed is for him to utter words without meaning and the world should eagerly and greedily devour them as

words of supreme wisdom. For it is to be remarked that the modernist does not give one tittle of evidence for all his wild farrago of doctrine. He makes little or no attempt to establish by reasonable argument or demonstration the truth of his assertions. That is his theory, he seems to say, and if the Church does not adopt it, she must take the consequences. The life of Christ, he tells us, ended with His death. Then began the life of faith in the experiences of His followers. All the rich facts of history so indubitably attested go for naught. The open tomb, the risen Saviour, the different apparitions, the discourses with His Apostles and disciples, the substantial doubt and subsequent faith of Didymus—all are childish imaginations, if we are to believe the modernist. The modernist evidently thinks that this method of dealing with the facts of the Gospel has been discovered for the first time by himself, whereas they are as old as Christianity itself. These childish methods, however, amuse us when we meet them in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "David Grieve," for instance; but they grieve us when we hear them repeated by full-grown men. But by what warrant does the modernist try to force upon the Christian world this truncated and mutilated Christ? The mangling of Christ by the scourges is far more tolerable than the mangling by the modernist. The modernist would push aside the history of Christianity in order that he might have an opportunity of manufacturing his own history of it out of his imagination. He would tear up the Gospels in order that he may have the satisfaction of substituting in their stead his own "nouvelles positions." There was just one logical step for the modernist when he invented his novel theories of "the truth of faith and the truth of history" and the "Christ of faith and the Christ of history," and that was to join the ranks of Strauss and Renan and deck with his boasted intellectuality the agnostic chariot wheels; but it is the height of folly and involves a thousand inconsistencies to make the distinction of the truth of history and of faith, and yet try to cling to Christianity, or to deny the supernatural in the Christ of history, and at the same time pretend to believe Him to be divine.

And this brings us to the crux of the entire question. The modernist, as has been seen, cancels the supernatural throughout historic Christianity to please the agnostic; for the agnostic maintains that the supernatural cannot come under the observation of the senses or within the limits of human knowledge; consequently it must be denied all claims to historic recognition. Now, nothing could be more illogical than this absurd claim of the agnostic critic, and it is high time it was met directly.

In point of fact, nothing could be more absurd than the pretensions of our latter-day critics to the right and authority to declare

beforehand what they shall or shall not find in history or what they shall accept as history. Yet this is precisely their position. As well might they claim the right to write what they imagine to be the true history. Indeed, the two things are practically the same; and we have an example of it in the modernist programme. But the business of the critic is not to lay down *a priori* rules concerning what he shall or shall not recognize as history, wholly regardless of the evidence, but to take the facts which he finds there and deal with them to the best of his ability. Indeed, this is so certain that it may be laid down as a general principle that no man is qualified to enter upon the work of historical criticism with preconceived notions as to what he should or should not find there regardless of the evidence. The true content of history should be determined not by predetermined conclusions, but by the evidence. The critic who attempts to force the former to ride roughshod over the latter, by that very fact conclusively demonstrates his utter unfitness for the work of historical criticism. His first duty is with the existence of the facts; their nature must be a secondary consideration. Yet nowadays we find this order usually reversed. It would be preposterous and impertinent to undertake to reject or ignore them because they do not square precisely with our notions of what the facts of history should be. The critic who thinks otherwise should write history to suit himself, but it will have no value for any one as such, not even for himself. The critic confronted with the supernatural in history is in a position somewhat similar to that of the scientist who comes upon a new element which he does not understand. What would be thought of the scientist who should undertake to ignore the existence of radium because it upsets all the former calculations of science on so many important points? Radium is a fact, and as a fact must claim recognition. So, too, are all the facts of history. As such they are made known to us by the evidence of witnesses. They may reverse our theories and make havoc with our prejudices, but they cannot be exploded or excluded by preconceived notions on the subject. These facts, even when supernatural in character, must be taken precisely as we take other facts of history. Otherwise there is an end to all historical truth. To treat them as non-existent would be unjust, arbitrary, illogical in the extreme, and subversive of all historic reality. Neither is it permissible, after eyeing them askance to see how they could be conveniently got rid of, to frame hypotheses or theories or lay down rules of criticism so carefully worded as to exclude them. As far as the evidence goes, they must be dealt with precisely as we deal with other facts, even though the consequences may not be exactly to our liking and the inferences arising from them may clash with our most cherished beliefs. The natural and the

supernatural must be placed on the same footing and admitted to equal rights as far as regards the evidential value of the witnesses or proofs by which they are attested. The dignity of history as well as the majesty of fact must not be sacrificed to our prejudices, our passions, our sympathies or our interests.

This principle has been completely lost sight of within the last half century, and the consequence is that criticism, especially historical criticism, is in a state of chronic anarchy and confusion. Had the modernists met the critics on these grounds we should not have the hesitating, vacillating, shilly-sallying methods which affirm in one breath and deny in another, and which from beginning to end are simply a riot of sophistry, confusion and chaos. We should not have the mass of contradictions and solemn and imposing absurdities which have brought a stain on the character as well as on the intellectual deserts of otherwise good men whom fear of "la critique" has landed in a morass of absurd and illogical thought and statement.

It is high time for a thorough and searching inquiry into the methods of the agnostic critics and to see that they are properly arraigned of high crimes and misdemeanors against the truth of history by their arbitrary exclusion of so large an amount of its most important facts. It is time to ask by what authority historical criticism arrogates to itself the impudent prerogative of assigning duly authenticated historical facts to the limbo of the unknowable, and this for the only reason that they are supernatural—against which which the critics have an inherent bias. It is not the province of the critic to undertake to determine the nature of the supernatural for the purpose of excluding it. It is not so much the province of the critic even to account for the facts as to determine whether they are historically true. It is sheer gratuitous impudence in the critic to undertake to declare whether a fact duly authenticated by historic testimony was possible or impossible, or whether it is or is not knowable by human intelligence. This is not the province of the critic at all. What then is the primary duty of the critic? His primary duty is to say what facts are historically true. In other words, to verify or disprove the statements of the historian. Did the alleged facts of history actually occur? Did the recorded phenomena actually take place? Did the historian truly make record of the events? Did truth or error or exaggeration or subtraction change the nature of the recorded fact? To answer these is, to our mind, the primary duty of the historical critic. To put it in a single phrase: The business of historical criticism is to verify the facts of history. In order to do this it must divest itself of all prejudice and preconceived theories about the facts. It cannot be permitted to say whether the

facts are unknowable or impossible; that is not its sphere at all. It cannot be permitted to say, this fact is supernatural and consequently is unknowable or impossible. Indeed, if it comes to the examination of the facts with prejudices or preconceived theories about their knowableness or unknowableness, their possibility or impossibility, it thereby proclaims its utter unfitness for the duty of historical critic. Are the facts true? Are they as fully authenticated as other facts which we accept? Are the witnesses trustworthy? These are the questions which must primarily engage the attention of the critic. With the question of their nature, whether they were natural or supernatural, possible or impossible, knowable or unknowable, the critic has primarily nothing whatever to do. The existence of the historic fact, that is the question which stands on the threshold of all historic inquiry. The critic may, indeed, later—after the determination of the truth or falsehood of the narration—exercise his intelligence and skill in accounting for the phenomena; but his judgments on these points will have precisely the value of the logical reasons upon which they may happen to be based—no more or no less. Nor can he be permitted to invert the order, so as first to undertake to determine the nature that the question of its existence is determined either in whole or in part by conclusions about its nature. This would be to subvert the truth of history.

Nor can the critic be permitted to assume positions *a priori* which he has formulated especially for the purpose of excluding the supernatural and placing them beyond the reach of knowledge. No convenient hypothesis worded so exactly that, like Spencer's unknowable, it will exclude the supernatural from consideration can have any justification whatever. Nothing could be more illogical than the recent contention that because facts belong to the supernatural they may safely and must rightly be ignored. Supernatural facts, like natural facts, once duly authenticated, must be reckoned with. Their right to consideration as facts of history cannot be abrogated. Like the citizen's right to life, they are inalienable. They are entitled to trial and to their day in court, to use a legal phrase. The evidence proves them true facts of history; they cannot be ignored. Their right to consideration are prior to all hypotheses and cannot be overridden or superseded by any theory later in invention than the facts, and invented for the express purpose of invalidating their claims. Summary processes have always been justly objects of distrust. And the summary process of an *ex post facto* law or canon of criticism in the hands of the critic is not an edifying or even an intelligent spectacle.

Now what are the facts? The agnostic critic has met with facts of a supernatural character in his reading the history of Christianity.



He has found them to be duly authenticated. Nay, he has found them to be as fully authenticated as any facts in history. He has even found that no facts in all history are so conclusively proven. He dare not undertake to disprove them; the task were impossible. Accordingly, he casts about for a means of asphyxiating them; and the asphyxiating gas comes from his own brain. He invents the sophism that since they are supernatural they cannot be known, and what cannot be known can be treated as non-existent.

Now in all this the agnostic forgets that he is contributing the strongest possible testimony to the historical truth of the facts. That he does not attempt to disprove them proves conclusively that the testimony for them is indisputable—invincible. Even if the world were not filled with testimony of the authenticity of the facts of Christianity's beginnings, the fact that the agnostic critic abandons all hope of disproving them as utterly hopeless would be a sufficient, as it is a most eloquent, evidence of their historicity. He cannot disprove them; they are too well authenticated. Consequently he must rid history of them completely, and the only way in which he can do this is by declaring them unknowable. This wretched subterfuge, however, is the most eloquent testimony in their behalf. What, then, is the answer to the agnostic critic's position? It is very simple, but as effective and conclusive as it is simple. If the supernatural can be proved to exist it is thereby proved to be known. And what it is proved to exist is, as has been seen, so conclusively proven that the agnostic critic makes no attempt to show the contrary.

In other words, the agnostic takes a position parallel to that of Hume when he found himself confronted with the same impossibility of disproving the existence of the supernatural in history. Hume, however, undertook to maintain not the unknowability, but the impossibility of the supernatural. He fully realized the impossibility of the task of overthrowing the testimony of history on the question of miracles. "What," he exclaims, "have we to oppose to such a cloud of witnesses?" What, indeed, but a mere subterfuge of his own invention—namely, to deny their possibility. "What have we to oppose to such a cloud of witnesses but the absolute impossibility or the miraculous nature of the events which they relate?" This was Hume's subterfuge when he found it impossible to fly in the face of the testimony which history offered—a task which he dare not undertake. And our agnostics copy Hume in a still wider parallel by telling us not that the supernatural is impossible, but that it is unknowable. But Paley and other Anglican divines retorted sharply and conclusively on Hume by saying: "What is proved to be known need not be proved to be possible," and in like manner may

the present-day Christian retort upon the agnostic, by telling him that "what is proved to be known need not be proved to be knowable."

Had the modernist met the dreadful "la critique" on this ground, how different might have been the results, and what intellectual embarrassment and mortification he might have spared himself and the rest of the world! As it is, the perplexities in which he has involved himself are sometimes ridiculous in the extreme. Perhaps there is no more amusing instance of this than the manner in which he tries to show that truth and falsehood are one and the same thing. Sometimes the modernist is so careful not to wound the susceptibilities of the evangelists, when he finds it necessary to contradict them that he really embarrasses himself. Here is a refreshing instance:

The sacred writers leave no doubt in the mind of the reader regarding the truth of their statements. They sometimes take pains to assure us positively that they were eye-witnesses to the facts which they relate, or if not eye-witnesses, that they vouched for the veracity of their statements on the authority of eye-witnesses. Thus St. Luke assures Theophilus that he wrote to him in order "that thou mayest know the truth of these words in which thou hast been instructed," and St. John in his Gospel writes: "These are written that you may believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," vouching for the truth of his own statement by adding, "this is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things; and we know that his testimony is true," and again in his first epistle St. John writes: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have diligently looked upon."

These statements are so direct that there is no room for doubt as to the meaning of the writers, and even the modernist feels that it would be the height of hardihood to contradict them. For once he seems to realize that contradiction would be an absurdity. Nevertheless, he has already told us that the Gospel facts were "imaginees," that they never took place at all, and were at best only experiences of faith which the evangelists "projected into the life of the mortal Jesus." Consequently he finds himself between his own theory, which declares the Gospel facts historically false, and the statements of the evangelists, which declares that they are historically true; and the manner in which he tries to extricate himself from the dilemma is ridiculous in the extreme. Finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, no witness at bay confronted by his own contradictory statements, no double-dyed intriguer, no convicted trickster ever resorted to stranger stratagem for delivery from his ridiculous posi-

tion. "Assuredly," the modernist smirkingly says, "assuredly, in order to be able to sustain the faith of the faithful, the Gospel history must be true and real, founded, too, upon the testimony of those who 'from the beginning' were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word of God." Here are the exact words:

"Assurement, pour pouvoir soutenir la foi des fideles, l'histoire evangelique doit etre vraie et reelle, fondee elle-meme sur le temoignage de ceux qui, 'dis le commencement,' ont su par eux-memes et sont devenus ministres de la parole de Dieu."

So far so good. But mark the piece of critical wisdom which follows: "But since in this case (speaking of St. Luke) there was no necessity of arousing faith for the first time with the reader (that is, Theophilus), but that it was already active and fecund, as well in the case of the reader as in that of the writer, it reacts necessarily in its turn on history transforming it in part in order to make of it the most efficacious expression of the object of faith."

"Mais puisque dans ce cas la foi n'a pas besoin d'etre excitee pour la premiere fois chez le lecteur, mais qu'elle est deja active et feconde, aussi bien chez celui-ci que chez l'ecrivain, elle reagit necessairement a son tour sur l'histoire, la transformant en partie pour en faire l'expression plus efficace de l'objet de la croyance."

One rubs one's eyes to discover whether he is waking or dreaming on reading this extraordinary proposition, without parallel as it is, in the whole history of logical absurdities; but there can be no doubt about its meaning, for only on the preceding page we find the general proposition—of which this is but a particular application—laid down, that as "before all it must be observed that the Gospels have not been written for the faithful for the purpose of converting them to the faith, but for believers, in order to explain and fortify their faith," there seemed therefore to be no necessity for adhering too closely to the truth. The words can have no other signification. Here is the entire clause:

"Mais, avant tout, il faut observer que les evangiles n'ont pas ecrits pour les infideles afin de les convertir a la foi, mais pour les croyants, afin d'eclairer et de fortifier leur foi; si a l'enseignement doctrinal ils ajoutent parfois l'apologie, ils le font d'une maniere indirecte, pour premunir les fideles contre les attaques de l'opposition juive."

These are surely amazing statements. In the history of apologetics it is safe to say that this extraordinary defense stands absolutely without a parallel. The plain English of the entire passage manifestly is, that although the modernist assevers that there should be truth in the Gospel facts, and although the Evangelist assures us that what he is writing is truth, on second thought, the modernist

wheels about and says: "Well, after all and in spite of all, there is no need to be so fastidious or exacting about the truth, since the Evangelists were not writing for the purpose of converting infidels, but for the mere purpose of instructing and confirming those already converted to the faith." In the latter case there was really no need to be squeamish about the exact truth of their statements. The faithful had to be fortified against the attacks of the Jewish opposition. False statement was sufficient for the initiated. Does the modernist say all this? Not exactly in so many words, but in such phrase as to leave no doubt as to his meaning. Mark the mild manner of the accusation that the Evangelists are prevaricators. "They do it in a manner indirect," he says; that is the modernistic phrase for "they lied;" and again, the fact that the readers for whom the Gospels were written already possessed the faith "necessarily reacted upon the history, in its turn transforming it." Now what is one to think of the modernistic notions of morality, since these are the modernistic views of historic truth? Have we here the key to the modernistic methods? We thus get a glimpse of both the motives and methods of the modernist, and perhaps have the explanation of why he wishes to destroy faith in the Sacred Scriptures, and yet retain them as the word of God, to efface the divinity of Jesus Christ and at the same time to expect salvation through Him; to show that the Catholic Church is not divine, and yet try *aut fas aut nefas* to remain within its fold.

And what, too, is to be thought of the mentality which is responsible for all this drivelling absurdity? While the modernist declares that in order to sustain the faith of the faithful, "assurement" the facts of the Gospel should be true, and although the Evangelist declares that what he is recording is true, the modernist takes second thought, and with all the "pribbles and prabbles" of Sir Hugh Evans, assures us of just the opposite; that, after all, come to think of it, inasmuch as the Evangelists were not writing for the purpose of converting the infidel, but merely for the purpose of confirming the faith of those already converted—"to strengthen the faith of the believers"—he need not tell the truth; there was no necessity for it. In other words, he could lawfully prevaricate, and he did prevaricate. Nay, what is more, he could not help himself; in spite of all his assurances, he could not tell the truth even if he would. The fact that he was writing for believers "necessairement" reacted in its turn on his history, and prevarication was inevitable.

Now this is certainly a most extraordinary proposition. It tells us that in matters of religious faith, while it is well to write down the true facts of history for the purpose of converting unbelievers, on the other hand, when history is written for the mere purpose of con-

firming the faith of those who already believe, not only is it not necessary to stick closely to the truth, but what is more, it is impossible. That is to say, no man actuated by faith, writing to a believer in the same faith, can tell the truth relating to the facts upon which their common faith is founded; he must necessarily lie. There is no escape from this conclusion; for if he can, why should St. Luke be an exception? This proposition is so monstrous that it is without a parallel in the entire history of eccentric polemics. What are we to think of the high degree of intellectuality that could conceive it, or the morality of the source from which it springs? And we must be treated to this moral and logical monstrosity in order that the modernist may retain his puerile hypothesis!

The overwhelming monstrosity of the proposition completely overshadows the other obvious question which it suggests and which in itself is so piquant in its very uniqueness—whether the zeal of the Evangelist for the conversion of unbelievers or his zeal for the confirmation, instruction and enlightenment of those already converted, constitutes the strongest temptation to overstatement or undue coloration of facts? A problem which we must leave to the superior modernist intellectuality for solution, fully assured that the same gigantic intellectuality which has originated it must be also capable of giving us its proper solution.

Indeed, in the whole history of mental aberration and ludicrous apologetics, we venture to say it would be difficult to find anything more grotesque in theory, so fatuous in conception, so illogical in arrangement, so absurd in its consequences, and at the same time so well calculated to defeat the end for which it was created or lend aid to the cause which it was intended to defeat, as the entire hypothesis of the distinction between the truth of history and the truth of faith in general and the hypothesis of the Christ of faith and the Christ of history in particular. It endeavors to suppress the indisputable facts of history and then undertakes to restore them to their full dignity, as the mere drivel of hysterical imaginings. It discounts their value as history only to impart to them a still greater value as the offspring of mere fancy. We have heard modernism extolled as a piece of wonderful wisdom and reasoning—almost as an inspiration; and its authors as men of extraordinary genius. In our opinion it is the most marvelous piece of folly invented in modern times, and its authors, judging from their writings and defenses of their theories, we must regard as men of warped judgments who are absolutely incapable of appreciating even the first principles of logic when they happen to meet with them, or to notice their absence when they are entirely wanting.

For the object of the modernist is professedly to make the truths

of Christianity acceptable to the power of which he seems to stand in such stupendous awe, *la critique*. The cause of their entire labor seems to be that *la critique* has refused to recognize as facts of history the truths of history which form the basis for Christian faith. Consequently, instead of showing the agnostic the absurdity of his contention, the modernist by his jugglery of distinction thinks to save his truth. But he forgets that he is not likely to make acceptable to the agnostic as truths of faith facts which the same agnostic has rejected as truths of history. For the critic who has not the gift of faith there can be no Christ of faith. According to the modernist, it requires a supernatural light to know Christ as such—and we may add that when He is known as such He is in large part, if we are to believe the modernist, nothing but imagination. How, then, is the modernist going to prevail upon the agnostic to accept his doctrines? Consequently, as far as the rationalist critic is concerned, all that the modernist says about the Christ of faith is as if it had never been written. Will the Christ of “legend” be more acceptable to the dreaded *la critique* than the Christ of history as we find him in the Gospels? It is difficult to see what the modernist has gained for the evidences of Christianity by taking them from the realm of history, where the critic could not logically ignore them, and lodging them in the realm of faith, where the agnostic as historical critic is justified in completely ignoring them. As evidenced merely by faith the historical critic is under no obligation whatever to make note of the fundamental truths of Christianity; as evidenced by history he is bound to explain them in some way, and he must not ignore them as such without stamping himself as utterly disqualified for the duties of scientific critic in the region of history. Hence in his boasted distinctions the modernist has wittingly or unwittingly, but certainly maladroitly, played into the hands of the agnostic critics. Under the pretext of rescuing Christ from the destructive effects of the higher (?) criticism he would take away from Christ’s divine personality all that can give it religious efficacy—namely, its historical value.

But this is not all. With eyes wide open the modernist has walked straight into the trap set by David Hume and baited for the catching of logical gudgeons. The principle which underlies the entire modernist theory is that Christ as an object of religion is unprovable by reason and must be taken wholly on faith. It is an eloquent commentary on the learning, wisdom, penetration and scholarship of the modernist to find him adopting in apologetics precisely the position upon which Hume more than two hundred years ago poured out the phials of his impassioned scorn. Hume was unjust to the believers of his day, for they took their stand against him firmly on the ground

of human reason, and the position on which he justly vented his scorn was not that of his opponents, but was precisely that which the modernists in their superior wisdom have seen fit to assume. When the modernist comes to the defense of religion he abandons reason altogether and takes refuge in the sanctuary of faith. He imagines that by this process he is rendering Christianity immune from all attacks of its enemies; and he does not hesitate to condemn the position of those who, in defense of religion, appeal to the truth of history. "Not at all," says the modernist; "not at all. Reason has nothing whatever to do with Christianity. Fact has nothing to do with Christianity. The truth of Christianity and the truth of history have nothing whatever in common. Christianity is independent of all these—of fact, of history, of reason. It belongs wholly to the region of faith; hence you cannot touch it." Now this is the exact position against which Hume so justly leveled the shafts of his ridicule. Born scoffer that he was, he with scathing irony says, as though he had the modernist before him:

"I am the better pleased with the method of reasoning here delivered, as I think it may serve to confound those dangerous friends and disguised enemies to the Christian religion who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason. Our most holy religion is founded on faith, not on reason (!), and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fit to endure."

What Hume said in fiercest irony the modernist tells us in all seriousness. Hume, exasperated because he found it impossible to overthrow the evidence in favor of Christianity attested as it was by such "a cloud of witnesses"—to use his own expression, turns upon Christian believers and attributes to them a false argument which they did not use, but which the modernist now makes his whole stock in trade. Upon this position, falsely supposed to be assumed by the defenders of Christianity, Hume trained the batteries of his fierce and savage sarcasm. Against such a position, had Christianity's defenders been foolish enough to assume it, Hume was, of course, right. The modernist, however, is nothing loath to assume it, forgetting that while the position may be safe from assault, it ties the hands of Christianity in defense and utterly deprives it of all power to prove its truth to the world, since all appeal must be to faith, to the utter extrusion of reason. The shallowness of the knowledge which was unacquainted with Hume's famous argument, and the hollowness of the judgment which failed to detect the obvious logic of the modernist position, surely furnished the proper equipment for the mighty minds that undertook the task of enlightening the world.

But it would be a mistake to leave our readers under the impression that the modernist is not an ardent believer in Christ. He insists, indeed, that Christ was a mere man—at best a prophet. He denies unflinchingly that the “signs and wonders” related of Jesus in the Gospel were historical realities. He maintains that after Christ’s death His disciples began to imagine these wonders in word and work and persuaded themselves that they had actually taken place; but they had not. The Evangelists simply projected into the life of the mortal Jesus the fancies which His disciples began to dream after he had departed from them. Nevertheless in spite of all this he assures us that he is a firm believer in Christ—yea, in the very Christ of the Gospels. He claims to recognize what he calls “the richness of the initial fact” (*la richesse du fait initial*), whatever this may be. He recognizes that he owes to Christ the attitude of respect and love due to Him in whom dwells the plenitude of the divinity (*l’attitude de respect et d’amour due a Celui en qui habite la plenitude de la divinite*).

It would seem that at last realizing the destructive efficacy of his fanciful theories and “nouvelles positions,” and appalled at the havoc which they must necessarily make with all the grand fundamental dogmas of Christian belief, he sets to work to repair the evil as best he can and to rehabilitate the shattered remnants of the Christ of history which he has labored so hard to utterly demolish. Like Marius “sitting on the ruins of Carthage,” the encyclical seems to have opened his eyes to the devastation which would result from an adoption of his follies, and looking around him at the subversion of Christian truths, he compares them with the ruins of philosophy and religion which he finds in his own person, and makes a fatuous attempt to remedy the evil. And this is how he does it. After he has told us that the Christ of the Gospels is nothing more—as far as the supernatural facts are concerned—than the experience of the Christian believers, who imagined them, and that the Evangelists merely projected these facts into Christ’s life, the modernist doubles back on this position and tells us that notwithstanding that the Evangelists prevaricated when they recorded these occurrences as actual realities, the facts were there after all from the very beginning potentially in the person of Christ. The richness of the initial fact was there all the while. It is doubtful if outside bedlam and modernism there could be found any one who would care to stand sponsor for this extraordinary piece of wisdom: “The Christ of faith, for example, is without doubt very different from the Christ of history. . . . But we do not pretend that from an ontological point of view there did not exist already hidden in the Christ of history these ethical values and religious significations which Christian experience



has slowly discovered in living the Gospel message." Here are the modernist's exact words:

"Le Christ de la foi, par exemple, est sans doute bien different du Christ de l'histoire. . . . Mais nous ne pretendons pas qu'au point de vue ontologique, il n'y eut pas deja, renfermees dans le Christ de l'histoire, ces valeurs ethiques et ces significations religieuses que l'experience chretienne a decouvertes lentement, en vivant le message evangelique."

So that the Evangelists, notwithstanding their prevarications, were not so far astray after all. Indeed, the wonder is that they hit so near the mark. Christ, the modernist informs us, did none of the "signs and wonders" which the sacred writers attribute to Him; but He could do them if He wished. They were, from an ontological point of view, existing in the initial fact even. By the ontological point of view the modernist doubtless means to say that these supernatural wonders had a potential existence in the person of Christ; for if their existence was actual, they must have actually occurred. So that the Evangelists were not so very inferior as guessers and mind readers after all. "Renfermees" though the signs and wonders were, the modernist admits that the beginnings of the divine were there. Christ was a developing God. Is it not astonishing that the prevaricating Evangelists came so near the truth? And another wonder is that if these supernatural elements, as we may call them, were there potentially, they might not be there actually just as well. Indeed, we are stupid enough not to be able to comprehend just how much difference it made whether they were actually or merely potentially there as far as the doctrine of the modernists is concerned. And then, too, we are impertinent enough to inquire how the modernist has made his discovery? By what process of reasoning, or logic, or intuition, or information, or occultism has he come into the knowledge that the facts could not be there actually while they were there potentially? Of course, it sounds somewhat impolite to ask the modernist to advance his reasons, but then the reputation of the Evangelists is somewhat at stake in the matter. But let us try to grasp this solemn nonsense in all its absurdity.

The facts related in the life of Christ concerning His miraculous power are related as incontrovertible facts by the four Evangelists, and, in the case of John and Matthew, as facts of which the writers were actual eye-witnesses. The modernist, with his superior advantage (over mere contemporaries and eye-witnesses) of coming on the scene twenty centuries later, declares these facts to be unhistorical. These happenings could never have taken place at all. Instead, after Christ's death—although He was a mere prophet—He, in some mysterious manner, worked upon the minds of His followers,

and, strange to say, accomplished in their faith experiences that the Evangelists wrote concerning Him. These experiences the Evangelists took and wrote down deliberately as actual occurrences in the life of Christ. Thus they came to be recorded—falsely, of course—as facts of history. What could never have taken place as actualities of history—for the reason that they were supernatural,did, however, take place in the experience of the early Christians; or at least they were imaginations and speculations on the part of the believers. Consequently they had no actual existence and no historical reality outside the minds of the early Christians. So far so good. But now the modernist tells us that although they could have no existence outside the minds of the Christians, they had an ontological existence—that is, a potential existence in the person of even the Christ of history. They were not realities, but they were there. They were all the while potentially in the person of Christ, and although He was not actually supernatural, He was potentially supernatural. Although these signs and wonders cannot for a moment be regarded as possible, they existed in Him potentially—from the ontologique point of view they were there. What can be more pitiable than this wretched rivel? What is more deserving of censure than this slip-slop reasoning which the modernist tries to force upon us in the name of enlightenment?

We have by no means exhausted this wonderful treasury of philosophical and theological wisdom. There are yet remaining many rare gems of modernistic genius which are very tempting in their ingenious absurdity. Sed sat sufficit. The encyclical which extinguished the incipient conflagration has called modernism a “synthesis of all the heresies;” it might with equal justice be called a synthesis of all logical errors and intellectual follies.

SIMON FITZSIMONS.

Lima, N. Y.

## MISSIONARY LIFE IN ENGLAND IN THE LATER PENAL TIMES.

OF RECENT years the subject of British Catholicism in the penal times has come prominently before that section of the reading public which finds its chief literary interest in the social life of bygone days, thanks principally to the appearance of such works as Gillow's "Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics," Mgr. B. Ward's "History of St. Edmund's College" and "Catholic London a Century Ago." The present writer in his "Historical Dictionary of English Missions" endeavored to illustrate another aspect of the same subject, and he now proposes to give some account of the daily labors and missionary methods of the Catholic clergy in England during that era of "bloodless martyrdom" which intervened between the abdication of James II. and the first Catholic Relief Act of 1778.

The history of English priests in those times is strangely uniform, and the story of one is practically the record of all. If the aspirant to holy orders were not a scion of one of the old Catholic landed families of the country, he was generally the younger son of one of their sturdy dependents—that hardy class of Catholic yeomen who in conjunction with the few "papist" noblemen and squires kept the lamp of the faith burning brightly in spite of the drag and burden of the penal laws and the accompanying social ostracism which these entailed. From such a stock the child early learnt those lessons of steadfast loyalty to his religion and resignation to the injustice of the times which were the chief characteristics of the old Catholic families, and which are among the proudest memories of their descendants.

When Sir George Saville's act gave a slight modicum of relief to the adherents of the ancient faith in 1778, there were about eighty Catholic chapels in England, and in a few of these the Holy Sacrifice was offered almost daily, but in the vast majority of "Mass houses" Mass was only said by stealth on Sundays, and not always even then. When the penal laws were actively enforced during times of public excitement, as in the case of the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, the feeble Catholic life of the recusants ceased for a while, and only by taking special precautions were the initiated enabled to avail themselves of spiritual consolation. Thus when things were at their worst, it was not uncommon to give warning that Mass was about to be said in such and such a place by putting out pieces of linen to dry on the hedges around or near the house where Catholics were known to reside. To return. The Catholic boy in whose breast

God had awakened the holy desire of the sacred priesthood would usually commence his ministering career by serving the Mass of the chaplain at the hall or castle, and from this worthy man would receive the first rudiments of instruction not only in the "three R's," the Douay catechism and "the casting of accompts," but if especially promising as a student, would often be grounded also in a portion at least of Lilly's "Latin Grammar" or the "Introduction to the Latin Language," in use at Douay College. If the young candidate for holy orders persevered in his vocation his name was duly submitted to the Vicar Apostolic of the district, who, if satisfied as to the aspirant's general fitness for the sacred office, would procure his entrance at Douay or one of the other "foreign seminaries beyond the sea." Occasionally the student was recommended by some well-known priest or layman, but even in this case, of course, the consent of the Vicar Apostolic was required before the lad could become a "church student." If too poor to defray the necessary expenses of his collegiate course, the candidate would be placed on one or other of the seminary funds set apart for the purpose. Bishop Challoner, the "clarum et venerabile nomen" of English Catholicism in the eighteenth century, went to Douay in 1705 as a pensioner on one of Bishop Leyburn's bursaries. After the establishment of Sedgley Park School in 1761 and the Old Hall Green Academy, the present St. Edmund's College, in 1769, it became not unusual for church students to pass at least a portion of their time at one of these furtive seats of learning before proceeding to their more advanced course abroad.

At a time when it was extremely dangerous for Catholics, and especially Catholic priests, to have about them anything that might "bewray" their sacred calling, it was highly desirable that the ministers of the faith in England should carry their libraries chiefly in their heads. There was a large and valuable library for the use of the London clergy and educated laity at Gray's Inn, and the care of this collection was generally entrusted to some old priest who had fought the good fight and was looking forward to his near eternal reward. In most Catholic houses of note and in some of the more retired missions, notably at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, were to be found similar, but, of course, far smaller stocks of books, mostly theological and apologetical, disguised from dangerously inquiring eyes by such titles as "Opera Ciceronis," "Opera Senecae" and the like. But in their journeys through the shires on sick calls, visits of instruction and so forth, it was inexpedient for priests to have about them any works or tractates likely to arouse suspicion. Hence the course of study for the clergy of the English mission was almost invariably protracted over twelve or even fourteen years, one

of the chief features of this lengthy curriculum being a public "defensio" of some philosophical or theological thesis against all comers—a trying ordeal which usually took place before a large and distinguished company in the university or public hall of the town where the college of the tyro might be situated. These "defensiones" or public examinations, needless to say, were of the severest description, and they not infrequently covered what was practically the whole course of the candidate's reading. Those who defended their philosophy or divinity "with great applause" were often honored with the bachelor's degree or even doctor's cap and ring.

Thus laboriously and thoroughly equipped for his work on the English mission, the newly ordained priest returned home and placed himself at the disposal of the Vicar Apostolic of his district. Being a man of mature years, that is, about thirty or thirty-one years of age, the newcomer was as a rule appointed chaplain to some nobleman or gentleman whose residence formed the rallying point, so to speak, of the faithful over an entire district of many miles. While thus employed the priest would often pass as his patron's bailiff or steward, and sometimes he actually discharged the duties of these responsible posts. In such centres as Lancashire or Staffordshire, where the number of Catholics was always considerable, the work of the missionary lay far beyond the borders of his immediate sphere of influence. Under the favorable conditions just named, Catholics found safety in numbers and professed their religion almost openly. Thus in 1709 Dr. Holmes, Protestant vicar of Blackburn, reported to the Bishop of Chester that out of a total of 1,800 families in his parish, no fewer than 1,023 were "avowed Papists." Not only did the clergy of this district say Mass and perform their other sacred duties publicly, but the Vicar Apostolic when making his visitation the same year gave Confirmation to "crowds of Catholics," who assembled for the purpose at Lower Hall, Sablesbury.

In some few places, especially those situated in remote districts, persons were occasionally attracted to the proscribed Church by arguments widely different from those to be found in the pages of Bellarmine or Gother. During a debate in the House of Commons in November, 1753, Admiral Vernon said that there lately lived in his county "a great and rich Popish lady," who by connivance had a chapel in her own house, where Mass was celebrated every Sunday and holiday. This lady, out of zeal for her religion, had on every such day a large quantity of beef and mutton roasted or boiled with plenty of roots and greens from her garden, and every poor person who came to Mass at her chapel was sure of a good dinner. The neighboring parish churches were all deserted and the lady's chapel crowded with persons who, in the phrase of the gallant admiral,

"thought that Mass with a good dinner was better than the church service without one."\*

But such instances as those just recorded were quite exceptional, and the greatest caution was required for the safe exercise of the ancient faith. Even as late as the decade following the accession of George III. Bishop Challoner was compelled to preach to his congregation in "an upper room" of the "Ship" Tavern, off Holborn, his auditors having pipes and pewter pots by them to disarm suspicion. At the ancient mission of Cheam, in Surrey, Father William Heatley, O. S. B., Lady Petre's chaplain, who served the district, had to retire for a time to avoid a prosecution set on foot against him by the Protestant rector. Early in the century Bishop Gifford, of the London district, was forced to change his lodgings fourteen times in one year to elude pursuit. In 1733 Bishop Williams, of the Northern district, had "to fly to remote places to escape prison," and in 1747, the year after Prince Charles Edward's abortive rising, Bishop York, coadjutor of the Western district, wrote to Propaganda: "We are compelled to fly from house to house and from city to city." There was a recrudescence of "priest hunting" in 1766-71, owing to the exertions of the informer Payne, and so numerous were the prosecutions that one firm of lawyers alone, Messrs. Dynely & Ashmall, of Gray's Inn, defended upwards of twenty priests, and for the most part gratuitously, during the years 1765-7. The penal laws were evidently strangling the very life out of the Catholics of England, for a little later (1773) Bishop Challoner reported to Rome that there were only 707 adherents of the Church in Sussex, including clergy. By 1790 this attenuated number had still further fallen to 550. Next year came the Second Catholic Relief Act, legalizing our chapels and schools and opening to members of the old religion the professions of law and medicine, and this boon, in conjunction with the emigration of the French clergy and laity, which set in about this time, inaugurated the first epoch of the Catholic revival.

In those missions which were not supported by some wealthy or influential patron, the clergy were forced to subsist on the scanty offerings of their little flocks. Not a few of the mission houses—which contained also the secret chapel—were in a dilapidated condition and were often used as barns and farm buildings to further disguise their real character. In many of the towns things were little better, and matters did not always improve with the times. Twelve years after the Second Relief Act Father Selby, the first Catholic resident priest at Leeds since the Reformation, lived in a single room down a miserable alley behind the public shambles. It was one of his "economical expedients" to go to the butchers' stalls

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\* C. P. Cooper's "Parliamentary and Political Miscellanies."

late on Saturday night and buy as much refuse meat as would suffice for the ensuing week. Another "purgatory of a mission" was Ughthorpe, in Yorkshire, associated with the labors of the Rev. J. Harvey and the Rev. Sir W. Anderton, who were tried and convicted for recusancy in 1747.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the time, the zeal of the missionary clergy as a body never flagged. The old mission registers are full of entries and items which show that not only were the spiritual interests of the faithful, living and departed, carefully attended to, but that even a considerable number of converts were continually being made. From the many instances that might be adduced in proof of this assertion, we give the following items relating to the ancient mission of Danby upon Yure, showing "what Mr. Oakley, S. J., did" from 1742 to 1758:

"1742—April 28. I administered (the last Sacraments to) Charles Robinson, of Wensley; recovered. May 2. I administered Frank Stabler, of East Wilton; he dyed. December 15. I received into the Church Margarite Stabler, of Thornton, wife of Will Stabler.

"1743—15 Nov. I christened at Danby a Scotchman beggar with one Legg, his son Claud.

"1744—February 6. I administered to Margaret More at E. Wilton the viaticum the 15 (sic) without the holy oiles. I was sent for too late. . . .

"1745—Jan. 12. I baptised at Ulshaw Bridge James son of Will Topham and Lucy his wife of Middleham: sponsors John Pease sen'r and Eliz. Allen, jun'r, for which I hardly escaped (banishment)."

So much for the strictly sacerdotal insertions. Here and there the entries in the old registers relate to such matters as "remedies against the Infection of Aer, sickness, &c.," or "against wormes in the stomach"—a strange blending of the physical with the spiritual which actually occurs in the "*Liber Baptizatorum*" of Father Thomas Worthington, O. P., the chaplain at Croxteth from 1713 to 1717.

The long missionary journeys which the priests of those days were forced to make for the purpose of attending to the wants of their scattered flocks were not the least arduous of the many duties which fell to the lot of men who can only be described as truly apostolic. The missionary visited all the towns and villages of his district periodically and made it a point to see personally all the known Catholics of the several localities. In many of these places the faith gradually died out owing to such causes as the penal laws and the extinction or apostasy of some family of influence which had hitherto made a mission possible. Instances of this species of spiritual destitution occurred at Boston, Lincolnshire, which was said to contain not a single Catholic in 1781, and at Linstead, Kent, this latter owing

to the defection about the same period of Lord Teynham, a collateral descendant of the Blessed Thomas More.

On the other hand, Catholics notably increased in some districts owing not only to immigration, but even to a steady flow of conversions. In 1743 Messrs. Evans & Co., of Bristol, imported a number of Flemish zinc workers, and among the clauses of the contract was one—illegal, of course, in the eyes of the law—allowing the foreign artificers the free exercise of their religion. Nearly forty years later (1780) Messrs. Bucknell & Blackwell, the potters, established a chapel at Cobridge (Staffordshire) for their Catholic working folk and otherwise promoted their spiritual welfare.

But such instances as those just given were like the proverbial visits of the angels. In almost every direction the terrible effects of the penal laws were to be seen in extinct missions, dwindling congregations and, as before observed, the total loss of the faith over entire districts. Father E. B. Newton, who was chaplain at Coldham Hall, Suffolk, the seat of the Rookwood-Gage family from 1772 to 1787, gives a sad picture of the state of Catholicism in those parts. This zealous priest had to traverse an area of some fifty miles, visiting en route Sudbury, Chilton, Clare and Melford, "where nothing is to be met with but ignorance, stupidity and sometimes a total neglect of religion." In one place the number of Catholics had fallen from 100 to 4.

But, on the other hand, the stream of conversions never ceased, and the list of those who thus nobly braved persecution, public opinion and the almost certain loss of worldly prospects was, all things considered, remarkably large. Bishop Milner's evidence as to this fact is tolerably well known, and in some few places the increase not only warranted, but even necessitated the establishment of a new mission. At Coventry the Catholics rose from six in 1757 to nearly one hundred in 1770. Mass was said at the house of a Mr. Bruckfield, a convert gentleman, who did much to improve the condition of his coreligionists. At Cowpen, in Northumberland, the number of the faithful also greatly increased a little later on, thanks to the fostering care of Mr. Marlowe Sidney, whose extraordinary conversion has recently been made the subject of a memoir by his granddaughter.

Needless to say, the missionary clergy in their peregrinations did not wear, or even, it may be said, openly carry anything that would in the least indicate their sacred calling. Even at Douay and the other foreign colleges the students were entered under assumed names, and this instinct of disguise, of course, became intensified on the mission. Thus Father Edward Coyney, who was at Draycott, Cresswell, during a large part of the eighteenth century, used to visit



his scattered flock disguised as a peddler, as did the missionary at Hathersage, in Derbyshire. In other places the priest often passed as the attorney, surgeon or scrivener (stock broker) of the family, and in a few isolated cases as a naval or military officer on furlough. Sir George Mannock, Bart., the last of his family and a Jesuit priest, always dressed in the height of fashion, with powdered wig, lace ruffles, jeweled sword, etc., and, thanks to this aristocratic disguise, he was enabled to carry on his ministrations for many years, and even, it is said, to escape death at the hands of the "No Popery" mob during the Gordon riots. Not till about 1804 did priests in England begin to dress in black, and the Roman collar did not become fairly general till nearly forty years later. Bishop Douglass, of the London district (1790-1812), appears to have been the first of the Vicars Apostolic to wear his pectoral cross openly in every day life, and even this slight manifestation of episcopal rank was regarded by many of the older clergy as "a dangerous innovation." When the persecution was acute, which occurred during the reign of Elizabeth and under some of her successors down to Charles II., the utmost pains had been taken by the recusants to disguise as far as possible not only those places where Mass was said, but also the vessels and vestments used in the Holy Sacrifice. Special missals containing only the Ordinary of the Mass, the Proper of Saints and a few other liturgical parts had been authorized by the Holy See for use in Great Britain and Ireland. Pewter chalices and patens, as less likely to arouse the cupidity of the priest hunters, were also permitted, while vestments of gold and silk tissue, which could be easily packed away in unwanted receptacles, were also in vogue. For sick calls the priests often used oil stocks which screwed together lengthwise for the purpose of concealment in hollow walking sticks, riding whips and the like, and so on with the other *vasa sacra et indumenta* of the clergy. Specimens of these and other articles used in the days of persecution are preserved as thrice sacred relics at West Grinstead (Sussex), Sutton Park (Surrey), Stonyhurst and Lydiat (Lancashire) and at many other places where the lamp of the sanctuary flickered faintly on through the darkest hour of trial.

Though the ceremonies of worship were as a rule confined to the bare essentials of the ritual, the full grandeur of Catholic liturgy was occasionally seen even outside the privileged chapels of the Ambassadors. "Years before the mitigation of the penal laws," to quote from Dr. Oliver's "Collections," "Henry VIII., Lord Arundell, contemplated the erection of a splendid church ninety-five feet long in the interior, forty feet wide and as many in height." This daring project was carried into execution at Wardour Castle, and the fine church designed by Quarenghi was consecrated by Bishop Walmes-

ley, V. A., of the Western district, on October 31, 1776, and next day, the feast of All Saints, the sacred building was opened with a pomp unprecedented since the restoration of the Catholic faith in the reign of Queen Mary. When this unique incident occurred the whole body of British Catholicism still lay under "the full unrepealed burden of the penal laws," but thanks to the growing liberality of the times and the excitement caused by the American war, then at its height, this technical breach of the despotic code passed unnoticed. At Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, the personal friendship of George III. for the Weld family led to the erection of another splendid public chapel, and here in 1790, one year before the second relief act, was consecrated the Right Rev. John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore. Notwithstanding the utter exclusion of Catholics from the public life of the nation, some few even of the clergy came into prominence owing to circumstances and abilities which penal laws were unable to suppress.

Dr. Hussey, the friend of Johnson and afterwards first president of Maynooth and Bishop of Waterford, was employed by the government on an important diplomatic mission to Spain. Bishop Walmesley, F. R. S., the mathematician, was consulted by the Cabinet of George II. in 1750-1 with reference to the introduction of the "New Style" change in the calendar. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Saints" attracted the serious attention of Gibbon. The Rev. J. Berington, the historian of the Middle Ages, was well known in the literary circles of London long before the close of the century. Hugh Tootell, alias Charles Dodd, another Douay priest, was the author of numerous historical works, the most famous of which is the "Church History of England" from 1500 to 1688. It was this work that Dr. John Kirk, another sturdy old eighteenth century priest, wished to complete down to 1800, and though the project was never carried out, the extensive notes and memoirs collected for the purpose are among our most valuable documents. It is satisfactory to be able to state that these have quite recently been published by Messrs. Burns & Oates. Such names as the foregoing when coupled with those of the ever-to-be-revered Bishops Challoner and Milner, are more than sufficient to prove that the English Catholic clergy of the period were well abreast of their time in all that pertained to intellectual improvement, and its advancement by means of personal contributions to the common stock of knowledge.

The eighteenth century, if peculiarly the age of the depression of British Catholicism, was also the epoch in which were fostered those habits and conditions which in more recent and happier times have played so important a part in the history of the Church in these realms. The general scheme of missionary life with its connected

system of chapels, its voluntary subscriptions and the mutual dependence of clergy and people, received, so to speak, its finishing touches, and it needed only the genial sunshine of the "Second Spring" to bring to maturity fruit that had blossomed amidst the chill atmosphere of penal days. If the Catholics of England are so flourishing as a body to-day, it is because their forefathers, with the heroic optimism which comes from God, silently and amidst many tribulations, laid the foundations of what has gradually become a free Church in a free State.

BERNARD W. KELLY.

England.

## Book Reviews

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP CHALLONER (1691-1781). By *Edwin H. Burton, D. D.*, Vice President of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall; Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. In two volumes, 8vo., pp. xxiv.+403 and viii.+367. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

Another splendid addition to the many important books on the history of the Church in England has come from the press under the title "The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner." Indeed, it is probably the most important book of the kind in recent years, if any time limit is to be set to its excellence. The wonder is that it has been delayed so long. As to the immediate occasion, the author says:

"When, some twelve years ago, I wrote a short account of Bishop Challoner for the Biographical Series issued by the Catholic Truth Society, that pamphlet was compiled entirely from published sources of information accessible to all, especially the biographies written by Challoner's contemporaries, Bishop Milner, the Rev. James Barnard and Charles Butler, K. C. But the meagre character of these showed how desirable it was that a thorough examination of the unpublished documents relating to his life and times should be made, and a search for new materials instituted.

"The results of this examination and search are embodied in these volumes, though it has proved impossible to include within their limits the whole mass of material which has accumulated in my hands. This material has been drawn from very varied sources, among which the official papers of the Vicars Apostolic naturally are of chief importance."

What a consoling declaration in regard to an important historical period—too much material! Generally the historian has to complain of a dearth of material. This abundance of data is especially fortunate when we consider the period with which it deals and its effect on the Catholic Church in England in later times. The author shows this clearly in the introduction. He says:

"In the history of the Catholic Church in England there is a dark and depressing epoch, the duration of which can be clearly defined as lasting from the Revolution of 1688 to the Catholic Relief Acts which put an end to the penal laws at the close of the eighteenth century. There is no period of which less has been recorded. It forms the Dark Ages of our later history. The practice of the Catholic faith was proscribed by law and the Church was again in the catacombs. Yet this epoch, which has been so completely lost sight of, is the connecting link that joins our present history with that of

the Church in the seventeenth century and the days of the martyrs, so that it is of vital interest and importance."

Bishop Challoner's prominence during this period is most remarkable. His very long life, beginning and ending at two most important points in history, was wrapped up very closely with all the intervening events. As Dr. Burton says:

"With this period the name of Bishop Challoner is forever identified. Born within three years of the Revolution, he lived to see the first Relief Act in 1778, and he died just ten years before the second, that of 1791, gave Catholics liberty of worship once more. For nearly half a century he was the leader and the foremost figure among English Catholics; and since his day no name has ever been held by them in greater veneration. Even now, when the details of his life are largely forgotten, his memory is held in reverence by many who know little or nothing of the work which he did. That his name thus became a household word among our people is due to two causes. First, there was the memory of the preëminent personal holiness of his life; and next, the fact that he was the writer of those works of devotion and instruction on which the succeeding generations of English Catholics were formed. For a long space of time his books were the most popular and widely used volumes in our literature; and, even now, to many who know nothing of his work as a Bishop, his name is familiar as the saintly author of the 'Garden of the Soul,' the 'Meditations' and the 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests.'

"The century which has elapsed since his death has seen a great revival of the Catholic Church in this country. In 1791 the penal laws were abolished; in 1829 emancipation was won; in 1850 the hierarchy was restored. The large influx of Catholics from Ireland and numerous conversions in England has multiplied our number many times over, and the land is covered with churches, schools, monasteries and convents. We have now a large and varied literature expressing the manifold activities of Catholicity. There is, above all, a vigorous spiritual life finding expression in the worthy celebration of the liturgy and public worship; in a vast system of organized charity; in countless associations for carrying on the religious and social work of the Church. Without minimizing either our shortcomings or difficulties, we may gladly recognize, when we compare the state of the Church in England to-day with its condition in the year of Bishop Challoner's death, that God has wrought His wonders in our midst and has given an increase beyond all hope.

"But this vigorous and flourishing growth has not been called into being by the creative power of God without reference to everything that went before. Rather it is the ordered development of the Cath-

olic life that preserved the hidden existence through the long winter of persecution. In the dark days was the seed sown which has given us so great a harvest. 'Euntes ibant et flebant mittentes semina sua.' To understand fully our present condition, its problems and its responsibilities, the seed-time must be studied so that we may come to know our life-story as a whole. It may be that in the joy and exhilaration which accompanied the rapid growth of our 'Second Spring' there was a tendency to forget the past in the stress and excitement of the present. Catholics who were exulting in their freshly won emancipation, in their recently gained hierarchy and in the new possibilities of the work lying ready to their hands, may be excused if, in the onrush and vigor of their new life, they did not dwell much on the old, narrow and contracted existence, painfully endured by their fathers. So little by little the dark days were forgotten."

His activity was amazing, and the wonder is how he accomplished so much, and in such varied ways. Many men have become famous who have not done a tithe of the work which fell to his lot, but his untiring zeal, his singleness of purpose and his constant application worked wonders. A glance at some of his works will show this.

"It is surprising how much even in our present spiritual life we owe to him in one form or another. To him is due our version of the Bible, the popular edition of the 'Imitation of Christ,' the present form of the 'Penny Catechism' learned by our children, to say nothing of the ever popular 'Garden of the Soul,' that almost universal manual of prayers, 'Think Well On't,' and the book of 'Meditations.' It was he who restored to our Missals and Breviaries the English Supplement with the festivals of English saints, who instituted the clergy conferences, who kept alive for us the memory of the English martyrs. Of existing institutions, St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, was built up after the fall of Douay College on the foundation of the school he had established at Standon Lordship; St. Wilfrid's College, Oakamoor, was founded by him at Sedgley Park, and the venerable English Colleges of Valladolid and Lisbon owe him so much that they may with justice claim him as their second founder.

"Besides all this, there was the work he did in supplying the needs of his own time. When books of instruction were needed he wrote them; if a controversy became necessary, he undertook it. In turn he gave to his people not only prayer-books and meditation books, but lives of the saints, a martyrology, a summary of Bible history, a short church history and translations of the chief work of St. Augustine, St. Francis of Sales and St. Teresa. All these labors were carried on, not only in addition to the ordinary work of a Bishop, but under conditions often arduous and hampering; some-

times, indeed, under the stress of actual persecution. The story of Bishop Challoner's life, then, is very far from being a mere record of passive endurance, and there are many points where it throws a stream of light upon the practices and institutions of to-day."

The book is indispensable to a right understanding of this very important historical epoch. The story is inspiring, and will act as a spur to churchmen in succeeding generations. It illumines the present, and its rays will extend far into the future.

**DAS EVANGELIUM VOM GOTTESOHNE.** Von Dr. Anton Seitz, Professor der Apologetik an der Universität München.  
**JESUS CHRISTUS.** Vorträge auf dem Hochschulkurs zu Freiburg (i. B.), 1908. Gehalten von verschiedenen Professoren. Freiburg: Herder (St. Louis, Mo.), 1908.

The question which the Incarnate Word put to the Pharisees of old, "What think ye of Christ?" has to be answered in every age and by every individual to whom "the good news" of His mission has been made known. And as Christ Himself confounded the skeptics around Him by retorting on them their own principles, so has His vicegerents at the present day to refute the captious critics. This they can hope to do only by employing a searching historical examination of the documents and data whereon the truth of the Divine Sonship of Christ is based. But here the parallelism terminates, both as regards the defendant and the objector. For whereas Christ stood visibly and spoke audibly before His enemies, His followers to-day have no such sensible advantage; and while He could place His adversaries beyond the possibility of their asking "any more questions," His present disciples, with their personal and circumstantial limitations, have to pursue the unending tergiversations of their opponents. It is these devious windings of modern criticism that makes the labor of the present defender of the faith so incessant and so intricate. No brief or easy task at any time is it to follow the labyrinthine ways of the naturalistic spirit in its endeavor to escape the supernatural; but when that spirit has trained itself by the supple discipline of modern science and has shaped itself with the elusive forms of German idealism the efforts of him whose mission it is to defend the supernatural and objective truth of revelation meet with peculiar difficulties. Fortunately he is not left without helpful aids and instruments, some entailed, of course, by his vocation and others by the steadily if not too rapidly growing apologetic literature. To the latter class belong such works as are introduced above. The sub-title of the first book—"A Defense (Apologie) of the Essential Sonship of Christ Against the Attack (Kritik) of the

Latest German Theology"—indicates the author's specific purpose—*i. e.*, to be at once critical and constructive. The first chapter reflects predominately the former of these two characteristics, embodying as it does a very searching exposition of German "evangelical liberalism"—especially of Harnack's "semi-dogmatic Christianity"—which, developing to its ultimate consequences the individualistic exegesis set up by Luther, seeks to deprive the Gospel narrative, especially Christ's testimony to Himself, of all doctrinal, *i. e.*, definitely intellectual content. The succeeding chapters are primarily constructive, though the positive argumentation is continuously developed over against the adverse speculation of the rationalistic criticism. These chapters unfold our Lord's testimonies to His Divine Sonship—the Gospel testimonies in their doctrinal and practical elements and implications. The closing chapter develops the evidence for the same truth as presented by Christ's messengers—the Precursor, the Evangelists, and particularly St. Paul. We cannot enter into any details of the author's exposition. We must leave this to the student, promising him that he will be well rewarded by the perusal of a work than which he will scarcely find another that within an equal compass so thoroughly and so comprehensively, so strongly and so reverently vindicates the Divinity of Christ against the insidious attacks of present day rationalism.

The second book mentioned above embodies a series of lectures—treating of the same general subject as the volume just described—given before an audience composed principally of the priests of the Diocese of Freiburg (Congregatio Mariana Sacerdotalis) assembled at the university in the latter city. The lectures were delivered by the well-known professors, Braig, Hoberg, Krieg, Weber, of Freiburg, and Esser, of Bonn. These names guarantee the scholarship, it need hardly be said, of the respective contributions. There are in all seventeen lectures. Two by Professor Hoberg treat of the historicity of the Gospels; three by Dr. Weber expound the Scriptural testimonies to our Lord Divinity; three by Dr. Braig on the beliefs of men outside the Church concerning Christ's person, teaching and institutions; four by Professor Esser, two on Protestant and modernist Christology and two on the dogma of the Hypostatic Union; three by Dr. Krieg on our Lord as the Way, the Truth and the Life. The appendix contains two lectures by Professors Hoberg and Braig on Modernism. Needless to say that while these lectures throughout are both solid in their argumentation and scholarly in their wealth of fact, they have a literary finish befitting the occasion of their delivery. The personal charm of the spoken word pervades the pages and makes them pleasant without ceasing to be instructive reading.



MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. Selected from hitherto inedited manuscripts by *William Forbes Leith, S. J.* Two volumes, 8vo., pp. 381 and 415. Vol. I.: "The Reign of King Charles I., 1627-1649. Vol. II.: "From Commonwealth to Emancipation, 1647-1793." With illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

The student of history ought to be very grateful for this book. It is history in the best sense of that much abused word, for it is really written by the saintly men who were the principal actors in the events narrated and who wrote not for publication or notoriety, but for truth. In the introduction we read:

"A very homely proverb tells us that no man knows where the shoe pinches better than he who wears it. However soft to the touch the leather is shown to be, however high the repute of the maker, no argument derived from the evidence of others can outweigh the statement based on personal experience.

"We have heard the history of religion in Scotland from many a friend of the Covenant, from many an admirer of the Royalists, but a personal narrative of the sufferings endured by the members of the ancient faith has not been put before the world.

"The letters here printed were written from Scotland during the worst times by men who were bearing the extremity of the persecution. We hear at first hand of the courage, patience, resource and religious fortitude with which large numbers of Scots bore for generations trials which are without a parallel for severity and protraction, even in the annals of our strong and long enduring nation. In a previous volume of 'Narratives of Scottish Catholics' their history has been traced in the days of Mary Stuart and of King James VI. The documents now printed illustrate their troubles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period during which their interesting history has been too often ignored, amidst the momentous conflicts of the Crown, the Covenant and the Parliament.

"The majority of the letters which follow were written by the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland to the general of their society in Rome. Some were actors in or witnesses of the events described. In other cases the letters were written abroad by a superior or representative who had retired for the nonce to the Continent, where he could transact business with less fear of his letters being intercepted. None of these men were thinking of history or publication when they wrote. They recorded the daily life of the Scottish Catholics just as it passed before their eyes."

In some ways the letters are disappointing, but through no fault of the writers. They hardly ever mention the names and abodes of their principal friends, and even the names of the most heroic char-

acters are frequently omitted, but when we remember the multiplicity of English spies, especially at news centres like Paris, Rome and Venice, and the high price paid by the English Government for information about Papists, we are not surprised.

"It is to be regretted that we do not know more about the lives of these religious heroes. The letters and memoirs here printed form their best, perhaps their only monuments. Of none of them do we possess a portrait. Yet as we look at the pictures of the now ruined castles, halls and towers in which they once lived, sometimes as chaplains, sometimes as prisoners, we can realize how Spartan, even at the best, their lives must have been, how unendurably oppressive, when incarcerated in them, the victims of the religious passions of those days.

"In an appendix will be found a series of chronological notes of the legal proceedings adopted against Catholics, which proceedings Pitcairn considered as 'forming a prominent part of the ecclesiastical and political history of the country.'"

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this valuable addition to the true history of the persecutions of Catholics for the faith, which is gradually being completed and which is astonishing all thoughtful, serious men, irrespective of creeds.

Those who are building up libraries for themselves and others should take care to get possession of books like this at once, for if they have been long in making their appearance, they will be more eagerly sought and may go out of print early. They are not likely to be reprinted in the near future.

**EUCHARISTIE UND BUSZSAKRAMENT in den Ersten Sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche von Gerhard Rauschen, Th. D., Ph. D. Freiburg (I. B.), Herder (St. Louis, Mo.). Pp. vi.+204. 1908. Pr., \$1.40.**

Few if any subjects connected with the history of dogma are so important or so difficult as those which concern the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Penance in the early Church. Hence the ever growing literature centering thereon. Probably one of the most widely known of these works is the late Mr. Lea's "History of Auricular Confession" (N. Y., 1896). Mr. Lea has in his three volumes brought together a very large mass of material, much of which is drawn from original sources and is set forth with an appearance of judicious scholarship. On the other hand, it is now well known that Mr. Lea was very imperfectly acquainted with Christian antiquities. He seems to have known very little of the classic work of Mormus (*Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti paenitentiae*, Paris, 1651). Moreover,

he treats almost entirely of the history of confession in mediæval and modern times. While excluding the Protestant literature on the subject, he lacked that insight into Catholic teaching and practice which would have enabled him to interpret accurately the pertinent Catholic literature. Hence he finds difficulties where there are none and exaggerates what there are. He is convinced that the obligation of confession as a divine institution was first taught by Hugh of St. Victor and Peter the Lombard. It is not to be expected, of course, that Mr. Lea had a high appreciation of the moral influence of the confessional or that he should have been able to make statistics prove, satisfactorily to himself, the contrary. The foregoing is the estimate passed by Professor Rauschen in the volume at hand. Confirmation of this estimate may be had by a study of the present work and more explicitly from a critique to which he further refers (Boudinhon: *Sur l'histoire de la pénitence à propos d'un ouvrage récent*, a paper which appeared in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, Paris, 1897).

The present work is divided about equally between the two subjects—the Sacrament of the Eucharist and of Penance. In the first part the early Christian teaching on the Real Presence, on Transubstantiation, the essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the origin of the Canon and the *Epiklese* (invocation) is summarized and analyzed. The second part does the same for the Sacrament of Penance—the early penitential discipline, the doctrine on sin, the practice of public and private confession, these being the main lines of discussion. The sum of testimony adduced establishes the final verdict that the dogmatic teaching of the Church on the two sacraments has endured from the very beginning unchanged, though the unessential modifications of the conditions required for their valid and licit reception and ministration have varied with time and place. In presenting this mass of evidence the author, while critical throughout and thus meeting the demands of the professional student, has not overlaid the text with technicalities. The book is therefore one which the educated general reader will be able to utilize with profit and edification.

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**THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA.** An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Conde B. Pallan, Ph. D., LL. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Royal octavo. Vol. VI: Fathers—Gregory. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

As one places this book on the table before him he notices that it is as large as previous volumes; that the paper is the same firm, clean

sheet that presents a surface sufficiently hard to take impressions from type and plate without yielding to them or scattering them; that the full page pictures are on the same highly calendered paper that gives perfect results; that most of the distinguished names of contributors to previous volumes appear again, and that new ones, equally distinguished in their particular fields, are being added; that the work is progressing steadily and successfully along the original lines, coming down in this volume to Gregory; and that it grows in interest and value with each succeeding volume.

As we open the book at the first article, entitled "Fathers of the Church," by Rev. John Chapman, O. S. B., prior of St. Thomas' Abbey, Erdington, Birmingham, England, with its sixteen pages of closely printed, double column, large octavo pages of well written and well condensed matter on this interesting subject, and its page and a half of still more closely printed bibliography, we appreciate the Catholic Encyclopedia. Where else could the ordinary reader find that information in such form; and, for that matter, where could the extraordinary reader get it without access to the authorities mentioned in the bibliography, which are accessible to a very few persons only, and which require a scholarship in the student that is rare? This article is a good illustration of the value of the Encyclopedia. It is bringing to our doors from all over the world the best knowledge on Catholic matters—a knowledge which heretofore has been to a very great degree almost inaccessible, and it is perpetuating it in a form which will preserve it forever.

We cannot imagine any one, even moderately interested in Catholic affairs, who becomes even casually acquainted with the Catholic Encyclopedia and who does not want to possess it and keep it near him. It must not be imagined, however, that the first article in this volume is exceptional. All that we have said of it could be said as truthfully of all the leading articles in all the volumes, and we have this one as an illustration because it is the first.

We might have turned to the end of the book and taken the seven-page article on Gregory the Great, by Rev. Gilbert R. Hudleston, O. S. B., Downside Abbey, England, or the four-page article on Gregory VII., by Rev. Thomas Oestreich, O. S. B., Maryhelp Abbey, North Carolina, to illustrate the same truth.

We feel that attention cannot be called too often to the care that is given to subjects of comparatively minor importance, for we believe that this is one of the best tests of a book of the kind. There is good reason to fear that in the making of encyclopedias very often the shorter articles are entrusted to persons who have no special fitness for writing them, and who merely transcribe the required number of words from any author who happens to be at hand. A

glance at the short articles in the Catholic Encyclopedia will show that they receive great attention, and are generally done by men with international reputations for learning.

We shall close with another repetition—each volume has a distinct and independent value, and therefore the book should be bought as it comes from the press.

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BOUDDHISME OPINIONS SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA DOGMATIQUE. Par *L. de la Poussin*. Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes, 117.

In this publication the author resumes the lectures which he delivered at the Institut Catholique in Paris during the sessions of May and June, 1908. In a very interesting preamble he calls attention to the fact of the remarkable sympathy and indiscreet zeal evoked by Buddhism in European countries and elsewhere, especially in America, England and Germany; whereas, the other Indian religions meet with indifference even on the part of studious and inquisitive readers and scholars. For any one who is familiar with the literature of India there is no doubt that Vedism, with its grand mythological and divine figures; Brahmanism, with its profound theories and rational discipline; Hindooism, with its humble and fitful devotions, are all much superior in many respects to Buddhism, in which everything is offered, so to say, at second hand—mythology, doctrine and piety. But people indulge in strange illusions on the subject of Buddhism. Many writers attribute to it the unique privilege heard of in history of religions, viz., that it possesses a purely rationalistic philosophy, an ideal compatible with modern science, a morality devoid of God and of the soul. Moreover, they pretend that having been organized several centuries before the Christian era, it made its way in the West as far as the Mediterranean. Hence its success and the honors indiscreetly paid to it. It merits our attention, however, though not for these reasons. Its legend, its humanity, its depth, its historical character, its founder, its brotherhood, its canons and its sects, its iconography, bringing it into dependance on Grecian art, its power of propagandism and its wide conquest of the far East, all these are titles which demand recognition from the student who is concerned with the history of religions. The interest evoked by Buddhism in some scholars goes so far as to make them believe that Europe itself should go to the school of Cakyamuni.

According to the writer of this book, Buddhism must be of deep interest for the reason that its votaries, richly endowed with the gifts of nature, are familiar with almost all the ideas and all the aspirations of which human thought and human heart are susceptible. They afford a striking confirmation of the principle "*anima naturaliter*

Christiana." Besides the introduction, the work comprises five chapters, as follows: 1. "Teaching of Cakyamuni." 2. "Metaphysical Systems of Buddhism." 3. "Philosophical and Religious Buddhism." 4. "Career of the Future Buddha." 5. "Buddhism and the Supernatural Hindoo Tantrisme."

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**A COMPENDIUM OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION.** An English Adaptation of Very Rev. Angelo Raineri's Work. By Rev. John Hagan, Vice Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Large 8vo., two volumes, 536 pages, net, \$4.25. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The common objection will probably be made to this book that we have enough catechisms already, and while we must confess that we think it best for every man to select one standard work of this kind and stick to it in practice, we must at the same time acknowledge that the field is practically exhaustless, provided only that he who tills it knows how to handle the plough. If he doesn't, he will soon find himself lost in the weeds that will grow up about him.

The Holy Father's Encyclical, "De Christiana Doctrina Tradenda," has been the occasion of much industry in this field, and it has brought the present work before English readers.

Says the announcement: What the Papal Decree has shown the necessity of is not so much books that supply outlines, or amplify material, as the application of the material already at hand in the Roman Catechism to a course of simple, plain, sound, effective and intelligible instructions.

Such a work is confessedly a desideratum, and such a treatise—an English adaptation of Very Rev. Angelo Raineri's work—we now beg to offer to the English-speaking clergy, under the Editorship of the Rev. John Hagan, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome.

Father Raineri's Masterpiece was the result of forty years' incessant study of the Roman Catechism in the shape of practical instructions which rendered his name famous in his day, and attracted thousands upon thousands to the Cathedral of Milan, and which, in their collected form, constitute what competent authorities describe as the very best Course of Catechetical Instruction.

The following approbation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan is prefixed to the Sixth Edition:

"Optimum prae dicti Operis iterum edendi, emendandi et adaugendi consilium summopere commendamus, novamque editionem subjicimus examini Reverendissimi Domini Friderici Sala,

S. Th. Doct. Prot. Ap. huius Metropolitanæ Archipresbyteri, e conlegio Censuræ Curiae Nostræ.

"Mediolani VIII Kal. Sept. MCM. †Andreas C., Card. Archiepiscopus."

Father Ranieri's work is no mere dry exposition of Christian Doctrine. It was his invariable practice, to which he attached much importance, to devote the conclusion of each Instruction to the impressing of some moral lesson or some Gospel truth, arising out of the subject of his discourse. When this is taken into account, and when it is remembered that he was a man of highly edifying life, deep theological acquirements and shining example—while his Instructions were remarkable for orderly treatment, clearness of exposition and impressive, though simple, eloquence—it will readily be understood how it was that, during the long period of forty years, his Instructions went straight to the hearts of the vast crowds that flocked round his pulpit in the glorious Cathedral of Milan. Well could the editors of the first edition draw attention to "the purity of his doctrine, precision of his language, lucidity of thought, order of treatment, appropriateness of Scriptural quotation and steady flow of eloquence."

The adaptation now offered to English-speaking readers of this most admirable compendium aims at conveying as far as possible the spirit of the original. But with it is embodied a New Translation of the "Catechismus Romanus" (the "Catechism of the Council of Trent"), the use of which has recently been insisted on by the Sovereign Pontiff as a text-book for Catechetical Instructions throughout the world. The arrangement is such that the various chapters or parts of chapters in the Catechism of the Council of Trent will be prefixed to the corresponding Instruction—thus giving at one and the same time the "Official Text" of all Catechetical Instructions, along with the very best adaptation of that Text to popular intelligence. Accordingly, the entire publication possesses features which are not to be found in existing books of the kind in the English language.

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THE FAITH OF CATHOLICS CONFIRMED BY SCRIPTURE AND ATTESTED BY THE FATHERS OF THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH. Compiled Revs. J. Berington and J. Kirk. Revised and recast by Rev. J. Waterworth, with Preface, corrections and additions by Right Rev. George Peck, D. D. Three volumes, 8vo., pp. 1,486. Third enlarged edition. New York: Pustet & Co.

"The Faith of Catholics" is a classic without competitor. It took its place as a standard as soon as it appeared, and it has never been supplanted. It has improved with each succeeding

edition, and, like good wine, grows better as it grows older. The explanation of Monsignor Capel is worthy of reproduction:

"To justify the so-called Reformation, to oppose a return to the Old Church, 'the Mother and Mistress of Churches,' it is persistently asserted that Rome has added to the 'Faith once delivered to the Saints,' that she has imposed on the One Fold practices and doctrines which are no part of the Gospel of the Shepherd of our souls. It is triumphantly pointed out that as late as 1854 and 1870 the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and of the Infallibility of the Pope have been added to the Creed of the Roman Church.

"Catholics meet this grave charge by saying that all Revelation was completed and closed by Jesus Christ, who committed it as the 'depositum fidei' to the Divine-Human Organism; the Church appointed and authorized to be the sole Teacher, Guardian, and Judge of this Revelation. To fulfill her mission the 'assistance' of the Holy Spirit, but not 'inspiration,' is given her. Consequently she has no power to add to the truths of Revelation.

"The decisions made in the first Council held at Jerusalem by the Apostles to those of the last convened by the Chief Pastor of the Old Church at the Vatican in 1869 are not additions to the Revelation, but explicit declarations of what is contained in Revelation. The consubstantiality of the Father and Son, the Trinity in Unity, the one Person and the two Natures in Jesus Christ, the question of Grace and Freewill, all defined and decreed by the General Councils held successively in the first five centuries, add naught to the substance of the Faith.

"In like manner the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope are respectively legitimate logical consequences of revealed truths.

"The Catholic Faith is no mere aggregation of theological decisions, but an organic body of truths, explaining, confirming and perfecting one another. Times and circumstances may concentrate the mind of the Church on one of these truths rather than on another, and thus give it universal prominence. Or controversy and heresy may necessitate clear, definite, formulated decisions of the Faith. At another time the very devotions of the faithful will evolve precise statements of doctrine. But in all this the explicit declarations are but the unfolding of the implicit propositions of Revelation.

"This 'Development' of Doctrine,' or, as it is technically called in theology, 'Explication of Christian Doctrine,' must from the nature of the case ever be going on.



"This would be the common-sense reply to the objection that Rome has added to the Faith. To many it would be sufficient; to others it would be more satisfactory to see the expressions of the Teachers of the early Christian ages concerning the present formulated Catholic doctrines.

"The task of compiling such a body of evidence was undertaken by the Rev. Fathers Berington and Kirk in the early part of this century. The book found such favor that the Rev. Father Waterworth undertook to republish it some years after it was out of print. For 'the due execution of his task, it was thought necessary to read the entire works of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the first five centuries; to give an entirely new translation of nearly all the extracts—especially those from the Greek writers; and to use such aids as numerous authors have furnished toward distinguishing the genuine from the spurious or doubtful works of those early ages of the Church.' To that labor four years of severe study and reading have been devoted.

"It is this edition of Father Waterworth which is now given to the public with sundry corrections. There has been added to it a chapter from the work of the learned and venerated Bishop Ullathorne on the Immaculate Conception, a translation of the First Dogmatic Constitution of the General Council of the Vatican, and a chronological list of the Popes of the first five centuries."

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A SPIRITUAL CANTICLE OF THE SOUL AND THE BRIDEGROOM CHRIST. By *St. John of the Cross*. Translated by David Lewis, with corrections and Introduction by Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D., Prior of St. Luke's, Wincanton. 8vo., pp. xiv. + 317. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Those holy souls that love the contemplative life will have a warm welcome for this work of the great master. Being the result, as all his works are, of meditation rather than of study, it takes all his students, as he took himself, up to God. Its history is its best recommendation:

"The present volume of the works of St. John of the Cross contains the explanation of the 'Spiritual Canticle of the Soul and the Bridegroom Christ.' The two earlier works, the 'Ascent of Mount Carmel' and the 'Dark Night of the Soul,' dealt with the cleansing of the soul, the unremitting war against even the smallest imperfections standing in the way of union with God; imperfections which must be removed, partly by strict self-discipline, partly by the direct intervention of God, who, searching 'the reins and hearts' by means of heavy interior and exterior trials, purges away whatever is displeasing to Him. Although

some stanzas refer to this preliminary state, the chief object of the 'Spiritual Cantic' is to picture under the Biblical simile of Espousals and Matrimony the blessedness of a soul that has arrived at union with God.

"The Cantic was composed during the long imprisonment St. John underwent at Toledo, from the beginning of December, 1577, till the middle of August the following year. Being one of the principal supporters of the Reform of St. Teresa, he was also one of the victims of the war waged against her work by the Superiors of the old branch of the Order. St. John's prison was a narrow, stifling cell, with no window, but only a small loophole through which a ray of light entered for a short time of the day, just long enough to enable him to say his office, but affording little facility for reading or writing. However, St. John stood in no need of books. Having for many years meditated on every word of Holy Scripture, the Word of God was deeply written in his heart, supplying abundant food for conversation with God during the whole period of his imprisonment. From time to time he poured forth his soul in poetry; afterwards he communicated his verses to friends."

The book is arranged in forty stanzas, and the following is the division of the work: Stanzas I to IV are introductory; V to XII refer to the contemplative life in its earlier stages; XIII to XXI, dealing with what the Saint calls the Espousals, appertain to the Unitive way, where the soul is frequently but not habitually admitted to a transient union with God, and XXII to the end describe what he calls Matrimony, the highest perfection a soul can attain this side of the grave. The reader will find an epitome of the whole system of mystical theology in the explanation of Stanza XXVI.

The Daughters of St. Theresa will revel in it; other contemplative orders will study it lovingly, and religious generally will derive much profit from it. Saints in the world will find it a great help in the accomplishment of that very difficult thing of being in the world without being of it.

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THE GLORIES OF LOURDES. By the *Chanoine Justin Rousseil*, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Curé of "Les Saintes Hosties" at Pézilla-Rivière, Pyrénées-Orientales, France. Translated from the second edition by the Rev. Joseph Murphy, S. J. 12mo., pp. xxiv.+326, illustrated. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

There is no better judge of the value of a work on Lourdes than the Bishop of Tarbes, who takes such an active interest in

the Holy Shrine, and devotes so much time to it. He says to the author:

"The title you have chosen sums everything in a nutshell. 'The Glories of Lourdes'—how many promises are contained in these words! And you do not disappoint the reader's expectation. The origin of our shrines, the marvels which accompany and follow the Apparitions of the Immaculate Virgin, the prodigies which the piety of the faithful works in answer to the miracle of Divine power wrought by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, the whole world hastening to the Grotto of Massabielle and multiplying the manifestations of faith capable of moving mountains, since they very often touch the hearts most hardened to supernatural influence—this is what you represent and depict in a series of pictures animated with colors of life the most intense, and, I might add, the most glorious."

It might be said that there are so many books about Lourdes that there is not room for another. But as another reviewer has said, in the case of a sanctuary still prolific in wonders, later books have certain natural advantages over earlier ones; each year adds to the number and variety of the marvels effected there. The translator says:

"This work was first published in France last year, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Apparitions at Lourdes. The author, in his preface, gives the reasons which led him to add another book to the many already written about Lourdes. However, the fact that the first edition was exhausted in eight months, and the chorus of praise with which it was greeted by the Catholic press in France, seem to contradict the author's modest estimate of his work, and to show that it has not proved superfluous. Moreover, it has won the praise of His Holiness Pius X, of two Cardinals, and of the Bishops of Perpignan, Tarbes and Pamiers. The letters of these Bishops were given in full in the French edition, but reasons of space have unfortunately compelled us to omit two of them, as well as a long list of French journals and reviews which gave this work very high praise. The notice from that important periodical, *L'Ami du Clerge*, omitted here for the same reasons, described this book as a brilliant work of science, apologetics, and eloquence (October 29th, 1908).

Moreover, by the advice of authority, it has been translated into the four principal languages of Europe, in the hope that, as it had met with so favorable a reception in France, it might prove interesting to a wider circle of readers in other countries, as giving a complete history on broad lines of the famous Grotto of Lourdes during the last fifty years."

It is undoubtedly the best popular work on the subject, and may be recommended to those who have been there, and who wish to recall and fix their impressions; to those who hope to go there, and to profit most by their visit, and to those who may not have the hope of a visit, but who wish to increase their devotion to the Blessed Virgin by reading of those wonderful and recent manifestations of her power.

The illustrations are excellent and add much to the value of the work, being made from good photographs.

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**BREVIARIUM ROMANUM.** Four volumes, 18mo. Length, 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches; width, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches; thickness,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Diary form. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here is a good example of the evolution of the Roman Breviary—we mean, of course, as to form, and one is apt to explain when he sees it, “the least thing in Breviaries.” The transition from the large clumsy volume of a few years ago, with its tiresome weight and poor type and heavy white paper to the dainty book before us is a surprising and pleasant transition.

We all remember the first attempt to produce a pocket Breviary, and we can recall the little fat, clumsy volume which was the result. It had a short life, and one is tempted to wonder what became of it. It must have had a large sale, because it was the best of its kind then, but no one is so poor as to do it reverence now.

Then came a pocket Breviary, from the press of Benziger Brothers, that was a quick advancement. It was made possible by the introduction of the thin but firm India paper which rendered the making of small, light books easy.

But the 18 mo. did not hold sway long, for the clerical body had learned the possibilities in the making of Breviaries, and demanded a still more compact pocket volume. The 48 mo. was the answer to this demand, and it was a satisfactory answer. The reduction of the Breviary to the size of the *Horae Diurnae* was something which no one dreamed of a few years ago.

The sincerest of all flatteries, imitation, quickly followed the appearance of this book, and all the liturgical publishers brought out similar editions.

All reasonable demands seemed to be satisfied, and it was hard to see how any advancement could be made in this field. And yet advancement was possible. Keeping before them the true end to be attained, Benziger Brothers have set before the

public the best pocket Breviary ever published, and one that it is difficult if not impossible to supercede.

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If you want the traveler's Breviary, get the Peerless.

L'EGLISE ET LE MONDE BARBARE. One vol. de 500 pages in -8 raisin. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This publication forms the third of the 8 volumes of the History of the Church, by Fernand Mourret, professor of history at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. It has just lately appeared. It comprises the period from the fifth to the tenth century. The narrative begins at the fall of the Roman Empire of the West, in 476, and ends at the establishment of the German Holy Empire, in 962.

The ruin of the Roman Empire and its institutions, the end of paganism, the Christian beginnings in France, England, Germany, Spain, the Slavic and Scandinavian countries; the formation of the temporal powers of the Holy See, the civilizing work of Charlemagne, the destinies of the Church during the troubled period of the dismemberment of the Empire and the appearance of the feudal regime, the powerful social action of St. Nicholas the First, the tragical history of the popes of the "iron age" and the renewal of the work of Charlemagne by the Emperor Otto the First—these events form the principal subject-matter of the work.

In this interesting sketch the writer aims especially at bringing into striking relief the development of the inner life of the Church, her dogmas, her fruits of sanctity and her social action on the nations.

In his endeavor to be, above all, scientific and, in the language of the day, objective, the author has adopted as his rule

the words of Pope Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on History, 18 August, 1883, "It is necessary to endeavor to refute lies and falsehoods by having recourse to the sources—always remembering that the first law of history is not to dare to tell a lie; the second, not to fear to tell the truth, *ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.*"

This impartial and scientific narrative of events is of the greatest value as a means of defense against the incessant attacks aimed at the Church. The very actual questions of the coercitive power of the Church, the origin of duels and ordeals—the fable of the so-called Popess Joan, the false decretals, the origin of the property and the immunities of the clergy, the social role of the monks, the lamentable influence exercised by secular princes upon certain popes of the tenth century—all these questions and many more are dealt with as completely as the scope of the work admits.

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OUTLINES OF GENERAL HISTORY. By *V. A. Renouf, B. A.* Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph. D., Princeton University. With maps and illustrations. 12mo., pp. xx+500. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

The skill required in constructing a general history of the world in a 12 mo. volume of 500 pages is very great. Any one who has tried to condense a large subject into small space without destroying the sense as well as the interest realizes this. Professor Renouf has succeeded in doing this very difficult thing. He explains his purpose and plan thus:

"This book aims to relate in the simplest possible language the grand outlines of the world's history. The dominant force in the modern world is that complex historical compound called 'Western Civilization.' The history of that Western Civilization must, therefore, occupy the greatest part of any modern General History, no matter whether it is intended for young or for older students. In condensing the history of the West into so small a compass, much had to be omitted which another writer might consider of importance.

"An Elementary History like the present, then, always represents a small selection from an immense range of facts. The reader has a right to ask by what principles the author was guided in making his selection. I tried to do the following: First, to show the continuity of history, or, in other words, to make the reader see that the present has grown out of the past. Secondly, to emphasize those events and institutions a knowledge of which is most useful to persons interested in public reforms in

the East. Thirdly, to show the value of high ideals of truth, and the advantage of liberal institutions. Under this third heading I confess to a personal bias. I believe, however, that the book is free from religious or racial prejudice."

Readers of the book will cheerfully acknowledge that the Professor has succeeded admirably. If he does not catch the Catholic point of view, or fails to see the force of Catholic arguments or controverted points, or does not go to Catholic sources of information as often as we think he should, it is probably because he is not a Catholic, rather than because he wishes to be unfair.

In a work of this kind it is practically impossible for an author to go to original sources, and the writer freely acknowledges that. With these qualifications the book is very good.

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**SAN CELESTINO.** By *John Ayscough*, author of "Marotz," "Dromina," etc. 12mo., pp. 346. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

We are more than glad to welcome the exception to an unpleasant rule. On more than one occasion we have felt obliged to protest against stories written about themes requiring a knowledge of Catholic affairs not possessed by the ordinary writer of fiction, even though he or she be prominent and successful in other respects. We have very rarely met a secular author who could describe priest, churchmen and churchwomen, and deal with their affairs with even a fair degree of verisimilitude. Still more rarely have we met a secular writer who could introduce his readers to the human part of such persons without blundering and exciting ridicule or anger. And, rarest of all, to find a secular author who could create the ecclesiastical atmosphere without which it is impossible to make ecclesiastics live.

The book before us is the exception. In it the author deals with Pope Celestine V, who was called to the Papacy from the hermit's cave where he dwelt in the midst of the large community which had gathered about him and which revered him as a saint.

Beginning with his boyhood as a member of a large family, describing his gradual growth in sanctity as he passed through the seminary, which he left for a life of solitude, and founded the community which was named after him, up to the Pontifical Throne and back again to his hermit's cave—the author shows a knowledge of ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical affairs that is indeed rare. More than that, he shows a familiarity with Italy and Italians that enables him to create an atmosphere that is charming.

In the latter respect he resembles Marion Crawford, as a writer he resembles the late Henry Harlan. He has the gentle, refined touch of Harlan which is as rare as it is charming. Mr. Harlan, among later popular novelists, taught us to love the beautiful and pure in fiction. More than any other recent secular writer he proved that virtue is sweet and vice is bitter, no matter how thick the sugar coating may be. Mr. Ayscough is emphasizing that truth, and we sincerely hope that he will be sufficiently encouraged not to be tempted away from the field that awaits him, and in which the laborers are all too few.

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**DIE MENSCHENOPFER DER ALTEN HEBRAER UND DER BENACHTBARTEN VOLKER.** Von Dr. E. Mader, S. D. S. Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis), 1909. Pr., \$1.55.

The present recent addition to the *Biblische Studies*—a series of studies edited by Professor Bardenhewer, of Munich, with the co-operation of a corps of Scripture professors from the leading Catholic faculties of Germany; a series which, now in its fourteenth volume, contains many scholarly essays on Biblical topics—embodies the results of the author's research into the origin of human sacrifice as it existed among the ancient Hebrews and the neighboring nations; and the relation of the in-human form of cult to the Monotheistic worship which characterized the children of Israel. The strongest evidence for its existence among the Egyptians leads Professor Mader to the opinion that the Hebrews borrowed it originally from the Nile Valley. Though the evidence for its practice among the Eastern neighbors on the Tigris is not so abundant, yet it is enough to justify the assertion that the prevalence there of the Moloch cult most probably revived the practice among the Hebrews.

But, however human sacrifice may have found its way into Jewry, Professor Mader adduces abundant testimony from the Law and the Prophets to prove that the practice was utterly abhorrent to the orthodox worship of Jehovah, and was detested as distinctively heathen idolatry, which, notwithstanding the vigilance of the prophets, stole into the Jewish people. As a consequence to regard with Renan, Hebrew Monotheism as simply the outcome of a natural evolutionary process in the Semitic race Dr. Mader shows to be a misreading of the historic facts. The pure worship of Jehovah as formulated in the Pentateuch and the prophetic writings rises *toto coelo* beyond the sensuous and gruesome idolatry prevailing among the neighboring heathen nations. The pure sprang not from the impure. The evidence



for this is fully supplied in the book at hand. While primarily a Biblical study, it has a distinctively apologetical value as a contribution to the science of religion, as a historical demonstration of the transcendency of the Hebrew Monotheism and a corroboration of the fact that that worship can only be adequately explained by tracing it to a divine revelation and a providential preservation.

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ALBRECHT DÜRER, Sein Leben, Schaffen und Glauben geschildert von Dr. G. A. Weber, Professor am Kgl. Leyzeum Regensburg 3e Auflage. Fr. Pustet, Regensburg (New York).

The rank of Albrecht Dürer in the world of painting and engraving is, of course, undisputed. His works in these two departments of art are, as regards both their conception and their execution, amongst the very highest productions of human genius—his “Adoration of the Trinity” taking rank with Raphael’s “Disputa” and Angelo’s “Sistine” paintings as world-pictures. But whilst all this is generally admitted, the question of his religious convictions is still controverted. To many it seems of little or no importance whether Dürer embraced the “New Gospel” (he was born in 1471 and died in 1528) or adhered faithfully to the Old Church—his art work would still be what it is. On the other hand, if that work is the expression of the real soul of the artist, it makes much for its true interpretation to know the attitude—the faith—of that soul towards religious truth, which his work so largely expresses. The value of Professor Weber’s present monograph consists primarily in the mass of evidence he has brought together and judiciously weighed concerning the much debated subject. No one who studies Dürer’s masterpieces can escape the persuasion, if not the conviction, that they are the product of Catholic faith and ideals. Nevertheless, there are not wanting indications that Dürer, like many others, even amongst the learned of his time, became a follower of Luther. Professor Weber sifts the arguments pro and con, and whilst he finds that the balance falls in favor of the contention that Dürer lived and died in the Catholic faith, he reaches this verdict by no weakening of the arguments *pro altera parte*. The debate is carried on with befitting impartiality. Though about half the book is devoted to this controversy, the other half gives a most interesting and attractively written story of the great artist’s life and an adequate appreciation of his works. A goodly number of well executed engravings adds not a little to the value of the book. It receives a merited place in the bibliography of the article Dürer in the fifth volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia.

LA DOCTRINE DE L'ISLAM. Par le Baron Carra de Vaux. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, 117 rue de Rennes.

The present work is an addition to the many writings of the author on the same subject, which is one of evidently great interest to him. He professes to write the book now given to the public in answer to the desire of many readers, who seemed to call for a description of the so-called orthodox Mussulman religion, which would be at once complete without being too minute, taken from a philosophical point of view, accompanied by some comparisons with other religions, and comprising some view of the evolution of Islamism.

In regard to the philosophical treatment of the subject, the author remarks that orthodox Islamism is not a philosophical and rational form of religion, but rather an intuitive and simple one—one that calls for simple and unreasoning faith on the part of its votaries. In the Mussulman world philosophy does not claim relationship with orthodoxy; it belongs to the schools and the sects; the orthodox teachers invoke its aid only in so far as it may be serviceable in combating heresy.

As to the evolution of Islamism, the task has given more concern and anxiety to the author. His great difficulty lies in the fact that the greatest change in this religion is the one which is actually going on at the present moment. It is changing day by day under our very eyes. In the effort to explain this evolution the writer has grouped together certain facts such as were suited to delineate the character of this great movement.

In the whole work he aims at an exposition of what is most essential and most known on the subject in hand. This may be readily seen by glancing at the titles of the ten chapters comprised in the book: 1. "Divine Unity and Rites of Prayer." 2. "Future Life." 3. "Fatalism." 4. "Alms: Mussulman Legends on Jesus and Mary." 5. "Pilgrimage." 6. "Precept of Holy War." 7. "Situation of the Woman." 8. "The Child and Education." 9. "Mysticism." 10. "Future of Islamism."

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WANDERINGS IN THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA. By *Rodolfo Lanciani*, author of "Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries," "Pagan and Christian Rome," "New Tales of Old Rome," etc. 8vo., pp. 378, profusely illustrated. \$5.00, net. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

It is seldom that beauty and utility are so closely united as in this book. It is a sumptuous volume and at the same time an informing one.

Professor Lanciani's reputation as an archaeologist is world-wide, and everything from his pen is eagerly accepted because of its historical value. But matter of this kind is too apt to be

dry and unattractive, except to those who love knowledge for its own sake. But Professor Lanciani is an exception to this rule. There is a freshness and charm and attractiveness about his books that makes them interesting to the student as well as to the scholar. This newest book emphasizes this statement and perpetuates his reputation, which was already secure.

The publishers' announcement says: "Professor Lanciani's new book, coming in sequence to his brilliant and popular works upon 'Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries,' 'Pagan and Christian Rome' and 'The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome,' is one of the most interesting of the series. The Roman Campagna, with its natural beauty and picturesqueness, its rich historic association and its notable ruins of Roman days, affords him an uncommonly fruitful field for a notable work. The book contains the first authoritative account of many important discoveries, but it is so filled with personal experience enlivened by interesting anecdotes that it is delightful reading. The introductory chapter is on The Land of Saturn, and then follow chapters on The Kingdom of Alba, Tusculum and Frascati, The Kingdom of Turnus, The Coast of the Volscians, The Pelasgic Cities, The Fines Tiburtium, The Borderland of Etruria, and the Harbor of Rome. There are many original illustrations and a map."

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THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA AND THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION. By *Adolphus William Ward, Litt. D., Hon. LL. D., F. B. A.*, Master of Peterhouse. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo., pp. **xxl**+575. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

"The long and eventful life of the Electress Sophia admits of being treated from various points of view, each of which possesses an interest of its own. A Stewart by descent and breeding, and naturally enough in a large measure by sentiment also, she likewise, by reason of her birth and through the traditions and experiences of her youth, had an immediate part in the declining fortunes of the Palatine House. The title acquired by her, for herself and her descendants, to the succession to the throne of her maternal ancestors, was a Parliamentary title; but it rested ultimately on the relation of herself and the House of Brunswick-Luneburg to the political and religious conflicts—the struggle against France and the resistance to Rome—on whose issue the future of Europe, and that of England in particular, mainly depended. Personally, thanks to the unflagging vivacity and unflinching candor of her mind, fostered by an education carried on by

her through life, she became one of the foremost feminine representatives of the intellectual liberalism of her age."

This quotation, from the Preface to the second edition, will give some idea of the subject and the point of view of the author. The book has stood a five years' test, the first edition having appeared in 1903, and the author is well known in the field of history, having been engaged in it for many years, and having produced much of real merit.

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**PRAGMATISME, MODERNISME, PROTESTANTISME**, par A. Leclère, professeur à l'Université de Berne. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

In this book M. Leclère makes a special study of the antecedents of modernism, its authors and principal representatives. In accomplishing his task he allows neither reserve nor timidity to hinder the full exercise of his freedom of mind in dealing with the various personages referred to, Olle-Laprune, Deschamps, Newman, Blondel, Laberthonniere, Le Roy, Tyrrel and Loisy. He insists on the difference between sound philosophy and modernism. To the latter he gives the name of a religious pragmatism, nearly allied to the Anglo-American pragmatism. He does not fail, however, to point out the relations of modernism with the philosophical systems of Kant, Guyan, Serretan, Ravaisson, Renouvier and Bergson. He shows that only secondary causes of the prevailing pragmatism of to-day can be found in the psychology of tendance, in the actual sociology, in the new directions taken by science and in the philosophy of M. Boutroux. Its true cause, he maintains, is the philosophical and religious doubt, the crisis being undergone by Belief, the want of idealism. He defines liberal protestantism as a kind of protestant modernism, and considers it as being, especially since 1850, a foreshadowing of Catholic modernism, which, if it be logical, must eventually join hands with its precursor. A long appendix contains a searching discussion of several opinions expressed in the course of the work, and furnishes additional information on different points of history, particularly on Jewish and Mahometan modernism. The study of this volume may be equally recommended to the partisans of both sides in the controversy.

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**DER TABERNAKEL EINST UND JETZT.** Eine historische und liturgische Darstellung der Andacht zur Aufbewahren Eucharistie. Von Felix Raible. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von Dr. E. Krebs. Herder, Freiburg (i. B.), St. Louis, Mo., 1908. Pr., \$2.25.

The author of this monograph on the history of the Eucharistic

Tabernacle, after suffering persecution, fire and imprisonment for the faith in the German Kulturkampf, spent the latter years of his life (1889-1907) as pastor of the village of Glatt, in the Black Forest. Having occasion to remodel his humble church, he made a thorough study of the altar, the tabernacle especially, and the manner of preserving the Blessed Sacrament as it has developed throughout the history of the Church. A priest in whom "piety and doctrine" merged and perfected one the other, his love for the Dweller in the Eucharistic Tabernacle inspired him to search out every detail connected with the history of the sacred abode, to study every prescription and device which the wisdom of the Church has invented to build and furnish an abode as fitting as may be for her Emmanuel. The author died before publishing the result of his devoted labor, leaving it, however, complete in the hands of his fellow-priest, Dr. Krebs, who has edited it and prefixed a biographical sketch of the learned and pious author. Beginning with an exposition of the Eucharistic faith and worship in the early Church, the book tells the story of how the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in the ancient days, in catacomb, private home, on journeys. Then throughout the Middle Ages and modern times, when all the inventions and devices of religious art have been pressed into the service of the altar. The narrative skillfully combines manifold details of architectural development with their deep doctrinal and mystical significance. The work, while instructive, is no less edifying. Of theoretical and devotional interest to the intelligent reader, it will have great practical value for the architect and the priest as suggesting what is best and most beautiful in the designing and adorning of the tabernacle.

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INSTITUTIONES METAPHYSICAE SPECIALIS QUAS TRADEBAT IN COLLEGIO MAXIMO. *Lovanensi P. Stanislaus de Backer, S. J.* Tom. IV., Theologia Naturalis. Paris: Beauchesne, 1908.

With the present volume Father de Backer completes his institutes of special metaphysics, the first installment of which—dealing with *Cosmology*—appeared some ten years ago. These were followed at intervals by two other sections devoted to psychology. The features of *solidity*, *clarity* and *timeliness* which were signalized in this REVIEW as standing out prominently in the preceding portions of the work are *mutatis mutandis* no less notable in the volume at hand. We make the reservation just italicized because the subject matter of Theodicy obviously does not call for the note of *timeliness* in the manner and degree demanded by cosmological and psychological questions—subjects on which recent science has had much to say that philosophy must duly consider. On the other hand, the

notes of *solidity* and breadth of demonstration and *clarity* of exposition are if anything more essential to a work on so vital a subject as the existence of God and His relations to the universe. It need hardly be said that in these respects the present work can hardly be surpassed. The opening chapter contains a thorough exposition of the principle of causality—on which, of course, the arguments for the existence of the First Cause depends. These arguments are subsequently solidly established, though the fifty pages devoted to them are by no means too many. The author has shown his *sense* of the fitting by holding to a simple scholastic style which rightly eschews rhetorical phrasings and thus allows the thought to shine through unclouded.

DIE BRIEFE DES APOSTETS PAULUS AN TIMOTHEUS UND TITUS. Pp. viii.+302. Fr., \$1.80.

DER EPHESERBRIEF DES APOSTETS PAULUS. Pp. vii.+209. Übersetzt und Erklärt von Dr. Johannes Belser. Fr., \$1.50. Herder, Freiburg (I. B.), St. Louis, Mo., 1908.

There has not been in recent times an excessive multiplication of Catholic commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. Thus the author whose recent works are here introduced cites but two on the Pastoral Letters—Mack (1836) and Bisping (1866)—and the same number on the Epistle to the Ephesians—Bisping (1855) and Henle (1890). All these are in German. Over against these figures might be mentioned about a dozen in the former and about eight in the latter case by Protestant authors. The relative paucity in Catholic exegesis is principally due to the wealth of already preëxisting—Patristic and subsequent commentaries—notably the monumental work of Cornelius A. Lape, which, though written almost three centuries ago, is, as Professor Belser observes, still in many respects unsurpassed, though indeed it is seldom, if ever, noticed by Protestant commentators. The learned professor of Divinity at Tübingen has done a distinct service for Catholic students by bringing together in compact and convenient form the wisdom of the older commentators and combining therewith what elements of newer knowledge textual and exegetical criticism and historical research have brought to bear on these letters of the inspired Apostle. This service will be mostly appreciated by those who have pondered over the deeply mystical and hence obscure thoughts which abound particularly in the Epistle to the Ephesians; whereof long ago St. Jerome declared, "*Nullam Epistolam Pauli tanta habere mysteria, tam reconditis sensibus involuta.*" That the latest translator and interpreter makes perfectly plain what the early author of the Vulgate found so difficult, one must hesitate to affirm. That, however, with the accumulated thought of many ages at his command, Dr. Belser has been able to

shed not a little light on the obscurities may be safely attested. Certainly Biblical students will profit by consulting these volumes.

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ERASME ET LUTHER: Poïémique sur le libre arbitre, par *M. Claude-Humbert*. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

Owing to the vast number of works published on the subject of the Reformation, it would seem that all or at least nearly all has been said or written on Luther and the beginning of the Reformation. One fundamental question, however, has hitherto escaped general notice, probably for the reason that its treatment and solution requires the services not only of a historian, but of a theologian also. The polemic discussion held by Erasmus and Luther on free-will and the other questions connected with free-will places us at once in the very heart and centre of the doctrinal element of Lutheranism. On this point the theological activity of Protestants and Catholics was destined to concentrate their respective forces for nearly two centuries. In order to account for the history of dogmatic theology down to the decline of Jansenism, and to understand the direction or development it received during that period, the student must have a precise knowledge of the antithetical positions established at the very beginning of that new era of modern theology by Erasmus and Luther. This point of departure is admirably presented to the reader in the volume of M. Humbert Claude, which is a profound study containing vast treasures of information for the theologian and adorned with those embellishments of style and clearness of treatment which cannot fail to win his sincere approbation.

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HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE DU III<sup>e</sup> AU XI<sup>e</sup> SIECLE. LE CHRISTIANISME ET L'EMPIRE, par *Albert Dufoucq*, professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

In this publication the learned author continues the series of his valuable works on the Christian past. The period treated of in this book cannot fail to interest deeply the student of Church history. The destinies of Christianity and those of the Roman Empire possess throughout these centuries a solidarity which began to disappear soon after the close of the eleventh century. The renaissance in the East and the awakening of the West forced the Empire to retreat from its prominent position, caused it to break up gradually, and finally transformed it. The Church seemed destined to share in its ruin, but it wisely

separated its lot from that of the Empire, evacuated the East and took deeper root in the West. Such is the momentous history which M. Dufourcq presents with a striking loftiness of view and a thorough minuteness of scholarship. Side by side with this picture of political events, the author has placed a masterly exposition of the development of Christian thought during this period. Origen, St. Athanasius and St. Augustin are the master-minds on whose doctrines he dwells most extensively and with the utmost ease. This distinguished work will assuredly be welcomed both by theologians and by historians.

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RELIGIOSI JURIS CAPITA SELECTA ADUMBRAVIT. *Raphael Mollitor, O. S. B.* Typis, Fr. Pustet.

This new work is most elaborate and is the result of deep and wide research. It comprises 560 pages and contains seven chapters. The first three of these treat of the religious profession and the religious state. The fourth chapter has for title "De Verborum Significatione," and explains the meaning of the different terms employed to designate religious societies, *v. g.*, the terms Religio, Ordo, Congregatio Religiosa, etc. The fifth chapter, "Qualis sit Religionum Potestas Regiminis," treats of the nature of the power exercised in the government of religious orders exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. The sixth chapter, "De Variis Religiosorum Familiis," shows the various sources whence arises the distinction of religious orders, *v. g.*, their end, the kind of life they profess, the nature of vows taken, etc. The concluding chapter, seventh, "De Abbatia Regulari," treats at great length of the power and prerogatives of the abbatial authority.

The author avows his intention of selecting for treatment such matters as are in no way treated or only lightly touched upon by modern writers, although these matters are of the greatest importance. Amongst them he dwells particularly upon the question of the elements of the religious profession, the various constitutions of the religious orders, the different families of religious. He insists strongly upon the necessity of having distinct names and terms for distinct things. He devotes one whole chapter to the subject of the signification of terms. The work is a most useful and invaluable contribution to this important branch of ecclesiastical science.

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LES ARGUMENTS DE L'ATHEISME, par *I. de la Paquere*. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

M. de la Paquere has already supplied us with a valuable work of Christian Apologetics, entitled *elements d'apologetique*,



which, under a complete view of the subject, vindicates the truth and correctness of positive doctrine. The entire Catholic press has bestowed the highest eulogies on the work, in which all find proof the most abundant of the clearness, the originality, and the scholarship of the distinguished writer. Mgr. Mignot, Archbishop of Albi, addressed the following lines to the author, which may be found at the beginning of the second edition: "You have at last given the fruit of 50 years of study and meditation. I am highly pleased with it. You have not, of course, said everything; but that was not possible; but what you have said was uncommonly well chosen. You meet the pressing needs of our contemporaries by expounding the truths and facts which are confirmed by common sense, by the lights of correct reason, and by the most certain conclusions of history and erudition."

In the present volume the author directs his efforts more particularly towards the refutation of our adversaries. With much moderation and praiseworthy tolerance he points out that the doctrines of M. M. Uebert and Le Dantee are the outcome of the system of Kant and of the agnosticism of Spencer. In a clear and concise form he offers us the just estimate of these recent doctrines and of the arguments advanced for their support.

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**BISHOP DE MAZENOD. His Inner Life and Virtues. By Very Rev. Fr. Eugene Baffie, O. M. I.** 12mo., 458 pages, with portraits. Cloth, net, \$1.80. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Bishop De Mazenod was the saintly Founder and Superior-General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Father Baffie's book is much esteemed by the clergy and Religious in France, and is used for spiritual reading in seminaries. Years pass so rapidly that it seems but a little while since his Eminence Cardinal Perraud, of beloved memory, selected Father Baffie's book to be read aloud in the refectory, during a pastoral retreat at Autun, in which he himself took part. His Eminence later on wrote to the reverend author as follows: "You have done a very great service to your own religious family, and to ecclesiastics in general. The members of your congregation will find in your book a rich inheritance, a treasure-house of instruction and example. The bishops and priests who will have the advantage of reading the work will admire therein an attractive pattern of all the priestly virtues and they will perceive that these virtues are not beyond our strength, since they were practiced in such a high degree during his long life by the venerable Bishop and

Religious whose inmost soul you picture so pleasingly and so well."

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PETITE HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE AU XIX. SIECLE, par *Pierre Lorette*. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

At the present time, when religious questions are so keenly discussed, it is all-important to have an exact knowledge of the history of the Church. Thence the timeliness of the little volume published by M. Pierre Lorette. It affords the reader the means of making a precise, though rapid, study of a period in the history of the Church, which was undoubtedly one of the most stormy ever known, and, at the same time, one that gave very strong evidence of life and vigor. All the problems that arose in the course of the past century are clearly exposed to view. The reader can realize the importance and necessity of being familiar with these problems, if he wishes at all to be able to act upon his contemporaries, or to influence their life and opinions. The volume presents a clearness of narrative, a neatness of plan, a correctness of division, an abundance and preciseness of references, which render the use of the book both pleasant and convenient, even for such as are already well versed in the subject. The writer has combined strict orthodoxy with the most rigorous and scientific information, a generous degree of moderation, and a lively appreciation of the needs of the hour.

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ROUND THE WORLD. A Series of Interesting Illustrated Articles on a Great Variety of Subjects. Vol. VII. 12mo., pp. 223, with 100 illustrations. New York: Benziger Brothers.

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something interesting in it. School children will find them useful aids in writing compositions, and they would furnish excellent reading books.

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PETAN (1583-1652), par *Abbé Jules Martin*. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

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L'EXISTENCE HISTORIQUE DE JESUS ET LE RATIONALISME CONTEMPORAIN.  
Par *L. Cl. Fillion*. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

The impious and absurd theory which pretends that Jesus was nothing else but a mythical or legendary being finds little or no favor nowadays, as it did, to some degree, some sixty years ago. However, the sheerest absurdities are accorded the honor of being entertained and championed by some adherents. Lately a Protestant pastor published a series of pamphlets, in which he attempted to resuscitate this foolish as well as unholy system, so utterly opposed to science as well as to religion. Other writings have followed in the same strain. It is not useless, therefore, to examine on what foundation this theory pretends to rest and by what proofs it undertakes to demonstrate that Jesus never existed. Such is the problem treated by M. Fillion. Under his masterly exposition of the facts of early Christianity the reader is obliged to arrive at the necessary conclusion that behind all these facts there is a historical personage, there is the existence of Jesus, the founder of the Christian Church.

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**LA VIE ET LA LEGENDE DE SAINT GWENNOLE**, publiée par *Pierre Allier*.  
Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

The saints of Brittany have occupied a prominent place in the early history of that interesting country. Emigrating from Great Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, they guided the tribes who fled from before the Anglo-Saxon invaders, in the work of evangelizing the natives, as also that of reclaiming the forest lands and founding cities. One of the most illustrious of all these anchorites was Gwennoelé, friend of King Gradlon and of Coventin, first Bishop of Kemper. An abbot of Landévennec named Wadislen wrote in the ninth century the life of "this holy and eminent father of monks." This naïve panegyric affords a striking picture of the lively enthusiasm of the disciple on behalf of his spiritual father. Its precious text serves as a basis for the delightful narrative of M. Pierre Allier. To complete his portrait of this most popular of all the Breton saints, the author draws also from other sources. All readers who are interested in the lives of the saints will find genuine delight in this graceful little volume.

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**MISSALE ROMANUM**. 48mo. Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet, Neo Eboraci, 1909.

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DREI DEUTSCHE MINORITEN PREDIGER AUS DEM XIII. UND XIV. JAHRHUNDERT. Von *Adolph Franz*. Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis, Mo.), 1907.

One who takes up this book is likely to want to read it through. It puts before him portraits of three to him probably unknown Minorite preachers who lived in Germany some six or seven centuries ago, and who reflect in their thought and style much of the quaintness, simplicity and sturdy straightforwardness of their time—Conrad of Saxony, Brother Ludovicus (Louis) and one who bore the pseudonym Greculus. Little is known of the lives of these religious, but their manuscript sermons are preserved in various German libraries. From these manuscripts Dr. Franz has drawn his materials—which consist mostly of extracts characteristic of sermons and the times, with comments by the editor on the occasions that drew forth the original. Much light is thus thrown not only on their typical style of preaching, but also on the prevailing deeds and customs—evils especially against which the preachers inveighed. The work is well documented and evinces great painstaking research. The interest, however, of the narrative is not overwhelmed by a parade of superfluous erudition.

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LE MODERNISME. Sa position vis-à-vis de la science—Sa condamnation par le Pape Pie X. Par *S. E. le Cardinal Mercier*, Archevêque de Malines. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

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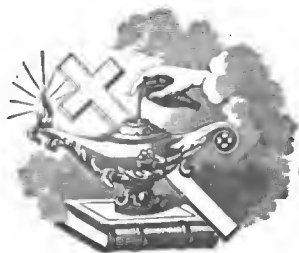
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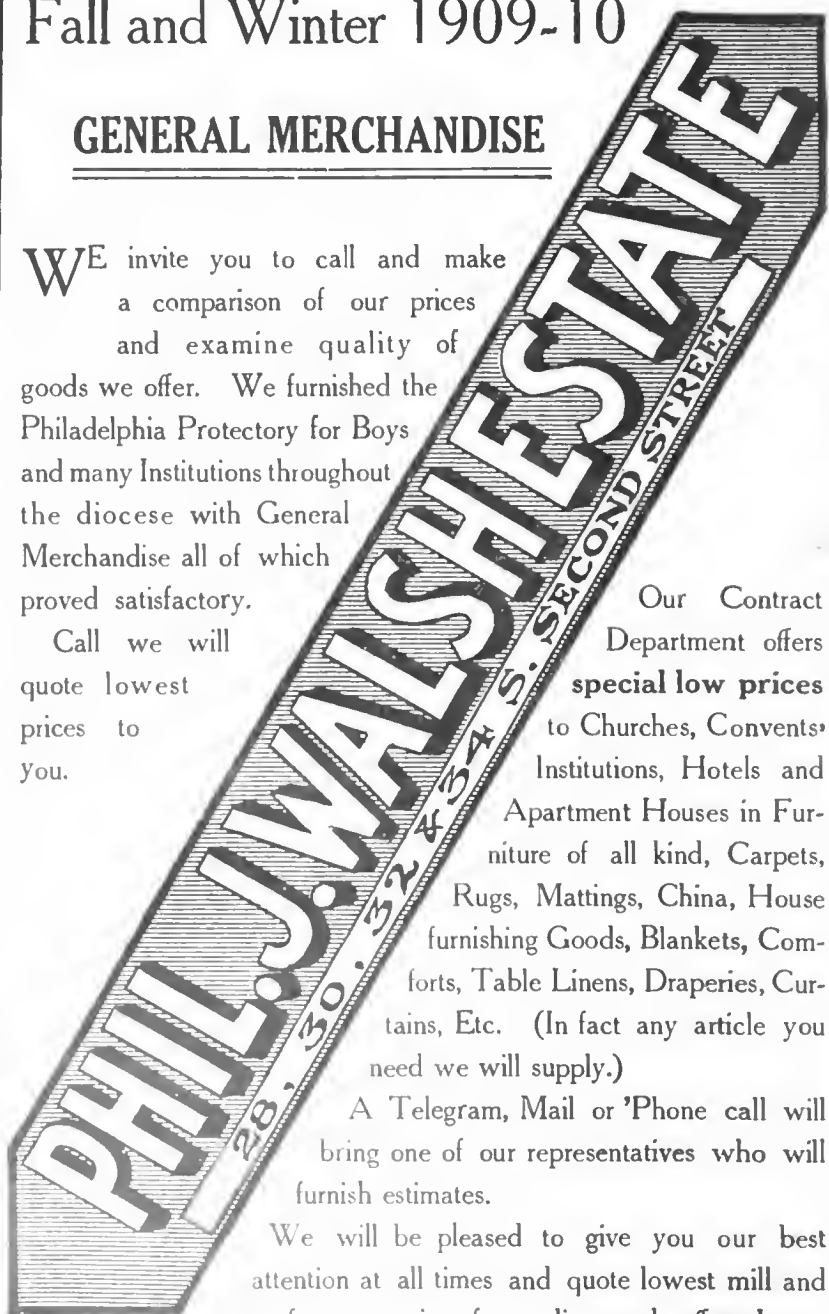
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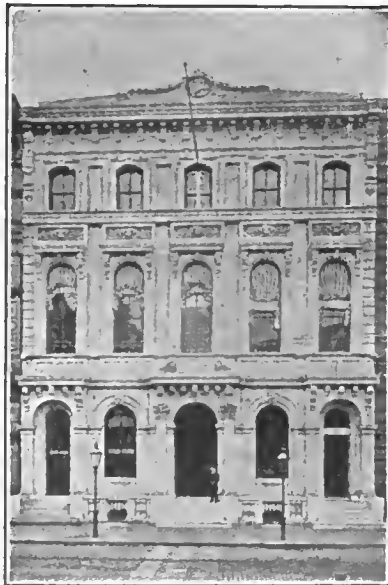
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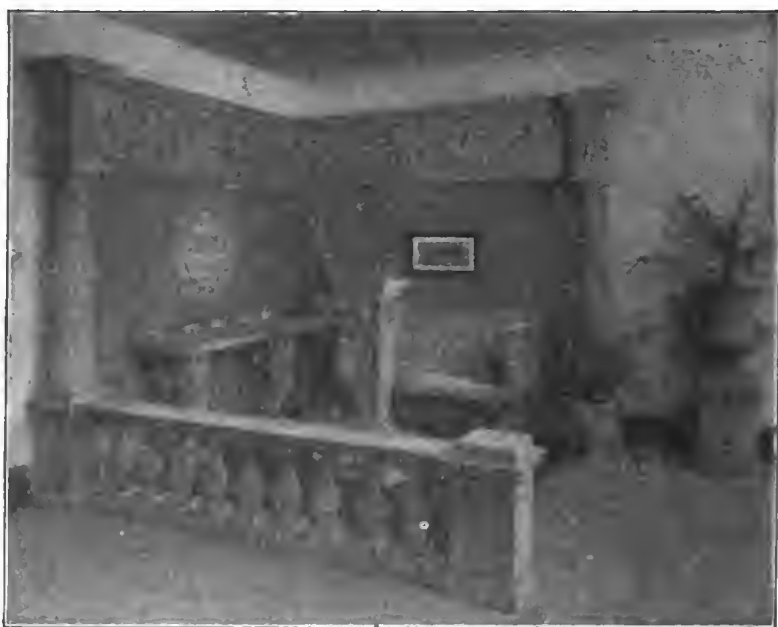
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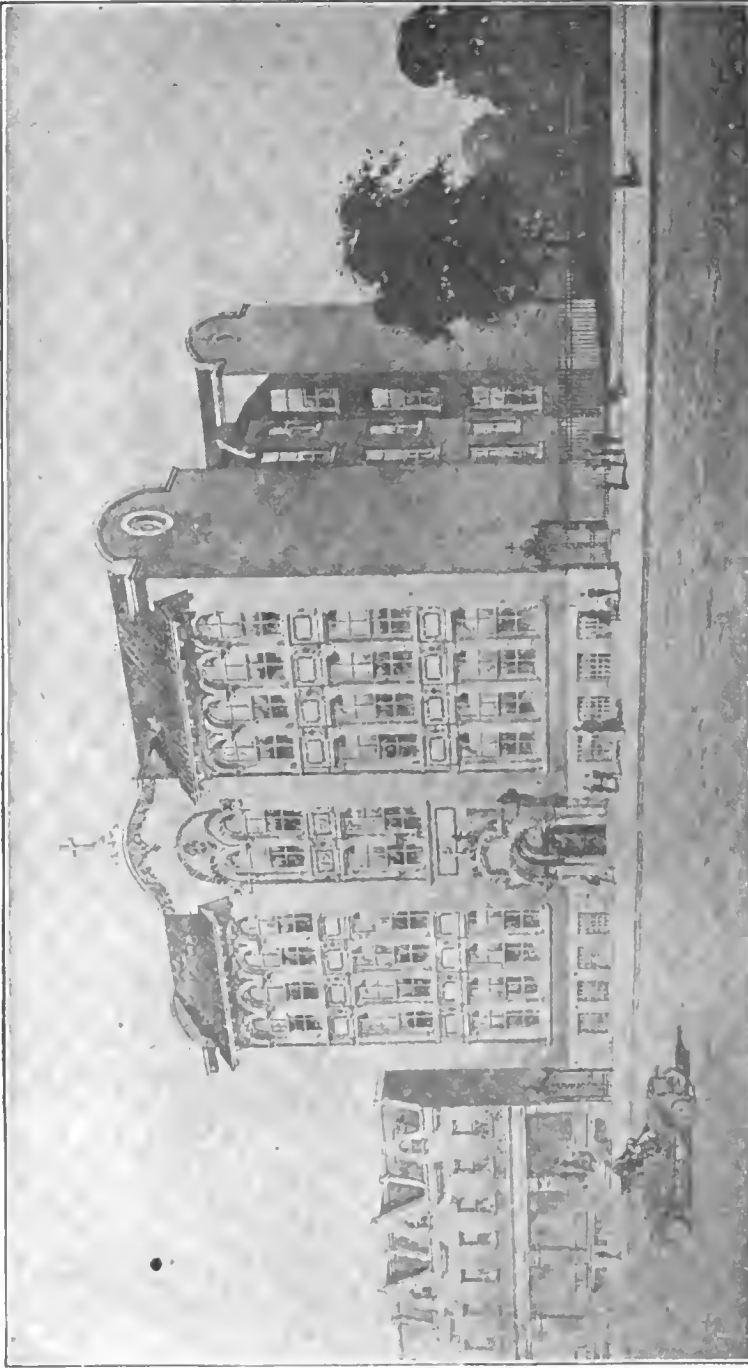
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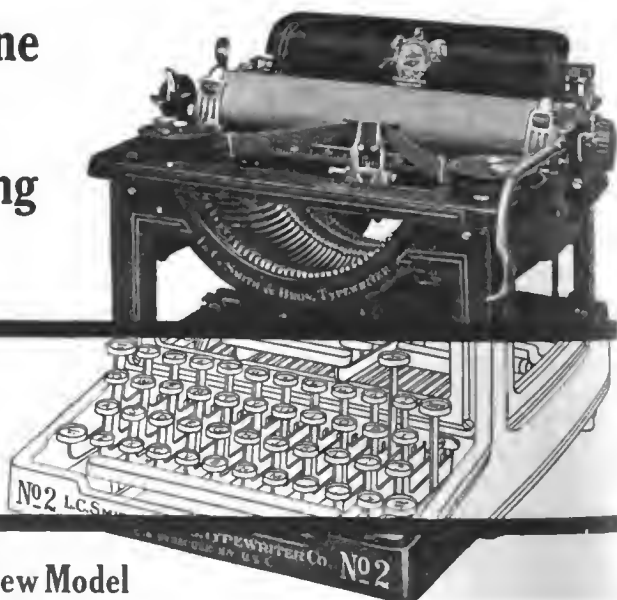
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# The Writing Machine That's Ten Years Ahead is the Writing Machine for You

Every operating device inbuilt where it should be—under the operator's hand. Shift-key, shift-lock, space-bar, tabulator, spacer, back-spacer and margin-release—all handy, convenient, right at your fingers' ends.



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## L. C. Smith & Bros. Typewriter

***ALL THE WRITING ALWAYS IN SIGHT***

has sprung so surely, so rapidly into popular use is the fact that typewriter users and typewriter buyers are recognizing, more and more every day, the need for a writing machine that measures up *at every point* to the highest scale of modern business needs. All the writing *always* in sight, ball-bearings at every frictional point, a biller inbuilt, a quicker automatic ribbon reverse—four only of many equally vital advantages that make this machine the *first favorite always* of the person who has to pay for it and the person who has to use it.

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Head Office for Europe, Asia and Africa: - - - - - **19 Queen Victoria Street, London, E. C.**

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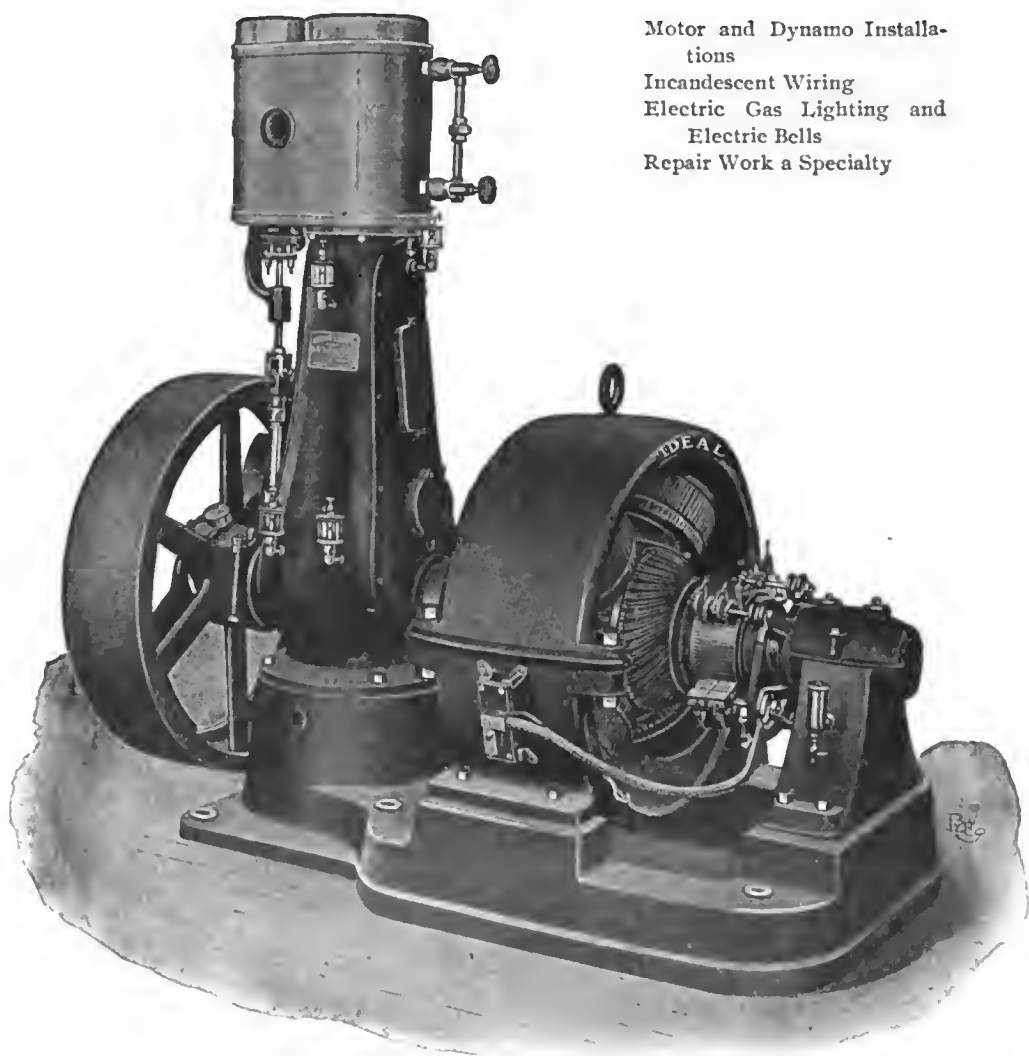
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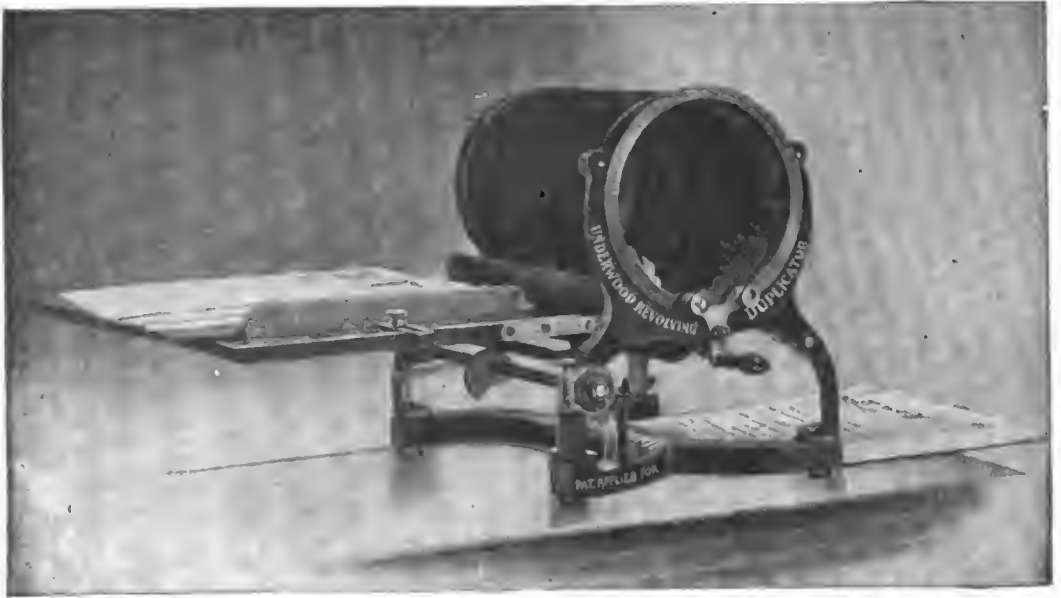
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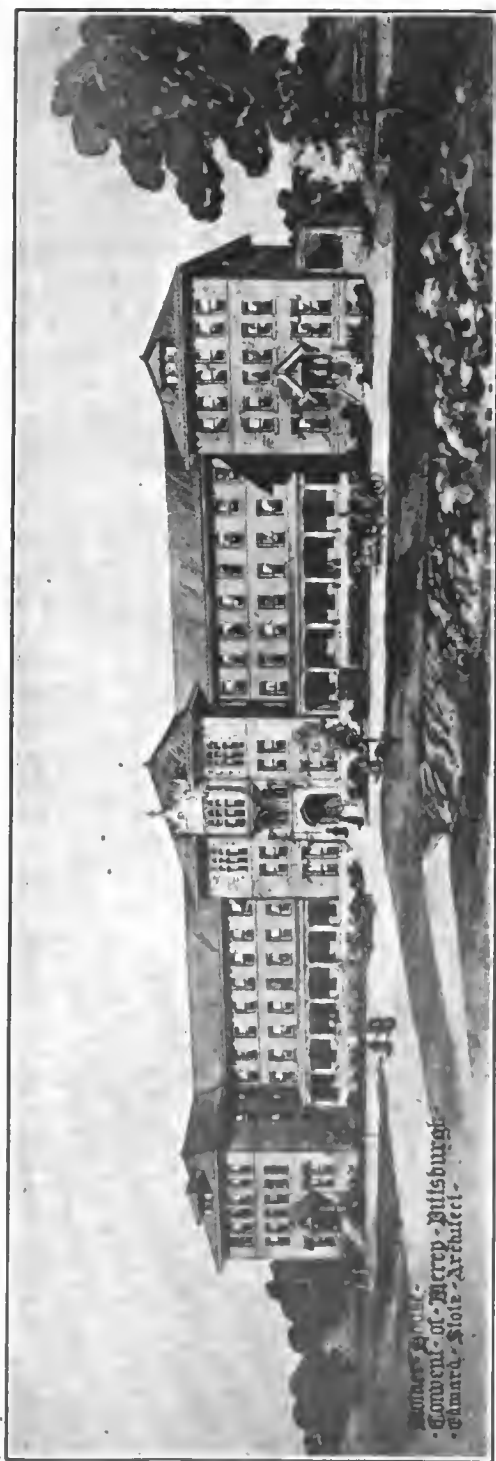
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This illustration of the new building of the Academy is made from a drawing direct.

The building was planned by Edward Stolz of Pittsburgh under the direct supervision of Sister Sebastian, Mother Superior of the Pittsburgh diocese, and built by Thomas Reilly, contractor, with offices and yards 1616 Thompson Street, Philadelphia, and 536-72 Ellsworth Avenue, E. R. Pittsburgh, at an approximate cost of \$500,000. It has three stories and a finished basement and contains 330 rooms. The exterior is of plain red pressed brick with a roof of Red Spanish tile. In general construction the establishment is one of conspicuous simplicity quite contrary to its sister building the academy, which was built twenty years ago by the Ursuline order, and used as a convent for many years.

Thomas Reilly has erected numerous large structures throughout the country. He is fully equipped with every modern facility for the rapid execution of all kinds of building construction, however great its size.

**St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Francis' Hospital, Third Presbyterian Church, and the Willis McCook residence, Pittsburgh, Brooklyn College, New York, Church of the Sacred Heart, Baltimore, Md., and St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Pa., are buildings erected by Mr. Reilly, that have given him much prestige in this line**



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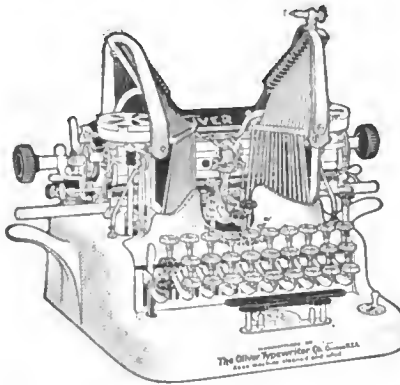
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The prompt and generous response of the Oliver Typewriter Company to the world-wide demand for *universal typewriting*, gives tremendous impetus to the movement.

The Oliver, with the largest sale of any typewriter in existence, was the logical machine to take the initiative in bringing about the *universal use* of typewriters. It *always* leads!

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This "*17-Cents-a-Day*" selling plan makes the Oliver as easy to *own* as to *rent*. It places the machine within easy reach of every *home*—every *individual*. A man's "cigar money"—a woman's "pin money"—will buy it.

Clerks on small salaries can now afford to own Olivers. By utilizing spare moments for practice they may fit themselves for more important positions.

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You can buy an Oliver on this plan at the regular catalog price—\$100. A small first payment brings the machine. Then you save 17 cents a day and pay monthly.

And the possession of an Oliver Typewriter enables you to *earn money to finish paying for the machine*.

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The Oliver is the most highly-perfected typewriter on the market—hence its *100 per cent. efficiency*.

Among its scores of conveniences are:

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- the Ruling Device
- the Double Release
- the Locomotive Base
- the Automatic Spacer
- the Automatic Tabulator
- the Disappearing Indicator
- the Adjustable Paper Fingers
- the Scientific Condensed Keyboard

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Holy Providence Dormitory, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Cornwells.  
The Novitiate Building, Sisters of Blessed Sacrament, Cornwells  
Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Medical Laboratories " " " "  
Dormitories, " " " "  
Residences for Joseph F. Sinnott, Rosemont, Pa.  
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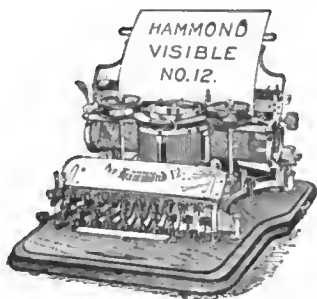
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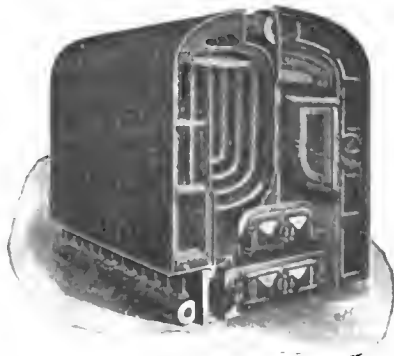
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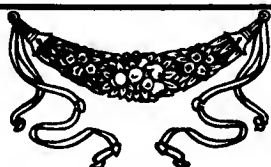
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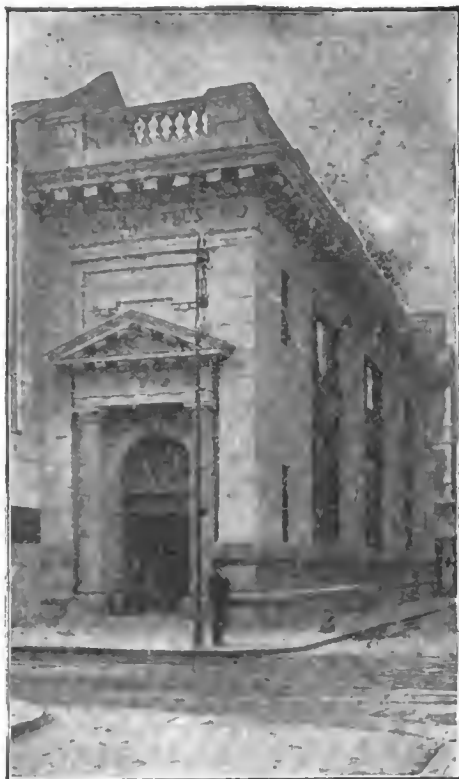


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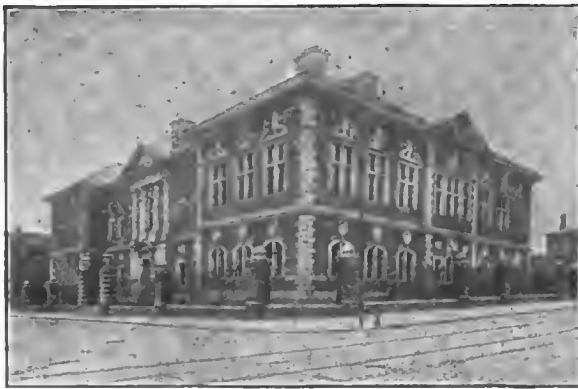
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Assets at Par . . . . .	\$11,448,648.58
Deposits . . . . .	10,150,452.89
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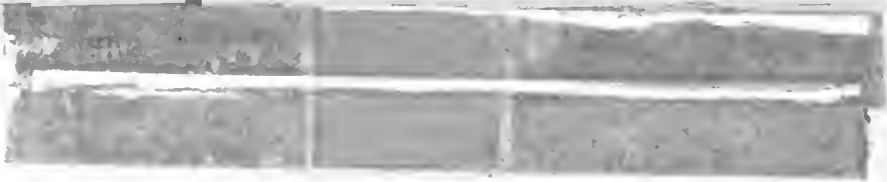
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